

51

1 – 31 Aug 1959

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



A CERTIFICATE FOR K. VASANTI OF THE LOK KARYA KSHETRA TRAINEES,
NEW DELHI, 28 AUGUST 1959

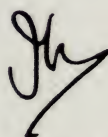
Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

SECOND SERIES

Volume Fifty One (1 – 31 August 1959)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
New Delhi

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

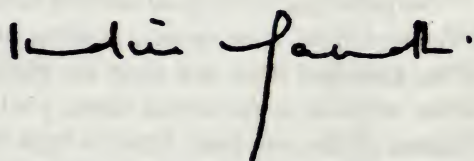
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume brings together documents from August 1959 when the repercussions of the dismissal of the Communist Government of Kerala in July were keenly felt in Parliament and elsewhere. The complex issue of reservations and the scale of it had to be sorted out in Mysore, Congress dissidents had to be dealt with as usual in Uttar Pradesh, and Ajit Prasad Jain, the Minister for Food and Agriculture, resigned over sustained criticism of food policy. In the foreign policy area, the Dalai Lama's plans to raise the issue of Tibet in the United Nations had to be handled carefully, further friction along the border with China had to be managed and contained, the nature of US military aid to Pakistan probed, and Soviet credits for industrialization negotiated.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paraphrasing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Nehru's own notes at Congress Parliamentary Party meetings, complete with doodles, have been reproduced as facsimile since some words are illegible. This appeared more useful than the Editor's attempts at deciphering them. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items; are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and

China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Amrit Tandon, helped by Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL

(a) Speeches

1. Striving for Progress¹

बहनो और भाइयो और साथियो,

आज फिर आप और हम यहाँ जमा हुए हैं, एक सालगिरह मनाने, अपने आज़ाद हिन्द की सालगिरह। और आज फिर हम कुछ तो पीछे देखते हैं कि क्या हमने किया और कुछ और देखते हैं कि क्या हमें करना है। बारह बरस हुए, हज़ारों बरस के इतिहास में इस मुल्क के, इस क्रौम के, बारह बरस बहुत कम ज़माना है। यहाँ दिल्ली के इधर-उधर की मिट्टी ने और पत्थरों ने हज़ारों बरस को आते और जाते देखा और अब इन बारह बरसों को भी देखा, जिसमें आपने, हमने और हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों ने कोशिश की पुराने ज़माने से, पुरानी मुसीबतों से, पुरानी गरीबी से अपने को निकालने की। मुश्किल काम था, गुलामी को दूर करने से ज़्यादा मुश्किल था, क्योंकि इसमें अपनी कमज़ोरियों को निकालना था, और पचासों पुराने बोझों जो हमारी पीठ पर थे, उनको हटाना था। बारह बरस में क्या हुआ, क्या नहीं हुआ, वो आपके सामने है। बहुत अच्छी बातें हुईं, कुछ बुरी बातें हुईं। बहुत बातें हुईं जो मैं समझता हूँ भारत के आइन्दा के इतिहास में लिखी जायेंगी, और ऐसी बातें भी हुईं जिन्होंने हमें कमज़ोर किया, या हमारी कमज़ोरियाँ ज़ाहिर हुईं।

तो फिर आज हम और आप मिले यहाँ, इस लाल क़िले के पास और अपने झण्डे को फिर से फहराया। तो क्या आपके दिलों में है बात, क्या सोचते हैं आप आइन्दा के लिए? इन बारह बरसों में काफ़ी कठिनाइयों का सामना किया, मुसीबतों का, बाहर से, अन्दर से। काफ़ी हमारे ऊपर प्रकृति की भी भेजी हुई मुसीबतें आयीं, कभी बाढ़, कभी अकाल, कभी फ़सलें ख़राब हुईं, काफ़ी हमारी अपनी कमज़ोरियों ने भी हमारा पीछा किया। हममें से लोगों ने ग़लत रास्ते उठाये, अपने लोभ में, खुदशरज़ी में भूल गये कि क्रौम का और जाति का फ़ायदा किस में है, भूल गये कि हम बड़े कामों में लगे हैं, इस मुल्क को फिर एक शानदार और बड़ा मुल्क बनाना और वक़्ती खुदशरज़ी में फंस के, उन्होंने क्रौम की जाति को हानि पहुँचायी। आप लोग आजकल भी कुछ दिक्कतों में हैं, परेशानियों में हैं, महँगाई की और इस तरह की बातें, कुछ तो लाचारी है, पूरी तौर से क़ाबू की बात नहीं हमारे इस समय, हालांकि क़ाबू में वो आयेगी। कुछ इन्सान की बनायी

1. Independence Day speech at the Red Fort, New Delhi, 15 August 1959. AIR tapes. NMML.

हुई, इन्सान की खुदगर्जी की बनायी हुई। जो भी कुछ हो, उसका सामना करना है। लेकिन आज के दिन विशेषकर हमें याद रखना है, हम क्या हैं, क्या होना चाहते हैं, किस रास्ते पर चलना चाहते हैं। फिर से ज़रा बारह बरस के पहले के ज़माने को याद करना है जब कि हमारे बड़े नेता गाँधीजी हमारे साथ थे और उनकी तरफ़ हम देखते थे। बरसों तक उनकी तरफ़ हमने देखा, बरसों तक हमने उनके रास्ते पर चलने की कोशिश की, और उस पर नज़ के सफलता मिली हमें। कहाँ तक हम इस बात को हर वक़्त याद करते हैं कि पहला काम हमारे मुल्क में अपनी एकता को बनाना है, क्योंकि अगर हम अलग-अलग टुकड़े में हो गये, अलग-अलग टुकड़े, चाहे वो सूबे के हों, चाहे वो भाषा के हों, चाहे जाति के, धर्म के या कोई और हों, तब सारी हमारी ताक़त ख़तम हो गयी, तब हम गिरते हैं, आगे नहीं बढ़ते। तब बजाय इसके कि आइन्दा का हमारा इतिहास एक चमकता हुआ हो, छोटी-छोटी क्रौमों की लड़ाई का हो जाता है।

इसलिए पहली बात याद रखने की है हमारी एकता, और यह कि जो हमारे आपस में दीवारें हैं, पुरानी या नयी उनको हमें तोड़ना है और हमेशा हमें सोचना है अपने मुल्क की, भारत की और एक उसके हिस्से की नहीं, चाहे वो हिस्सा कितना ही भला और अच्छा क्यों न हो। क्योंकि वो हिस्सा अगर उसमें कुछ ऊँचाई है तो इसलिए कि भारत का वो हिस्सा है। भारत के हिस्से न होने पर उसकी कोई ऊँचाई और अहमियत नहीं रहती। तो यह बात हमें याद करने की है, क्योंकि इस ज़माने में रहकर हम अपने जाति भेद में इस क्रूर आदी हो गये टुकड़ों-टुकड़ों में रहकर कि मिलकर रहने की आदत पूरी नहीं आयी। इसको हमें हटाना है और इस पर भी फ़तह पानी है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारा आइन्दा का ध्येय क्या, मक़सद क्या? आर्थिक है, सामाजिक है, हिन्दुस्तान से ग़रीबी निकालनी है, सब बातें कही जाती हैं, और सही हैं, लेकिन आखिर किस ग़ज़ से आप इन बातों को नापेंगे। एक ग़ज़ गाँधीजी ने हमें चलाया था, और हमने स्वीकार किया कि किस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान के आम लोग आगे बढ़ते हैं। ख़ास लोग बढ़े हुए हैं, उनको कोई ख़ास फ़िकर नहीं करनी है। वो अपने [आप] की देख-भाल भी कर लेते हैं, ऊँची आवाज़ से शिकायत भी कर सकते हैं जब ज़रूरत हो, लेकिन जो आम लोग हैं, जो अक्सर खामोश लोग हैं और ख़ासकर जो हमारे लोग गाँव में रहते हैं, उनकी देख-भाल कौन करे, कौन उनको उठाये? क्योंकि याद रखिए, दिल्ली शहर एक ख़ास शहर है हिन्दुस्तान का, और दुनिया का, और आप और हम जो दिल्ली में रहते हैं, वो एक माने में खुशनसीब हैं, लेकिन दिल्ली शहर हिन्दुस्तान नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान की राजधानी है। हिन्दुस्तान तो लाखों गाँव का है और जब तक वो लाखों गाँव हिन्दुस्तान के नहीं उठते, नहीं जागते, नहीं आगे बढ़ते, तो दिल्ली और बम्बई और कलकत्ता और मद्रास हिन्दुस्तान को नहीं आगे ले जायेंगे। इसलिए हमेशा हमें अपने सामने ये लाखों गाँवों को रखना है, किस तरह से वो बढ़ें। किस तरह से बढ़ेंगे वो? आपकी और मेरी कोशिश से ज़रूर, लेकिन आखिर में वो बढ़ेंगे अपनी कोशिश से, अपनी हिम्मत से, अपने ऊपर भरोसा कर के, और इस वक़्त जो हमारे ऊपर एक मुसीबत आयी है वो ये कि हमारे लोग अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना भूल के समझते हैं कि और लोग मदद करेंगे। हमारे गाँव वाले तगड़े लोग हैं, भले लोग

हैं। हर वक्त्र एक आदत पड़ गयी है देखें कि सरकारी अफसर कुछ कर दें। सरकार उनके लिए कुछ कर दे, बजाय इसके कि खुद उठ खड़े हों और काम करें। इसीलिए योजनाएँ बनीं कि वो खुद करें। विकास योजना, कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट वगैरह और अगर वो ठीक-ठाक चले, तो एक क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ है भारत के लिए, दुनिया के लिए कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव जाग उठें। और अगर वहाँ महज़ सरकारी अफसर काम करते हैं, तब क्रान्ति नहीं है। तब तो एक मामूली ढंग, एक अफसरों का ढंग है जो बेजान हो जाता है। जान अन्दर से आती है, ऊपर से नहीं डाली जाती है किसी क्रौम में।

इसलिए हमारे लिए यह बड़ा सवाल हो गया है इस मुल्क में, चाहे शहर के रहने वाले हों, चाहे गाँव के, चाहे गाँव के, देहात के, कि हम लोग अपने पैरों पर, टाँगों पर खड़े हों, अपने सहयोग से काम करें। ज़रूर हुकूमत को मदद करनी है, हर तरह से शासन को, अफसर को। लेकिन अफसरों की मदद से क्रौम नहीं बढ़ती है, क्रौम अपने पैरों से बढ़ती है। और यह बात विशेषकर गाँव के लिए है, इसलिए हमने कहा कि सहयोग, सहकारी समितियों में काम हो कि लोगों की शक्ति बढ़े, लोग मिल कर काम करना सीखें और अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना सीखें। इसके माने नहीं कि एक जो शासन हो, जो हुकूमत हो, वो हर जगह दखल दे। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि हुकूमत का दखल कम-से-कम हो, और लोग अपने हाथ में बागडोर अपनी लें। हाँ, जो बड़ी उसूलों बातें हैं, वो निश्चय [निश्चित] हों। तो यह एक दूसरी बात याद रखने की है। किस गज़ से हम नापें हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की? वो एक ही गज़ है किस तरह से यहाँ के चालीस करोड़ लोग बढ़ते हैं। कैसे बढ़ती है क्रौम? अपनी मेहनत से। कैसे गरीब क्रौम खुशहाल होती है? अपनी मेहनत से। कोई जा के औरों की ख़ैरात से तो उठते नहीं लोग। तो अगर हमारे लोग बढ़ेंगे, तो अपने परिश्रम और मेहनत से जिससे वो पैदा करें, दौलत पैदा करें, धन पैदा करें जो मुल्क में फैले। और मुल्क दुनिया के, खुशहाल मुल्क हैं बाज़, बाज़ गरीब हैं। खुशहाल मुल्कों को आप देखिए, कैसे हुए हैं खुशहाल वो? मेहनत से और और परिश्रम से चाहे यूरोप के, चाहे अमेरिका के, चाहे कोई एशिया के मुल्क जो हैं ऐसे, खुशहाल हों। सभी के पीछे मेहनत है, परिश्रम है, रात और दिन की मेहनत है और एकता है। दो चीज़ों ने उनको बढ़ाया, बग़ैर इसके नहीं कोई बढ़ता।

हमारे यहाँ अभी हिन्दुस्तान में, काफ़ी मेहनत करने की आदत आमतौर से नहीं हुई है। हमारा क्रसूर नहीं, आदतें ऐसी पड़ जाती हैं, वाक़यात से। लेकिन बात यह है कि हम इतना काम नहीं करते, जितना कि यूरोप वाले या जापान वाले या चीन वाले या रूस वाले कहीं करते हैं, या अमेरिका वाले। यह न समझिए कि वो क्रौम खुशहाल हो गयीं कोई जादू से, मेहनत से हुई हैं और अक्ल से हुई हैं। तो हम भी मेहनत से और अक्ल से बढ़ सकते हैं कोई और चारा नहीं। कोई जादू से हम नहीं बढ़ सकते, क्योंकि दुनिया चलती है इन्सान के काम से इन्सान की मेहनत से सारी दुनिया की दौलत पैदा होती है, चाहे ज़मीन पर किसान काम करता है या कारख़ाने में या दुकान में या कारीगर, उससे काम चलता है। कुछ बड़े अफसर दफ़्तरों में बैठ के इन्तज़ाम करते हैं, वो दौलत नहीं पैदा करते हैं। दौलत पैदा करता है किसान अपनी मेहनत से या कारीगरी या। तो हमें अपने काम, अपनी मेहनत को बढ़ाना है।

अभी मुझे खुशी हुई देख कर कि पंजाब के सूबे में काम करने के वक़्त बढ़ाये गये।^१ इससे पंजाब की दौलत बढ़ेगी, पंजाब के लोगों को फ़ायदा होगा, और किसी को नहीं। हमारे यहाँ छुट्टियाँ हैं। इतनी छुट्टियाँ हैं कि इस में कोई मुल्क हमारा मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकता, दुनिया भर में। छुट्टी अच्छी चीज़ है, आदमी को ताज़ा करती है, लेकिन ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा छुट्टी ज़रा कमज़ोर भी कर देती है और काम की आदत भी निकल जाती है।

तो हम इस वक़्त, आप जानते हैं, एक दरवाज़े पर हैं, तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के। पहली दो हो गयीं, और उससे हमें लाभ हुआ, फ़ायदा हुआ और ज्यों-ज्यों हम आगे बढ़े, हमारे सवाल भी बढ़े हमारे सामने, सवालों ने हमें घेरा, हाथ-पैर हमारे पकड़े, और अक्सर उनका बोझा बहुत ज़बरदस्त हो गया, लेकिन हम बढ़े और यह बढ़ने की निशानी है कि सवाल भी हमारे सामने आये हैं। जो नहीं आगे बढ़ता, उसके सामने न सवाल है, न जवाब है। आज भी हम सवालों से घिरे हैं, परेशानियों से घिरे हैं, लेकिन वो परेशानियाँ और वो सवाल एक बढ़ते हुए मुल्क के हैं, और बढ़ रहा है एक बुनियाद से, हालांकि उसकी तकलीफ़ भी उठाना पड़ती है। बन रहे हैं बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं तरह-तरह के बड़े, क्या माने हैं इसके, वो कोई कारख़ाना ख़ाली नहीं है, बल्कि वहाँ से एक नयी जान निकलेगी, जिससे हिन्दुस्तान के कोने-कोने में बड़े बड़े उद्योग-धन्धे, बड़ी-बड़ी इण्डस्ट्रीज़ बनें, वो एक बुनियाद होगी कि यहाँ लाखों आदमियों के लिए काम निकले और वो लाखों आदमी अपने काम से दौलत पैदा करें, इस तरह से आप देखें, सारी पंचवर्षीय योजना ख़ाली एक-एक चीज़ इधर बनानी नहीं है, बल्कि एक ज़बरदस्त इमारत बनानी है, आज़ाद और खुशहाल हिन्दुस्तान की। अब इसके बनाने में बुनियाद है, और जब तक बुनियाद मजबूत न हो, ऊपर वे कैसे बने। बुनियाद दिखती नहीं है हालांकि अब दिखने लगी है। तो यह दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में हुआ, और हो रहा है। तीसरी आती है आपके दरवाज़े पर है, अभी साल-डेढ़ बरस बाद, दो साल बाद, उसकी अभी से तैयारी है और मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें उसको, क्योंकि वो भी कोई आराम का वक़्त नहीं लायेगी। हमें ज़ोर करके उसको भी पूरा करना है, मेहनत से। बग़ैर मेहनत के और तकलीफ़ उठाये कोई क्रौम बढ़ती नहीं है। जो लोग नहीं करते हैं, वो ढीले हो जाते हैं, उनका मुल्क ढीला हो जाता है, उनका क़दम हल्का हो जाता है।

तो हमारे सामने फिर से इम्तहान है, एक चुनौती है दुनिया की, और दुनिया की नज़रें भी किसी क़दर हमारी तरफ़ हैं। यह एक बड़ा ज़बरदस्त मुल्क, जिसने इस ज़माने में भी एक ऐसा आदमी पैदा किया, जैसे महात्मा गाँधी, अब क्या करता है और अब क्या करता है—ख़ाली इस बारे में नहीं, कि विकास योजनाएँ और हम कारख़ाने बनायें और अपनी खेती की तरक्की करें,

2. Newspapers did not report any such measure. However, *The Tribune* of 9 July reported the Punjab Government's amendment of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules on 8 July denying Punjab Government employees the right to strike or membership of unions not recognized by the Government.

और अपने यहाँ गल्ला ज्यादा पैदा करें, जो-जो ज़रूरी बातें हैं हम करें, लेकिन किस ढंग से हम इन बातों को करते हैं, शान से, सिर ऊँचा करके या सिर झुका के और बुरे रास्तों पर चल के। यह बात याद रखने की है। क्योंकि जो अव्वल, अव्वल, दूसरा और तीसरा सबक गाँधीजी ने हमें सिखाया, वो सिर ऊँचा रखने का है, वो यह कि कभी गलत बात न करें, कभी झूठे रास्ते पर न चलें, कभी खुदग़रज़ी में पड़के मुल्क का नुक़सान न करें। यह उनका बुनियादी सबक था, बड़ों के लिए, बच्चों के लिए। और जिस वक़्त हम उसको भूलें, उस वक़्त हम गिरते हैं।

इसलिए बारह बरस गुज़रे और तेरहवें बरस में हम और आप क़दम उठाते हैं। सिर ऊँचा करके क़दम उठाइए, पैर मिला के आगे चलिए, हाथ मिला के आगे चलिए, और ये इरादे करके कि जो हमारी मंज़िल है वहाँ हम वक़्त से पहुँचेंगे।

जयहिन्द। मेरे साथ तीन बार आप जयहिन्द कहिए। जयहिन्द। जयहिन्द। जयहिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Sisters, Brothers and Comrades,

Today we are assembled here once again to celebrate the anniversary of independent India. On this day, we look back a little at our achievements in the past and to the future as well on this day. Twelve years is a very short period in India's history of thousands of years. The soil and stones of Delhi have seen thousands of years go by as well as the last twelve years when the people of India have been trying to take their country out of the old rut of poverty and the hardships that afflicted it. This is a far more difficult task than even the struggle for freedom because it involves getting rid of our weaknesses and the burdens of the past under which we have been groaning for centuries. What we have been able to achieve in the last twelve years is there for everyone to see. A number of good things have happened and some bad too. Many things have happened which I think will find a place in the history of India in the future. At the same time, other things have happened which have weakened us and exposed our shortcomings.

So all of us are assembled here near the Red Fort and the tri-colour has been unfurled once again. What are the thoughts in your minds about the future? We have had to face innumerable difficulties in the last twelve years both internal and external. There have been great national disasters, floods and droughts and failure of crops, etc., and our weaknesses have dogged our footsteps relentlessly. Many people in the country have gone astray in their greed and forgotten the interests of the nation in their own narrow selfish interests, forgotten the great tasks that we are engaged in to build a great nation once again and caused great harm to their country in the hope of some immediate benefit to themselves. Even today you are facing great difficulties, inflation

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Say, I didn't have time to check—what progress have we made since '47?

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 15 AUGUST 1959)

and other things and to some extent, we are helpless and unable to bring the matter fully under control. It is partly a result of man's narrow self-interest. Well, whatever it is, it will have to be faced. On this day especially we must remember what we are and what we wish to become and where we are going. We must refresh our memories once again about the events of twelve years ago when our beloved leader Mahatma Gandhi was still with us and we looked to him for guidance. We had been looking to him for guidance for years and years and tried to follow the path shown by him and achieved success by doing so. How much do we remember of those days? We cannot afford to forget at any time that the most important task before us is to establish unity in the country because if we break up into separate parts, whether on the basis of language, province, religion or caste, we will lose all our strength and fall. We cannot progress and instead of a bright and shining future, India's history will be one of small communities fighting among themselves.

Therefore the first thing to remember is unity. We must break down the innumerable barriers, old and new, among us and always put the country first before a part of it, no matter how good that part may be. If a part of India has any greatness, it lies in the fact that it is part of India. Without that, the various parts of the country will have no greatness or importance. So we must remember this because we have become so used to living in small little compartments in the past due to the caste system that the habit has not gone fully yet. We must get rid of it and conquer it.

Secondly, what are our goals for the future? There are social and economic goals before us and we wish to remove poverty from India. All this is true. But what is the yard-stick for measuring these things? One yard-stick shown by Mahatma Gandhi was to see how far the common man in India benefitted. We do not have to bother about the handful of rich men for they can look after themselves. It is the common people who are often silent about their hardships especially the people who live in the rural areas, who need to be looked after. Please remember that though Delhi is a very special city of India and the world, and all of us who are the citizens of Delhi are extremely fortunate in a sense, Delhi is not India. India consists of millions of villages and until they progress, India cannot progress even if the cities of Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta or Madras advance. Therefore we must always keep the picture of India's villages in mind and devise ways and means for their progress. We can all help but ultimately they will progress only by their own effort, daring and self-reliance. The biggest disaster that has occurred in the country today is that our people are forgetting how to be self-reliant and expect others to do their work for them. Our villagers are strong people, good people. But they have got into the habit of looking to government officials to do things for them, instead of standing on their own

You Said It

By LAXMAN



I still think we shouldn't have yielded to the union at least on this point.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 4 AUGUST 1959)

feet. The plans are aimed at making them self-reliant. If the community projects and national extension schemes work well, it will be a revolutionary thing for India and the world for it will be a reawakening of five and a half lakh villages of India. If the government officials run these things it will be no revolution—it will be an ordinary, lifeless affair. Life has to flow from within a nation and cannot be put into it artificially.

Therefore it has become a big challenge to this country, to the people living in cities as well as villages, to learn to stand on their own feet and work in mutual cooperation. The government must certainly help in every way. But a nation cannot progress by the efforts of government servants alone. It has to learn to stand on its own feet. This is true specially of the villages. Therefore we have decided that there should be cooperative societies to make the people strong and teach them to work together and trust one another. That does not mean that the government should interfere constantly. I want that government interference should be as little as possible and the people must learn to hold the reins of government in their own hands. The fundamental policies may be decided by the government.

Now another thing to be kept in mind is the yard-stick that is to be used to measure India's progress. The only yard-stick is the progress of the forty crores of Indians. How does a nation progress? It can be only through its own effort. How can you make a poor country prosperous? Again, it can be done only through the effort of the people. No nation can progress by depending on the charity of others. So we can progress only by our own effort and by increasing the production of wealth in the country. How have the countries in the West advanced? Whether it is Europe or the United States, they have become wealthy by their own effort. Behind the wealth and progress of each one of them lies tremendous hard work and unity. No nation can progress without these two things.

The habit of working hard has not developed in our country. It is not our fault. We have got into such habits due to circumstances. But it is a fact that we cannot work as hard as people in Europe, Japan, China, the Soviet Union or the United States. Please do not think that those nations have become prosperous by magic. It is only by their hard work and intelligence that they have advanced so far. So we can also progress by working hard and using our intelligence. There is no other way. We cannot progress by magic. The whole world moves by the effort of human beings. The wealth of the entire world is produced by the hard work of human beings, whether they work on land or industries or shops or at some handicrafts. A handful of officers sitting in their offices do not produce any wealth. It is the farmer or the artisan who produces wealth by his work.

I was happy to see that recently the Punjab Government have increased their working hours.³ The wealth of the Punjab will definitely increase and the people will benefit. There are so many holidays in this country that nobody can compete with us in this matter. Holidays are good things and refresh a man. But too many holidays are not good because the people get out of the habit of working.

So, as you know, we are on the threshold of the Third Five Year Plan. Two Plans are over and we have benefitted greatly from them. The more we have progressed, our problems have increased proportionately. We are hemmed in by problems from all sides and sometimes the burden has seemed great. But we have progressed and all these problems are a sign of that progress. Those who do not move need face no problems nor find any answers. Even today when we are surrounded by problems and difficulties, they are the problems of a growing nation, a nation which is progressing from very strong foundations. Huge steel plants and other projects are coming up. What do they stand for? They are not merely industries but a symbol of the new life that they will provide in various corners of India. The big industries that are coming up will form the foundation of our progress. They will provide employment to millions of people who will produce new wealth. So in this way, the Five Year Plans are not merely putting up plants and industries but are building the edifice of an independent and prosperous India. It is essential to lay the foundations well. We cannot see the foundations though the two Five Year Plans have done so. Now we are on the threshold of the Third Plan for which we are preparing from now. I want you to understand it because even the Third Plan is not going to usher in an era of leisure and rest. We will have to work hard to complete it. No nation can progress without working hard and bearing some hardships. Those who do not learn to face difficulties become slack and listless and the nation slows down.

So there is a great challenge before us and the eyes of the world are upon us. They want to see what a great country like India which has produced even in these times a man like Mahatma Gandhi does now. It is not only a question of putting up industries, increasing food production, expanding community projects, etc. The main thing is how we go about these things and whether it is with our heads held high or following the wrong path. We must remember this because the most important lesson that Gandhiji taught us was to hold our heads high, not to adopt wrong means, not to tell lies and cause harm to the nation for selfish interests. This was the basic lesson taught by him to everyone, adults and children, and the moment we forget that lesson, we will fall.

3. See fn 2 in this section.

Therefore as we enter the thirteenth year, let us do so with heads held high and march in step with the firm determination that we shall reach our goal in time.

Jai Hind. Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind, Jai Hind, Jai Hind!*

Translation ends]

2. To the Indian Society of International Law⁴

Mr Chairman,⁵ Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

When Mr Pathak first invited me to come here I agreed under very great pressure from him, because I felt a little alarmed at the prospect of having to say something about a subject like international law, presumably to an audience of experts. And when I came into the room, my alarm grew when I saw so many experts here. But on looking round, I found there were besides many familiar faces of friends, who, to my knowledge, are as little expert as I am. Therefore, I took courage.

I was interested in the opening remarks of our Chairman today because he referred to old Indian ideas of international law and international relations. It is perhaps imagined by some people that international law took shape under Grotius or some other scholars in the West, and that there was no such thing in the countries of Asia or elsewhere. That, of course, cannot be correct, because if there is any kind of civilised order there must be some kind of international law and ideas in regard to the relationships of States.

There can be no doubt that there are very clear ideas about this subject in the old civilisations, whether in India, China or other countries of Asia and elsewhere. Naturally, those ideas probably were, apart from their ethical content, such that they may not fit in with the facts of life today, because life has changed – that is a different matter – but the basis was that countries, like individuals, behaved in a civilised manner towards each other, and civilised order presumes the existence of law. So it is interesting, I think, to study these ideas of international law and international relations as they existed in the older civilisations of our country and other countries, lest we may be apt to ignore

4. Inaugural address to the Indian Society of International Law, 29 August 1959. JN Papers, NMML.

The society was formed a few months earlier with V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, as President.

5. Gopal Swarup Pathak, the Executive President of the Society.

them and think of them as something apart which have no relation to the present day world.

It is true that the modern growth of international law has had to deal with modern problems, and obviously the old concepts cannot deal with new problems. People talk about international law, and I suppose they realise, most of them, that the ambit of international law is strictly limited. Although it has grown slowly and, I hope, is growing, it is nevertheless limited because there are entities, national entities, which normally do not recognise any law but their own will. This antinomy between international law and this kind of national entity is being sought to be dissolved in the present day attempts at international organisation.

There is another point to be borne in mind. International law, if it is to be effective, has to be related to the realities of international life; otherwise it becomes merely an academic exercise of some professor or pandit sitting in a university. We see that in other spheres the world has progressed tremendously. Its productive growth, its economic and technological growth due to scientific advancement has been colossal. It may be said that international organisation and international law have not kept pace with this advance which is posing so many problems before us. We have to catch up before the gap widens, and there is always a possibility of cracking up, of disaster. This aspect of the matter is of vital significance in that the effectiveness of international law is of concern to every single individual.

One major aspect of international law deals with the attempt, I take it, to preserve some kind of understanding and peace between nations. If war comes it has some rules to regulate that war, to keep it within certain limitations: but, in the main, it seeks good relations between nations and to solve any conflicts that might arise by peaceful and civilised methods.

War, of course, is a negation of law, domestic or international. Today we have weapons of war which have become more and more powerful, and international law simply fumbles with the problems of the control or limitation or checking of these weapons. For the moment it is beyond its capacity; but I think, even so, it can exercise a good deal of influence if it tries to cope with the problem. It is the gap between our theoretical approaches and reality that produces most of the problems of the world.

Now, reality itself is not a static conception. The scientific and technological advance itself proves that we live in ever changing conditions of society. If society is thus changing constantly and is developing, then the other aspects of social life, economic life etc. must also change to fit in with it. Obviously, some kind of earlier agrarian civilisation and the laws pertaining to it may not fit in with an industrial civilisation or a highly scientific one and one has to

think afresh. An international law which grew up out of the early agrarian civilisation is likely to be totally inadequate to deal with other developments taking place later on. When we have to face nuclear weapons and the like, the problem changes and we have to approach it in many ways and certainly from the ethical point of view, which cannot be ignored at any time.

The main danger at present, however, is that before international law advances enough and generates adequate support, certain disastrous and catastrophic things might happen. We have less and less time to think now of what to do at a time of emergency. In previous ages even a disaster was slow in coming; however big it was, one thought one could act. Now when it comes, it comes with a bang giving no time for anyone to think but only to merely react or succumb to it. Therefore it is best to think before it comes and try to check it.

I just now referred to nuclear weapons. There are, apart from nuclear weapons, other ways of mass killing available to human beings. Everyone knows that, apart from a war, it is feared by a large number of distinguished scientists that even nuclear tests are dangerous. They are dangerous for the world at large and not only for any particular area nearby. All these tests are accumulating quantities of radioactive substances in the stratosphere and below, which progressively go towards the danger point for humanity.

This should undoubtedly be considered from the international law point of view. Here is something which affects other countries apart from the country indulging in that particular test. Therefore the question arises: How far has any single country the right to throw out poisonous substances in the air, affecting humanity at large? I am not in a position to give any legalistic answer to that. I believe many eminent lawyers consider that this question should come within the purview of international law as it is understood even today, apart from any development in the future. But certainly it comes within the human purview. And yet this matter has been in abeyance for a long time!

Through fear and apprehension countries have indulged in these tests, each more or less hinting at the fact that if the others do not do it, they would also not do it. That is an argument one understands and yet it does not take one very far when the result may be the common destruction of humanity. So, these are difficult problems of immediate importance and not for remote hypothesis. I do not suggest that the Indian Society of International Law is in a position to solve these problems, but it is important that these problems should be considered by this and other such societies and organisations, so that a strong public opinion should be built up and ultimately, I suppose, it is this strong and widespread public opinion that will make the difference.

Many other questions arise. There is the United Nations—a very noble

attempt to bring the world into some scheme of international law. The Charter of the United Nations is a very fine and inspiring document—I mean the objectives and ideals that it sets before itself. But the United Nations again had to deal with a world just emerging from war and as intensely and narrowly nationalist in its different components as ever, with the same fears, apprehensions and jealousies. The United Nations, therefore, had to proceed rather slowly. People have often criticised it for not living up to its ideals. That criticism is both justified and unjustified – justified because it is true and unjustified because the United Nations has only to function in the world as it is. It cannot function in some rarefied atmosphere which is away from the world. Therefore the difficulties and conflicts of the world come up and are projected inside the United Nations. Nevertheless, here is something which keeps this ideal of some kind of world order, and international law applied to the world, before us. It is true that in practice it is not applied, in the opinion of many, as justly and as equitably as it ought to be. Great interests pull the United Nations this way or that. Groups of nations pull it in various directions. It may be so, but the ideal is there and that itself is a great gain.

Then, within the context of the United Nations Charter, rules and regulations are laid down as to how to deal with particular situations, conflicts etc. We see subsequent developments, however, of the United Nations being somewhat bypassed in this connection and various types of regional pacts growing up. Doubts have arisen whether those regional pacts are in keeping with the United Nations scheme of things or not. I am no authority on the subject to say whether they are or they are not. Eminent people have raised those doubts and that becomes another question for consideration. Behind all this is not some legal issue or some academic or theoretical question but the major facts of the world, or two major facts if you like – one, the continuous advance on the scientific and technological front which is changing life and has given increasing power to humanity and the other, the possible misuse of this great power. This has resulted in an atmosphere of fear in many parts of the world, leading to stultified thought and frightened action. Fear leads to that and out of that you can hardly encourage dispassionate thinking or an objective understanding of events and an attempt to solve problems peacefully. There is always the danger of this all-pervading fear carrying everything before it to destruction.

Thus, it comes about that the tremendous advance of science and technology has outstripped the cultural advance of humanity – cultural in a wider and deeper sense including the ethical aspect as well. When this scientific advance, which gives immense power, is divorced from the restraints which come from a cultural development of the community, this danger is always present. I do not mean to say that culture is lacking in the world today. I am merely pointing

out the fact that technological advance has outstripped that cultural or ethical content in human beings as individuals and as groups which can control properly this power that technological advance has given to humanity. Most of the methods evolved to solve these problems, the theories, the ideologies and the like are themselves left high and dry by still greater technological advance. The theories that were built up when life and technology were at a certain stage of development were relevant to their time and at any rate worthy of consideration. But then technology takes a leap forward leaving all these approaches rather far behind. This ever changing technology wants ever a new kind of life, a new human relationship; it creates new dangers, it practically abolishes, from its own point of view, national frontiers. You may have them, you may fight about them, but the nuclear age and the space age hardly consider seriously these national frontiers and national boundaries, one little piece of land separated from another; and yet we are governed by and live within national frontiers, with national jealousies and fears. So, these conflicts come.

Well, all one can hope is that jurists and lawyers, who are used to a certain dispassionate consideration of matters, will help to some extent in throwing light on these problems and point out the ways by which these gaps can be bridged, and in that process I hope that this Society, the Indian Society of International Law, will help.

(b) The Press

3. Press Conference⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru: Shall we begin?

Question: The proposed meeting between Mr Khrushchev and President Eisenhower⁷ – what are your views?

Jawaharlal Nehru: All I can say is that it is one of the best pieces of news that we have had for a considerable time. Indeed, I would say that it is better for them to meet, to begin with, than to have a summit conference straightaway without this personal contact previously. We have to deal with very difficult problems, I mean to say, in the world and Europe; they are difficult enough.

6. New Delhi, 7 August 1959. File No. 43(73)/59-PMS. Also available in AIR tapes, NMML.

7. It was announced on 3 August that Khrushchev and Eisenhower would exchange visits. Khrushchev visited USA 15-28 September 1959, but Eisenhower did not go to the USSR as the U-2 incident intervened.

But even more difficult than those problems is the strong wall of suspicion and lack of confidence and dislike and all that. Such personal contacts can go a long way to remove or lessen that suspicion. The problem remains; the problem will have to be dealt with, but in a much better atmosphere.

Other subjects suggested for discussion:

Kerala

Situation in Laos

Chinese silence over the maps

Food prices

Charge-sheet against West Bengal Government⁸

Role of Indian Communists

Request that the agreement between Japan and North Korea should be signed in India on the repatriation of Koreans to Korea.⁹

Jawaharlal Nehru: We were asked by the Japanese Government about that matter. We said, "It is none of our concern. If you wish to come here, you are welcome." I do not quite know what happened afterwards. We are not directly concerned with it but it is open to two parties to come here and sign an agreement if they so choose. But I am not quite sure what happened afterwards.

Kerala

Jawaharlal Nehru: Any other subject? What about Kerala?

Question: In the Proclamation it is said that the Government of the State is not carried on according to the provisions of the Constitution.¹⁰ Could you tell us what particular provisions of the Constitution were not carried out?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Under Article 356 you mean, or what is it? Yes. It is stated, you will see, in pretty wide language, external trouble, internal trouble, etc. If the President is satisfied on a report from the Governor, he can take action. The conditions in Kerala were progressively getting bad and were very bad, and, I think, were likely to deteriorate still further in a very bad way in regard

8. In a memorandum of 29 July to the President, the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI had accused the B.C. Roy Government of violating the Directive Principles of the Constitution, infringing fundamental rights, and of being corrupt. The press conference agenda listed this topic, but it was not raised.

9. On 13 August 1959, a repatriation agreement between the Red Cross Societies of Japan and North Korea was signed in Calcutta.

10. President's Rule was imposed on 31 July 1959.

to internal security. Having considered the report of the Governor,¹¹ the President came to that decision.

Question: If there are internal disturbances in a state, is it the duty of the Centre to dismiss the ministry or to quell the disturbances?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The duty of the Centre is ... It depends. It is not a question of disturbances in the sense of armed warfare. The duty of the Centre is, when requested by the State Government, to come to its help. Not that the Centre rushes in its help, police or military, without request. That itself may be misused, may become interference. No request of any kind was made to send any such help. Two requests were made which were complied with. One was about flag marches which our armed people brought out. The second was really to keep in readiness. I do not remember, it was an actual request or not. What I mean is kind of we were told that they might require something and we had made, well, necessary arrangements even to keep military standby in nearby places. If necessity arose they could easily be used. No other request was made and we could not rush in to take charge of the law and order situation.

Question: Two aspects. One is: Did the Central Government leaders at any time disapprove of the direct action indulged in by Congressmen there; and, secondly ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Disapproval of what?

Question: Disapproval of the direct action launched by Congressmen there; and secondly, did the Central Government leaders describe it as unauthorised for prominent Congressmen to say that Central intervention is round the corner?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as I remember, at my last month's press conference, I made it clear that we strongly disapproved of these various kinds of direct action there.¹² There was one type which, you may say, had been rather hesitantly allowed and that was what was called token picketing of Government offices. It was with considerable hesitation, I believe, that it was allowed because of certain fear that if that was suddenly stopped, there might be unauthorised picketing on a big scale; it might be much worse. It was a lesser evil that was

11. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

12. See SWJN/SS/50/item 2.

allowed. But even so, they were called upon to wind it up as soon as possible.

As for your point what people have said, very many statements were made which we thought were objectionable and wrong. I do not know what you meant by "allowing" such statements to be made. Nobody allows objectionable statements to be made. People say all kinds of things in their speeches which are sometimes not proper. One of the things that I said, when I was in Kerala, was that the press there, as well as the people who made statements, were quite remarkable in the strong and undesirable language that they used.

Question: In order to convince the public that the action that you have taken is right, will you make the Governor's report public?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. That would be highly improper. Government reports would largely lose their value if they are made public documents, because such reports are necessarily confidential, dealing with matters which the Governor would not probably mention in a public document. He deals with the President in that way. On the previous occasions when such action was taken,¹³ I do not think the Governors' reports were placed on the Table of the House or published.

Question: But on the last occasion it was a Congress Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know the conditions may differ, but the point is that it would be a bad precedent, I think, for a Governor's report of this kind to be published.

Question: Without publishing the Governor's report, can the Government of India make known to the public what were the totality of the circumstances under which they decided to take action?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The totality of circumstances was the situation that had arisen which could no longer be tolerated. The totality of circumstances, I repeat, was such that everyone concerned, whether he said it or not, wanted this done. I know that the Kerala Government has said, "We never asked for it." Of course, they did not ask for it. I do not say that they asked for it. But I say that the difficulties of the situation were becoming so great that they wanted somebody to relieve them of the difficulties. It is not a question of their asking

13. President's rule had been imposed earlier in Punjab on 20 June 1951; in PEPSU on 5 March 1953; and in Travancore-Cochin on 23 March 1956.

for it. They were making it quite clear in other ways that in the circumstances this was probably necessary.

Question: In the final analysis which weighed more with you: the charge-sheet against the Kerala Government or the mass upsurge?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Neither. The situation we had to face. The charge-sheet was only a kind of historical charge-sheet which weighs in understanding a situation; the mass upsurge was also one of the reasons for understanding a situation. But it was a particular situation that we had to deal with.

Question: Yesterday, Namboodiripad said that it was not a civil war.¹⁴

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course, it wasn't.

Question: But the Congress leaders say that it was a civil war.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was not a civil war. It was approaching conditions, I said. It was growing worse and worse.

Question: Do you think that the constant threat of Central intervention for more than a month had some part to play in worsening the situation in Kerala?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You may say that the threat of Central intervention or the repetition of the possibility of Central intervention encouraged the Opposition to carry on. That may be so. But otherwise I do not know what part it played. You may remember that two or three of the principal leaders of the Opposition came to Delhi – Mr Pattom Thanu Pillai¹⁵ and Mr Mannath Padmanabhan.¹⁶

14. On 6 August, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the former Chief Minister of Kerala, told a press conference in New Delhi that the Kerala situation was not a civil war unless there was a "new interpretation of civil war which envisages a condition in which there are clashes between people and the Government and the police. Ordinarily, civil war means two sections of people fighting each other." *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 7 August 1959.

15. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai (1885-1970), PSP, MLA from Trivandrum; Chief Minister of Kerala, 1960-62.

16. Pattom Thanu Pillai and Mannath Padmanabhan, leader of the Nair Service Society, visited Delhi, 17-21 July. According to press reports, the purpose of their visit was to seek Central intervention in the state.

When they went back from here, they made statements about their extreme disappointment for the “Central Government’s apathy” – “not appreciating the situation” and not accepting their advice for Central intervention. They went back thoroughly discouraged from here and stated so in public.¹⁷ So, so far as the Central Government is concerned, far from encouraging them, they were constantly discouraging them. But it is perfectly true that people there and elsewhere talked about Central intervention, not the Government, and thereby naturally kept the subject before the public eye.

Question: Those leaders of the Opposition gave us an impression that they were sure that Central intervention would take place but they were not sure as to when and how the intervention may take place. So it is not correct to say that they were disappointed about Central intervention.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was merely quoting what they said when they were here.

Question: They said here also ...

Question: On the other hand, the Communist leaders allege that the decision of intervening in Kerala had informally been taken at the Ooty Seminar.¹⁸

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Communist leaders must be in communion with Divine Providence (laughter). Human beings did not know that or had not even thought of it. That is so wrong; it shows how one is led to thinking wrongly. The difficulty with the Communists is that once they start on a track, their one track of mind leads them to all kinds of utterly wrong conclusions. They don’t balance things. As a matter of fact, talking about it, if I am not wrong, I think Mr Namboodiripad in a statement, after the Opposition leaders went back from here, also said that the Opposition leaders had come back disappointed from their visit to Delhi. As far as I remember, he said that. But it is a small matter. They were disappointed; at the same time they may have still continued to hope. The point is this, even when I was in Kerala, somebody asked me – I

17. Padmanabhan told reporters at Trivandrum airport on 22 July that he expected to overthrow the Communist government within two weeks by intensifying the struggle against it. However, he added “that his statement didn’t mean there would be no central intervention” and pointed out that “the central government had understood the seriousness of the situation.” He also said that the GOI’s “machinery...had begun to move very quickly.” See *The Statesman*, 23 July 1959.

18. See SWJN/SS/50/p. 1.

forget who – maybe some member of the press: “Can you say that you will not intervene in Kerala?” I said: “Look here, how can I guarantee the future or what might happen? I cannot. I have no intention of intervening but I cannot bind myself down, whatever happens.” I cannot say that about any place about the future, but I can say that I dislike the idea of intervening and I don’t want to, as far as I can help it. That was our general attitude.

Question: How are we to understand the Kerala case in the context of democratic developments? You say neither the charge-sheet weighed with you nor the mass upsurge. What are the considerations which can lead to such a drastic step as the dismissal of a state Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Go to Kerala. It is the best way to try to understand the position. Go there and find out what has happened there.

Question: Do we understand that the Government of India have intervened because of events that happened after the 12th June and did not think it worthwhile interfering when all those things happened before?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What happened on the 12th of June?

Question: The day the civil disobedience was started.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don’t know what you mean. You say that we started thinking of intervening after the 12th June?

Question: I want to know whether the Government of India thought it worthwhile to come into the picture after the events started or they took into consideration all that happened during the past 24 months?

Jawaharlal Nehru: 24 months? 28 months.¹⁹ The Government of India have had innumerable, a larger number of, complaints about various happenings in Kerala during the past couple of years. In the normal course, they came through various sources – official and non-official – and there was a fair amount of correspondence – confidential correspondence – with the Kerala Government, and when a complaint came, we sent it to them and said: “This is not right and so on and so forth.” But the question of intervention never came into the mind

19. Nehru was referring to the 28 months of Communist rule in Kerala since 5 April 1957.

of the Government of India because of that. Last year, when these matters were raised in Parliament by the Praja Socialist Members, the whole attitude of the Government of India was rather to discourage this matter because much as we disliked something that had happened there, we disliked much more the idea of intervention in any form.²⁰ So that has been the attitude of the Government of India. It was some time after the 12th of June, as you put it, that this new development came within the ken of the Government of India. Of course, we knew that an agitation was going on; but frankly we attached little importance to it at that time. Then it grew and at a very rapid pace, and those who went there got a vivid idea of the conflict between two solid, I may say, groups, with practically no contacts. And that was why, when I went there,²¹ I came to the conclusion – then the situation was not so bad, it grew later – but I came to the conclusion, and I told the Government there, that I saw no way out except elections, not that elections would solve the problems, the deeper problems. But elections would lead – or the effect of elections would bring about, what is now called, “disengagement” and, therefore, a certain calming down and then one can discuss matters and deal with them. Going for each other’s head all the time in a hysterical way would lead to nowhere except to an intensification of the conflict. That was my reaction at the time which I told the Government first of all, before I said it anywhere else. And then the situation became more and more difficult and worse there.

May I suggest for your consideration that the action that the Government has taken, that the President has taken, is strictly within the Constitution. The idea of saying that the Constitution has been violated has no particular meaning. The Constitution has provided for such contingencies and the person to judge those contingencies, by the Constitution, is the President. Of course, any responsible person may judge rightly or wrongly. That is a different matter. But it is strictly constitutional.

Question: Would it be correct to say that from what you say, it would appear that if somehow a state Government could suppress a popular agitation, it could behave in any manner it liked and that the Centre would not interfere? Is that correct?

20. K.B. Menon and Asoka Mehta raised the question of law and order in Kerala through adjournment motions which the Lok Sabha discussed on 11 August, 4 September, 22 September and 27 November 1958.

21. From 22 to 25 June 1959.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give answers to hypothetical, far-reaching questions. How can I say that? I cannot. The Central Government will always resist and dislike the idea of intervention. But we cannot say under what circumstances it may be compelled to do so.

Question: Since at the root of the mass upsurge was the feeling among large sections of the people in Kerala that the Government was completely partisan and discriminatory and that they could not expect a fair deal in any walk of life and charges of unconstitutional action and lack of security of life and property were made, since this was at the root of the mass upsurge, would you now institute any kind of enquiry to establish the truth of these so that certain norms could be set for the kind of executive action that state Governments should follow?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know how that would be helpful. You mean the setting up of some kind of enquiry or certain norms to be set?

Correspondent: Both.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The two things are quite different. There are two types of facts or more than two, so far as the facts are concerned. One, which may be called admitted, documentary facts. There is no doubt about documents. There are others which are not documentary: charges may be proved or may not be proved; you may believe them or not on the evidence available. An enquiry to deal with those things under the present circumstances in Kerala – a high level enquiry – would certainly not be a measure to bring about peace there but to keep up passions. I do not want that as far as possible.

After this withdrawal, etc., for a few days some troubles continued, matters referred to in Parliament by the leaders of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, we have been receiving bundles of telegrams from both sides, complaints of violence against the other. The Communist Party sent telegrams for the first two or three days, not now, and the non-Communists sent telegrams complaining bitterly about what the Communists were doing to them. I forwarded immediately, usually by telegram – I repeated the telegram – to the Governor whatever I got. I said, "Please enquire immediately," and the Government there did so. After the first two or three or four days, this matter subsided largely and is very much under control. I cannot say of an odd instance happening here or there.

Question: After this unique experience of the Communists running a Government in a democratic set-up, can they be trusted with the running

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of a Government in a democratic set-up?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not going to answer a question whether any person can be trusted or not. So far I am concerned, if they win elections, they will have the Government at their disposal.

Question: An impression has been created after the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry that it is religious oligarchy, the planters' money and the extreme fanaticism of Mr Padmanabhan – they have gained. Do you subscribe to that impression?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not in that way. But it is true that people of various types, people of religion, whether Catholics or Hindus or, for the matter of that, Muslims, people of all shades, including what may be called politically conservative or even reactionary people as well as people who are the very reverse of it have joined, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, whatever you may call it – I do not know whether they will like it or not; they will be deeply hurt if you call them reactionaries.

Question: The religious oligarchy, planters' money and the extreme fanaticism of Mr Padmanabhan spearheaded the agitation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know there are two fanaticisms coming in the way, the Communist fanaticism and the other against.

Question: But money played a great deal ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: If you know anything about it, I hope you will let me know. I do not know.

Question: At an earlier stage of the movement, Mr P.T. Chacko,²² leader of the Opposition in the former Government, said that he had the authority from Mr Dhebar²³ that unconstitutional methods could be adopted in special circumstances. Would you commend that as a principle of political conduct on the part of any political parties hereafter?

22. Congress MLA from Vazhoor constituency and leader of the Opposition in the Kerala Legislative Assembly until its dissolution on 31 July 1959.

23. U.N. Dhebar, President of the Congress until January 1959.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I do not know if Mr Chacko said that. I think it has been said that there was some kind of misunderstanding – Mr Chacko told so afterwards. What was, I think, said – I did not know at that time – some remark about token association. The whole point all the time was this. Here was undoubtedly, I have not a shadow of a doubt, not only a mass upsurge but an amazing movement which I have seldom seen in India – and I know something about movements in India. It was astonishing, the sweep of it, how people have been carried by it, thinking, unthinking, everything, passionately carried by it. Here was this type of movement. And, I may tell you, my first idea of the movement – I knew nothing about it honestly – my first idea of the sweep of this movement was given to me by some Ministers of the Communist Government when they saw me first at Ooty.²⁴ It was their account of it – they did not like it – that suddenly made me realise that this was a very big affair, a tremendous sweep, their own account of it. Of course, other accounts came too and then I saw it myself.

The point that was put to Mr Dhebar and others was: “Here is this thing happening and this will become totally indisciplined, unrestrained; what are we to do about it?” It was in this context that he said something about this kind of token association. The only thing at that time that was talked about was picketing of schools and we ruled that out completely. No other subject was raised, no kind of direct action. It was not the theory of it which was asked. “Well, if you can help in observing peace by some kind of token direct action, you may do it”, some such thing he said. To which I think Mr Chacko said – I think they rather extended what had been said in a particular set of circumstances. I think Mr Dhebar has explained that.

Question: You have been advocating peaceful negotiations for settlement of disputes, both national and international. Here was Namboodiripad who called the Opposition parties to discuss the differences. The Opposition parties flatly turned it down, saying, “We won’t sit with you unless we see you out.” Is it fair?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The subject of discussion was chiefly the Education Bill and the Opposition parties in that matter were, Mr Padmanabhan, the Catholic Church and others. I think they should have discussed, although the Congress had nothing to do with that particular matter. They should have discussed, as they should always discuss, matters even with opponents, even with declared

24. Nehru had gone to Ooty to attend the Planning Seminar sponsored by the AICC from 30 May to 4 June 1959.

enemies. They were wrong in that.

Question: The Communists have begun labelling you as murderer of democracy? What do you say to that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope the Communists will always be upholders of democracy.

Question: Do you think the atmosphere created by Kerala will affect the future of the Communist movement in this country vis-a-vis particularly the pattern of change in the methods declared at Amritsar?²⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: All these things affect matters. There are so many things. May I say one thing? I have got to face a new terror, that is, when I speak at private Congress meetings, somebody takes out a sentence here, a sentence there, entirely out of context, with no meaning, with separate meanings attached. I do not know what to do about it.

Question: You take us inside.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, probably it would be better but then ...

Question: That is bad briefing.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nothing to do with briefing. You get it from some odd member or other. For instance, it was said, I think, that the Kerala Government was a colossal and an amazing failure. I used that phrase – I was not talking of Kerala; I was talking generally about things – I used that phrase what “an amazing failure”, how the Kerala Government became disliked by so many people in Kerala. That was what I said. They could not win over. That was the failure of the Kerala Government, to carry more people with it.

Question: In the meeting it was said that the performance of the Kerala Ministry was an astonishing failure.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what I am saying, that it was an extraordinary thing that they could not carry people – through their performance, whatever it was.

25. At its Fifth Party Congress at Amritsar in April 1958, the CPI acknowledged the possibility of constitutional transition to socialism.

Everybody there, barring the members [...] everybody went against them, even those who originally were either neutral or sympathisers.

Question: This problem of reporting has been there for the last two years. You ban us from reporting it or allow us inside.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, when there is a private meeting you should not report at all.

Question: Political parties can completely prevent the press from reporting everything from making all the party meetings private.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question so much of secrecy but one cannot carry on meetings, party meetings and others, freely if there are reporters present. You realise that. It changes the context of the meeting if they begin to speak to the press and the public rather than the meeting.

Question: This briefing is done by an official of the Congress Parliamentary Party and if he misinterprets you, it is not the fault of the press.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is perfectly true. If he does it then it is his fault, not yours. We can go to some other subject.

Question: If the Communist Party retained its position in the next election, would they be allowed to function normally?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Any party that normally wins in an election will be entitled to have the fruits of that election.

Question: The history of the present Central intervention would not repeat itself?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot help it, one likes or dislikes about [...] you talk about democracy [...].

Questions: The movement in Kerala was spearheaded by the Catholics and the intervention was a victory for the Catholic Church. Will you kindly see to it that no pastoral letters are issued during the elections?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I? I am not a dignitary of the Catholic Church.

Question: Is it fair that pastoral letters are issued and people are asked to vote for them?

[New topic] The Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting

Question: About the Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting, I realise you welcome it but do you have some apprehensions about a meeting of this nature?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why should you have misgivings? Tell me why. One might have, let us say, misgivings about a summit conference. It may not agree, but I have no misgivings about their meeting at all. Because, fortunately, it is a good way of meeting; as the President has said, they are not negotiating. It is a good thing they are just meeting and discussing, naturally discussing the problems, so that that can be done without the stress and strain of negotiations, coming to decisions; this is a much better way of dealing with the problem, indirectly sort of getting round it and understanding each other. I have absolutely no misgivings about the visits of Mr Eisenhower and Mr Khrushchev to each other's countries. I think it can only do good. I do not say it will solve problems, of course not. But it can help very much in creating an atmosphere which assists in solutions.

[Kerala]

Question: Will you permit me to ask one last question on Kerala? In the context of Kerala, it has been said by some critics of the Communist Party that in order to safeguard the future of democracy in India the Communist Party should be banned,²⁶ the argument, as you must be aware, being that they use democratic privileges and rights to subvert democracy and so the Party should be banned.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not understood the question.

Question: The suggestion is that the Communist Party should be banned.

26. According to *The Times of India* of 20 July 1959, Mannath Padmanabhan said at a public meeting in Delhi the previous day that "They (communists) had utterly lied to the people when they affirmed their faith in democracy at the time of elections. He felt that communists should not have been allowed to contest elections because they had no faith in democracy."

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have got it. We have no intention of banning the Communist Party or any other party, and I went so far as to say that if the Communist Party wins the election, they will be entitled to the fruits thereof, in the sense of forming a Government.

Question: Will it not be a censure on the Central Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How?

Question: That means they have openly erred in their judgement.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not at all. I do not understand it. A situation is created where we have to take action. We take action, democratic action, to create another democratic situation and a democratic solution, which is an election, and after that whoever wins has a fair run.

Question: There are reports that the previous Government's agrarian laws will be affected during the President's Rule in Kerala. Is it so?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They do not vanish into thin air. They are there. I cannot exactly tell you what stage those things are. The Agrarian Bill was, I think, was just passed and in the course of time it will come up here to the Central Government, to the President normally. We will have to give consideration to it and the consideration, I am sure, will be a very friendly consideration because, broadly speaking, we agree with most of the things in it [...] I have not myself examined it.

Question: Is there any truth in the reports that the Education Act might be suspended. There was a report from Trivandrum a few days ago.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. While in Kerala I had suggested then that some controversial clauses of the Education Act might be suspended – not the Act – and suspended only in the sense that they should discuss about it as to how to deal with that. Well, that was my opinion and that remains my opinion now.

Question: What are you going to do with the Congress leadership in Kerala, because even such section of the press which has welcomed the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry is of the opinion that the Congress rule there was both dishonest and incompetent?

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Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, you are using strong language.

Question: That is the editorial opinion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know. The editorial opinion is also, let us say, strongly in favour of the Swatantra Party. How any sensible person can be that, I do not understand. What am I to do with that editorial opinion except to come to the conclusion that the editorial opinion is coloured by the person's viewpoints and prejudices and, maybe, the financial backing of the paper? What am I to do about it? It is quite extraordinary. It is quite interesting and fascinating for me to follow editorial opinions which seem to me often so wide of the mark that it is difficult really to make logic or sense out of it. I must go on to some other subject.

Chinese maps

Question: Regarding Chinese maps, have you heard anything further?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not. There is a strange silence on the other side on this subject.

Question: There seems to be an impression prevalent in the East European countries that India is illegally occupying Chinese territory since the press in these countries is completely controlled by the Government. Have you taken steps to bring to the notice of friendly countries, to place our viewpoint also before the public in those countries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know about the other Governments, but certainly in the Soviet Union we have done so. We have addressed the authorities there and they said that they would have the matter looked into and examined. I do not quite know if anything has happened in the other countries.

Question: Did you receive any reply from the Soviet Union?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, we received a reply that they will go into this matter and look into it. They had obviously and, if I may use the word, rather unthinkingly, just copied the Chinese map. They had not given full thought to it. It was a copy of it.

Question: When India became a member of the United Nations, she was

recognised also as a geographical entity having geographical limits. Does it not follow that since the Soviet Union is also a member of the United Nations, she must agree to that geographical entity?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think that the United Nations has got to lay down in great detail what the boundaries of any country are. I do not think so. Suppose a dispute arises about the boundary – it may be a small dispute – the United Nations has not got the material to judge even. But, of course, these Chinese maps are not a dispute about the boundary at all, in that sense. The Chinese maps are a Chinese brush painted over a good chunk of another's territory. This has been happening from pre-Communist days there. It seems to be a habit with them.

Question: Has the Chinese Government replied to this matter? How much time will pass before we receive a further communication from them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How am I to say that?

Question: You have said that they are looking into the matter.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not say that. I said that they have said that (laughter).

Question: That is correct. How many months are already over since then?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I must say that it has taken them a long time to consider this matter.

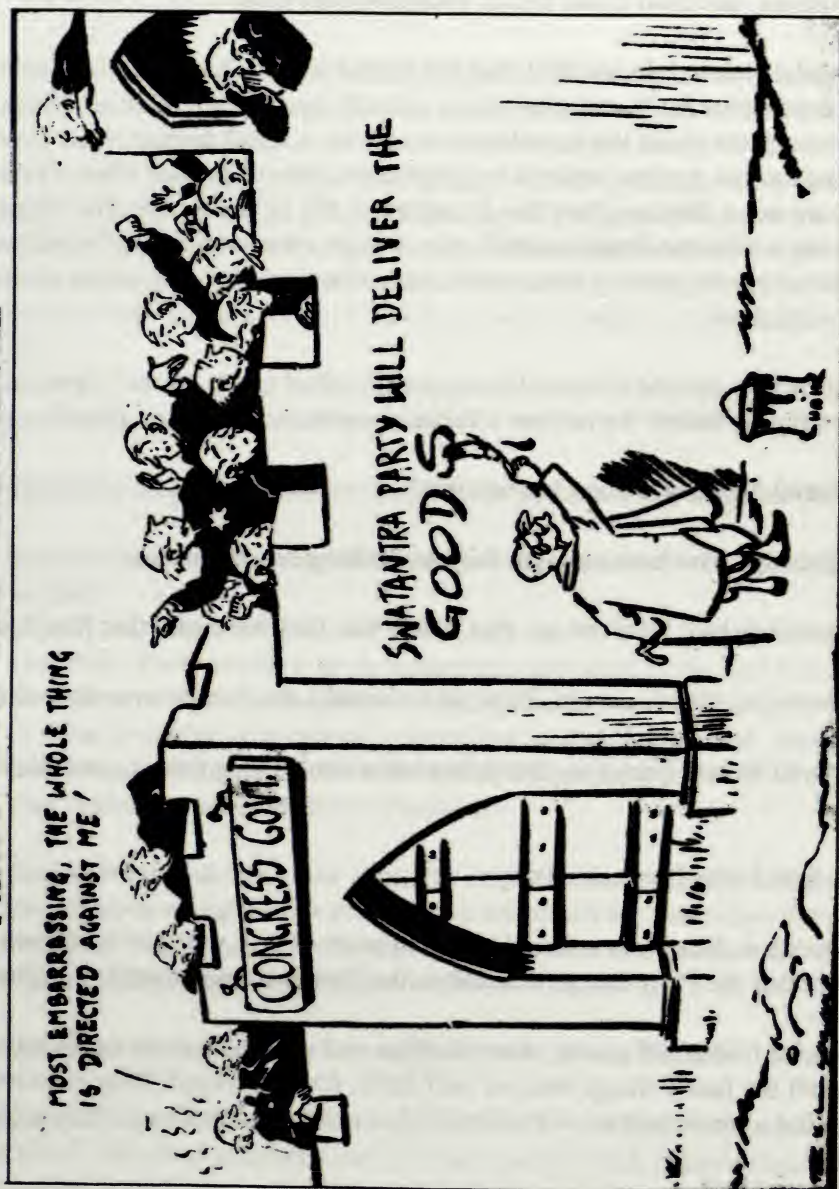
[New topic] The Swatantra Party

Question: Since you referred to the Swatantra Party, will you kindly tell us whether the Party has given a jolt to the Congress and others? (Laughter).

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course. Any sensitive and sensible person would have a jolt at all the funny things that are said there. Extraordinary! They have even made God a senior partner of the Party.²⁷ It is really extraordinary. They are not

27. According to *The Hindustan Times*, C. Rajagopalachari, who launched the Swatantra Party in Bombay on 1 August, "invoked the blessings of God for the new party" at the end of the party's plenary session on 2 August.

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(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 5 AUGUST 1959)

dealing with politics or economics. They are dealing with the stratosphere; there is the Swatantra Party, with the Almighty presiding over their destinies.

Question: You are reported to have said at the Congress Party meeting that the Swatantra Party is "directed personally against me." How do you say that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not say so. I feel embarrassed because I am so often referred to and criticised there. Only the other day Rajaji was good enough to call me a tyrant – two days ago.²⁸ I do not know why I should come into the picture, why I should be in somebody's brain like this. It becomes almost sort of [sic] for me to appear in the dock all the time in self-defence. It is embarrassing.

[New topic] Use of Indian currency in trade with Tibet

Question: You are reported to have said in Parliament that the declaration of Indian currency as illegal by the Chinese authorities is not in keeping with the Trade Agreement.²⁹ Could we know whether it was explicitly stated in the agreement that trade should be conducted between India and Tibet on the basis of this currency?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I really don't remember; I don't think that was it, but something. Obviously Indian currency has been used there for a long time past; it was the normal practice for Indian trade to be carried on in that way. But I cannot answer your question precisely; I don't remember.

28. Perhaps this refers to Rajaji's comparing Nehru to Khrushchev and Ayub Khan. According to *The Hindu* of 6 August 1959 Rajaji said at a Rotary Club meeting at Ahmedabad on 5 August: "...everyone had agreed that Congress Government was a strong government. There was very little opposition. A single person like General Ayub Khan and Khushchev should not have complete authority over the affairs of the people. They had a party in this country which had control over the affairs of the people." On 1 August, at the inauguration of the Swatantra Party, Rajaji had already warned of the "misconceived progress of the Congress towards what will end in the suppression of individual liberty and the development of the state into a true Leviathan."
29. The trade agreement with China was in 1954. For Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha on 6 August 1959, see item 174.

[The Swatantra Party]

Question: You are getting the impression that the Swatantra Party's main target of attack is yourself and inspired more or less by personal reasons. Can it be the personal reasons that a vast number who gathered in Bombay wanted jobs and you denied them? What can be the personal motive there? There should be other factors behind them.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Again you are asking me embarrassing questions. I don't mean to say that the Swatantra Party is formed for personal reasons. But I say they have unfortunately got some kind of bees in their bonnets which come out all the time, kind of King Charles's head business. It rather reduces the level of discussion. The Swatantra Party is a legitimate Party; a very wrong party, I think, but a legitimate party, legitimately reactionary, conservative, reactionary, backward – use any word you like. It simply raises the ghosts of yesterday; it has nothing to do with today, much less with tomorrow. It is a ghost-like party, and ghosts of the last century, ghosts of past ages. Ghosts may have a proper place sometimes. Most such groups are rather ghost-type. Of course, ghosts can make a nuisance of themselves – perfectly true.

Question: That such a party like that should occupy so much attention of the Congress leaders is a tribute to that party. That apart, can it not be said ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: So much attention is a tribute to our fine press which gives pages and pages to ...

Question: Will it be correct to assume that the emergence of the Swatantra Party has put some fear into the Congress because they find that hitherto the alternative before a voter in the country was between the Congress Party and the Communist Party. In between there was no other party. The Praja Socialist Party got up, but it has floundered; it is finished now. Therefore, the emergence of the Swatantra Party provides a third alternative which a vast section of the people wanted. That is why the Congress leaders are a little nervous.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe so. What can I say about it really?

Question: What are your comments on the policy of the Swatantra Party – the policy of laissez-faire?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should imagine it would do a good deal of good to the leaders of the Swatantra Party to have a world tour and come back, see how the world is getting on and where laissez-faire is.

[New topic] Agricultural cooperatives

Question: One of the main issues the Swatantra Party is taking up as a campaign is against agricultural cooperatives. You know, Sir, generally the peasant is very reluctant to join a cooperative, and suppose they are in a position to initiate, in certain regions of this country, a sweeping movement against agricultural cooperatives, what will happen to your Nagpur Resolution?³⁰

Jawaharlal Nehru: When you talk about agricultural cooperatives, are you talking about joint farming or cooperatives?

Question: Farming.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, you must remember that what the Nagpur Resolution has laid down is service co-operatives all over India. We have said that after three years, we recommend that joint farming may be tried on a voluntary basis. First of all, there is no question of compulsion. Secondly, this itself is not the immediate issue unless people want to do it. They can do so; they may have model farms, etc.

It may interest you to know that our President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, appointed a Committee when he was Congress President twelve years ago or thirteen years ago, in 1946. He appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee with Mr J.C. Kumarappa as chairman, and a number of economists and others – Congressmen, non-Congressmen – as members.³¹ They presented a factual report, a very interesting report, and Rajendra Babu himself inaugurated this meeting. In that report it dealt with cooperatives and it said that, to begin with, quoting from a report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, twenty years earlier, “that unless the Indian agriculturist adopts cooperation there is no future for Indian agriculture” – not joint farming; I mean, service cooperatives. That starts at that, as I said.

Then, it deals with two types of cooperatives – one with better farming, that is, the service cooperatives. Then it says, in regard to the really small

30. In January 1959; see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-174.

31. The AICC appointed this committee in late 1947, not 1946, and it reported in July 1949.

holdings, it is impossible for them to continue for long. As they are, they are too small, too profitless and can make no progress; they can only function under joint farming. That was their view, twelve years ago. And, in fact, they went much further than we have thought of going or consider proper to go. They said there must be compulsory joint cultivation of the small holdings so as to make them profitable. That was twelve years ago, and much has happened in these twelve years. Most of the people – some of the people – who are raising their voices against this have functioned in the Congress, then and later. We had three Congress election manifestoes. In everyone – in 1945, 1951 and 1957 – in all three it was there.³² It is surprising that sudden light had dawned on some people after the Nagpur Resolution, which is a milder one and a wise one, because it entirely lays a greater stress on voluntariness. There is no compulsion. If people do not want it, they do not want it. If they want to come in, they come in. In fact, my whole conception of cooperation of any kind is that compulsion is not cooperation, it is something else.

[New topic] Talk of nationalisation

Question: Mentioning in your speech to the Party about the Swatantra Party you said something to this effect that Congress has restarted economic thinking.³³ Does it now stop at only nationalisation of insurance and would not go beyond as, at one time, the Congress was pledged to nationalisation of banking, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What has nationalisation got necessarily to do with economic thinking? It shows a lack of economic thinking to go on thinking about one odd thing all the time, with all respect. As I said, Congress is a huge nationalist institution. The only economic thinking indulged in the old days was in regard to the agrarian problem which we had to deal with. We represented very largely the peasantry. For the rest, economic thinking began, in a sense, with the Karachi Resolution of 1931, the fundamental rights and economic programme. That laid the official basis—I do not mean individuals, of course; official organisational basis of economic thinking came with that Karachi Resolution. Every Provincial Committee produced numerous reports about agrarian conditions. But now, since Independence, and since planning has come in, we

32. On cooperative farming in Congress manifestoes of these years, see SWJN/SS/50/Appendix 1.

33. The correspondent was perhaps referring to Nehru's speech to the CPP on 2 August 1959; see item 9.

have been forced to think – because of Plans, etc., in a more organised way. This is not economic thinking – asking for nationalisation of this and that. That is only an urge. It is not a thought; it is an urge.

Question: It raises resources.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not; I beg to differ from you. It has no relation to this. It is only an urge, and a constant repetition shows a complete inability even to try to think about the problem. The idea of thinking that you seize hold of everything in the country and raise resources has no meaning. The real problem that has arisen in India is a problem to which really not much thought has been given in the past anywhere except in the last few years. That is, the problem of an underdeveloped country catching up and developing a self-generating economy fairly rapidly. You see, in the Soviet Union, tremendous progress has been made. The Soviet Union even had started far ahead of India when we started. But the Soviet Union's methods were special methods; we have got a somewhat different set-up. In this set-up, how can this be done rapidly? We go to planning, and when we go to planning there is really no parallel of this problem, how it has been dealt with. All the Western countries dealt with [it] in a different way in 150 or 200 years under different conditions. The Soviet Union has dealt with [it] after great wars in a different way. Therefore, there is no real parallel to the problem as we face it in India in our present political and like conditions. To that a good deal of thought has been given by the Planning Commission and others. The Congress has given more thought to these matters than ever before and than almost any party; individuals of parties may have given it. For the last year the Congress committees, sub-committees considered this; out of that arose the Nagpur Resolution; out of that came the Ooty Seminar; and out of that, I think, a committee is meeting tomorrow to consider what the Ooty Seminar discussed. All this is a deliberate attempt at organised thinking, not urges. Political parties have urges. Congress has an urge: let us do this, let us do that. An Opposition party usually has urges. But a party which has to think constructively has to think of all these together – the result of one thing and the other. I am quite positive that this talk of nationalisation has absolutely no meaning at all in terms of resources. I am not going to enter into an argument. I am amazed at people talking about it, really thinking just because in a particular case nationalisation may be helpful. Quite right, do it. I am not talking about particular cases, but this vague thing as if your coffers are filled with money when you pass a law.

Question: Has not life insurance brought money, or is it a failure?

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Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know how to answer these questions which have no particular meaning. I say individual cases can always be considered, have been considered, but this talk to nationalise everything and you will get money, that, I say, has no meaning. We nationalised various banks, State Banks, because we thought it right and proper. It is good we nationalised insurance, it is a good thing. Of course, it is a good thing. We may nationalise something else when time comes for it. But this vague talk of nationalisation, bringing in larger number of resources – remember, in planning you have to control a good deal; that control is there.

Laos

Question: Britain and Canada and the Laotian Government have opposed the revival of the Commission. Yesterday, the British Foreign Office threw out suggestions that UN Observers might be sent to Laos to inquire into the situation there. Could you care to comment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: India comes into this picture of Laos because India was appointed Chairman of not only of the Laotian Commission but of all the three Commissions in Indo-China. And remember that all these three Commissions grew out of the Geneva Agreements.³⁴ You have to see the whole picture of Indo-China and the three Commissions coming out of it. It was a difficult matter. We accepted the responsibility and I think that these Commissions, by and large, have done a good piece of work in helping in maintaining peaceful conditions and in helping also in the solution of problems that arose.

I think that if you sweep away the Geneva Agreements, then, in a sense, you revert to the pre-Geneva stage and that will not be a good stage. The whole purpose of the Geneva Agreements was to take out the Indo-China states out of the region of, shall I say, cold war or hot war, because they were so situated that any step by any of the great powers might react and produce a counter-

34. Separate ceasefire agreements covering Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were signed on the concluding day of an international conference in Geneva, 26 April-21 July 1954, co-chaired by the UK and the USSR, bringing to an end the war in Indo-China. The agreements also provided for general elections there. Three International Commissions for Supervision and Control, one each for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and consisting of India (the Chairman), Canada and Poland, were set up to oversee the execution of the agreements.

step by the other. Now, to avoid this, the Geneva Conference suggested that everyone else keep out of this picture; let them work out of their own destiny; and appointed these Commissions. Either you follow the Geneva Agreements method or you scrap it and follow some other method. That is a basic decision to make. The Geneva Agreements method was either through the Commissions or through the two Co-Chairmen. It is open to the two co-Chairmen to devise other methods, but after consultation with the parties concerned, naturally. If neither of these Geneva methods is adopted, then you have, no doubt, a fresh slate to write upon, with no restrictions, no holds barred, and difficulties arise.

So we have been stressing that the Geneva method should be followed by the two Co-Chairmen or by the Commission.³⁵ Now, we know that we cannot impose a commission on a Government. If the Laotian Government does not want a commission now, there won't be a commission. Nobody wants to interfere with the freedom and sovereignty of the Laotian Government, or any government. That is true. But it is also true that you have to deal with difficult situations, and rigid attitudes do not help. We have been talking about Laos for the last many months and suggesting that something should be done. Nothing done, rigid attitudes and the situation becomes worse and worse. Then people worry. Well, I do not know what is going to happen in the future. You mentioned something about UN Observers. Well, I do not know. The main thing is that do you scrap the Geneva Agreement or not? Our position is judged entirely ... Do you want to scrap? If you scrap, we pack up and come back home. Obviously, what are we to do there? And the effect of this is not only in Laos but in nearby countries of Indo-China.

I propose to depart presently unless you want ...

Food prices

Question: Food prices. They are going up. People are dissatisfied. They are asking for more dearness allowance which is not being granted. Government should do something about it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: This would require rather a factual reply. I am sorry I have not got the facts. I cannot deal with them. But no doubt this matter requires earnest consideration.

35. See items 214 to 226.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: We heard the other day that some people in Gujarat have put up a mandir and you are being worshipped as the tenth avatar.³⁶ Are you happy about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You see ... Well I won't say it (laughter). Really, why newspapers should give publicity to this kind of nonsense, I do not know. I might tell you that I wrote to the Chief Minister when I saw this and protested that this Government, which I thought was a progressive Government, should put up with this kind of things.

Question: We have been noticing in Parliament³⁷ a slightly melancholy touch in your voice. Were you unhappy about the recent developments in the country? Of course, you are in buoyant spirits today.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, there are many things which make one unhappy. Of course, one of those things is age. You talked about my voice. Well, I have been recovering gradually from a bad throat, the physical explanation, apart from others.

Question: Editorials have spoken of the ageing leadership of the present Government, you must have noticed it. There are three old men ruling this country.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Who are those three – do you mind telling me?

Correspondent: The President, yourself and Pandit Pant.³⁸

Jawaharlal Nehru: But they are a good three, anyhow.

36. According to a PTI report in *The Tribune* of 5 August 1959, Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay, told a questioner in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on 3 August that a Shri Jawahar Shakti Mandal to worship Nehru as the "tenth avatar" was functioning at Dabhoda village in Ider Taluka of Sabarkanta District. He clarified that it was unconnected with any political organization. See also item 146.

37. The Monsoon Session of the Lok Sabha commenced on 3 August.

38. Govind Ballabh Pant, the Union Home Minister.

(c) Interviews

4. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary – I³⁹

रामनारायण चौधरी: नरम दल वालों की रीति-नीति कभी आपको पसन्द आयी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मालूम नहीं। आप नरम दल किसको कहते हैं?

रामनारायण चौधरी: लिबरल्स जिनको हम कहते हैं भारत के पॉलिटिक्स में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: एक ज़माने में कोई आदमी गरम दल का होता है, वहीं दूसरे ज़माने में नरम दल का हो जाता है। देखा यह जाता है कि किस ज़माने में आदमी काम कर रहा है। कांग्रेस के जो लीडर्स शुरू में थे, वो करीब-करीब सब एक माने में नरम दल के कहलायेंगे, जब तक कि लोकमान्य तिलक नहीं आये। दादाभाई नौरोजी वगैरा आजकल के गज़ से नापने में नरम दल के थे, लेकिन उस ज़माने को देखें तो वो क्रान्तिकारी लोग थे। यह ज़माने पर मुनहसर होता है, न कि प्लान करने से। फिर उस ज़माने से मुकाबला होता है। तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह ज़माने के लिए ज़्यादा मौज़ू है। बहुत ही ज़्यादा गरम दल के लोग हों, जो एक डण्डा और तलवार ले के सड़क पर घूमें तो वो पागलखाने में बन्द करने के क़ाबिल हो जाते हैं। ख़ाली लफ़्ज़ों से तो कोई इन्सान नहीं हो जाता है कि जो गाली दे वो गरम है साहब। जो वक्ता की ज़रूरत को ज़्यादा पूरा कर सकता है। अपनी तजवीज़ से, वो आमतौर पर कामयाब होता है। जो लोकमान्य तिलक ने किया अपने ज़माने में, वो ग़ालिबन नामुमकिन था बीस बरस पहले। ज़माना नहीं था, तैयारी नहीं थी। जब वो आये तो एक नयी हवा हो गयी और उन्होंने खुद उसे बनाने में मदद की। इसलिए नरम दल के ख़ास माने नहीं होते। सिवा इसके कि एक तर्ज़ होता है सवाल देखने का और उसमें कुछ उसूल भी होते हैं।

39. 14 August 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

This and the next four items in this section are part of a series of interviews to Ramnarayan Chaudhary. These have been transcribed from the original recording. The published versions in Hindi and English differ from this text in several respects. Publication details in SWJN/SS/44/p.144. For previous interviews, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 144-165 and SWJN/SS/45/pp. 241-297. See also SWJN/SS/46/p. 655.

On 12 July 1959, Nehru had written to Ramnarayan Chaudhary in reply to his letter of 9 July: "I am just replying to you briefly to tell you that no one has been speaking to me about you or against you. Nor, indeed, have I spoken to others about you. You must know that I have been not only terribly busy but mentally pre-occupied with many problems. Hence I could not find time to continue those talks about the book you propose to issue. When I have the time, I shall certainly continue them." Nehru's previous interview to Ramnarayan Chaudhary was on 18 November 1958.

रामनारायण चौधरी: नरम दल में सबसे बड़ा आदमी आप किसे मानते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नरम दल के नेताओं में मैं समझता हूँ कि सबसे बड़े नेता तो गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मेरा मतलब यह था कि जब कांग्रेस में तिलक आ गये या बाद में गाँधीजी आ गये, उस वक़्त नरम दल की एक खास नीति और खास वो एक रहा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सन 7 [1907] में पहले कांग्रेस में लड़ाई हुई थी अन्दरूनी, लोकमान्य में और नरम दल के नेताओं में।⁴⁰ अब ज़ाहिर है कि उस लड़ाई के माने यह थे कि हिन्दुस्तान बदल रहा है और ज़्यादा तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ने की उसकी इच्छा होती जाती है। लोकमान्य उसकी नुमायन्दगी करते थे। फिर काफ़ी नहीं बढ़ा था। वो दब गया वहाँ। इसके कई वजूहात थे। चन्द बरस बाद फिर लड़ाई वगैरा हुई। फिर उठा वो और उस वक़्त ताक़त उसकी काफ़ी थी। उसमें उन्होंने कब्ज़ा किया, उस राय ने कब्ज़ा किया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि कांग्रेस से कुछ लोग निकल गये और उन्होंने लिबरल पार्टी बनायी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो कांग्रेस की बात हुई। उसको एक दूसरी तरह से देखिए कि यह नेताओं की बात नहीं, हालांकि नेता बड़े लोग होते हैं। वह यह होती है कि आम लोगों के राजनीतिक या आर्थिक विचार कैसे बदलते हैं। इसके माने थे, एक तरह से देखिए, कि कांग्रेस ज़्यादा लोगों में फैल रही है। लोकमान्य तिलक के ज़माने की कांग्रेस कहीं ज़्यादा फैली थी, बनिस्बत उसके पहले के। पहले ज़रा ऊँचे तबक़े की थी। और ज्यों-ज्यों फैलती थी, वो तो आप समझिए कि नरम दल की ताक़त बढ़ती थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनमें दूसरे दल वालों से आपको क्या खास ख़ूबी नज़र आयी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नरम दल और गरम दल में कोई ख़ूबी तो नहीं होती अलग। व्यक्तिगत रूप से ख़ूबियाँ होती हैं। एक दल जो वक़्त की नुमायन्दगी करता है मौजू है। कभी वक़्त की पुकार होती है नरमी की, कभी गरमी की। नरम दल के कुछ लोग बहुत अक्लमन्द होते, कुछ नालायक होते हैं। कुछ गरम दल के अक्लमन्द होते हैं, कुछ नालायक होते हैं। यह तो नहीं कह सकते कि नरम या गरम होने ही से कोई लायक या नालायक हो जाता है। लेकिन यह सही है कि

40. At the Surat Session of the Indian National Congress.

हमारे मुल्क में जो गरम दल के लोग थे, उनकी राजनीति ऐसी थी कि उसमें पढ़ना-लिखना ज़्यादा पड़ता था। दिमागी लोग थे, और बड़े आदमी थे। उन्हें अध्ययन करना पड़ता था। वो मेन ऑफ़ एक्शन नहीं थे कि मैदान में चले जायें। उनकी लड़ाई चूँकि दिमागी थी तो उसके लिए तैयारी ज़्यादा करनी पड़ती थी। उधर लोकमान्य तिलक भी बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के दिमागी आदमी थे। तो इसमें गरम और नरम दल से कोई दिमाग़ कम और ज़्यादा नहीं होता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या आप नहीं मानते कि नरम दल वालों में ज़्यादा विद्वान और समाज-सुधारक थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैंने आपको जवाब दिया न? समाज-सुधारक थे रानाडे⁴¹ वगैरा। बड़े-बड़े आदमी थे और उनके काम से बहुत फ़ायदा हुआ। लेकिन अब आप मुक्ताबला करें उनके समाज को सुधारने के और गाँधीजी के तरीकों का। एक माने में वो ज़्यादा सफ़ाई से बाज़ बातें समाज की तोड़ने निकले या बदलने निकले और असर हुआ कुछ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: गाँधीजी का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: नहीं, नहीं, उनका कह रहा हूँ जो सोशल रिफ़ॉर्मर्स हुए। ज़ब्बा था। उसका कुछ असर हुआ, लेकिन समाज कुछ हिला नहीं। गाँधीजी उसका चर्चा बहुत कम करते थे, लेकिन उन्होंने जड़ से समाज को हिला दिया। गाँधीजी ने इस बात का भी बहुत नहीं कहा कि हिन्दुओं में वर्णाश्रम-धर्म है, बल्कि कभी-कभी उसके हक़ में कहा। लेकिन एक ऐसी बात को, जिससे वो सारा टूट जाय, यानी उन्होंने जो हरिजनों को उठाने की कोशिश की, एक ऐसी बात उठायी और उसको बड़े ज़ोरों से उठाया कि उसका नतीजा ज़रूरी था कि सारा वो चटक जाये, सारा वर्णाश्रम-धर्म। तो मैं कहूँगा कि सवाल इसमें गरम और नरम का नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि आप आम जनता की ताक़त से कोई बात कर रहे हैं या अपने दफ़्तर में बैठकर, स्टडी में कर रहे हैं, कुछ पढ़े-लिखे आदमियों के गिरोह के लिए। ताक़त आती है जब मास ओपिनियन आता है आम जनता का। और तब वह शक्ति आती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनमें समाज-सुधारक का जो रवैया था उसकी वजह यह भी हो सकती है कि पॉलिटिक्स में वो ज़्यादा मुक्ताबला गवर्नमेण्ट का नहीं कर सकते थे, तो समाज का तो कर ही सकते थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कुछ-कुछ यह भी हो सकती है वजह। वो एक रास्ता था कुछ करने का। हो

सकता है और असल में वो भी यह बात महसूस करते थे कि समाज को सुधारना है और उसी से आगे बढ़ेंगे। यह भी था। लेकिन इसे निश्चित बात यही है कि गरम-नरम आप जो कहें, वे आम जनता की - मासेज़ की ताकत पर कहाँ तक भरोसा करते हैं और उससे अपील है। इसके करने में हमेशा खतरे हैं, क्योंकि मास माइण्ड एक चीज़ है जो सही हो, ग़लत हो, गुस्से हो, क्रान्तिकारी हो, झगड़ालू हो। उसमें खतरे हैं और आमतौर से लिबरल माइण्ड इस खतरे का नहीं सामना करना चाहता कि जाने क्या नतीजा हो। मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि वे ज़ाती तौर पर डरते हैं, लेकिन मुल्क के लिहाज़ से, समाज के लिहाज़ से ये सब उठायेंगे तो क्या नतीजा होगा।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नरम दल वालों का आप स्वतन्त्रता की प्राप्ति में क्या कण्ट्रीब्यूशन मानते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कोई नाप-तौल नहीं होती है। लेकिन कण्ट्रीब्यूशन उनके आप समझिए कि दो तरह के हैं। एक तो शुरू में कांग्रेस को हल्के-हल्के बनाना, उसकी जड़ मज़बूत करना। अब हम उनके उस ज़माने को देखते हैं, तो हमें उनके प्रस्ताव बहुत ढीले मालूम होते हैं। लेकिन उस ज़माने के लिहाज़ से वो किसी क़दर क्रान्तिकारी विचार थे, क्योंकि वो जड़ डालना था शुरू-शुरू में ज़ाहिर है, यहाँ के कुछ पढ़े-लिखे आदमियों में। दूसरे, बाद में भी, चाहे लोकमान्य आये, चाहे गाँधीजी आये, आखिर नरम दल वालों का एक हिस्सा था। उसमें एक बात यह होती थी कि अगर किसी बात को नरम दल वाले स्वीकार करें या ग़लत समझें, तो उसके माने यह हो जाते थे कि चूँकि वे नीचे पाये के कहे जाते थे, इसलिए जब वो भी एक बात कहें कि ग़लत बात है, तो फिर उसमें बहस की गुंजाइश नहीं होती थी अंग्रेज़ों की निगाहों में कि ओह, उन्होंने भी यह कहा। वो एक अन्दाज़ा हो जाता था। अब हल्के-हल्के नरम दल वाले भी इस ज़माने में बढ़ते गये अपने ख़यालों में, विचारों में, अपने कहने में वाक़यात के दबाव से। यह तो ऐसी बात है जैसे एक फ़ौज होती है, उसके तरह-तरह के अंग होते हैं। वो भी थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनका एक ख़ास कण्ट्रीब्यूशन आप सर्वेन्ट्स ऑफ़ इण्डिया सोसाइटी⁴² को नहीं मानते हैं क्यों? कई लोग बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के . . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो है। वो व्यक्तिगत कण्ट्रीब्यूशन हुआ अच्छे आदमियों का। उसका कोई मास कण्ट्रीब्यूशन नहीं है। बहुत बड़े आदमी उसमें हुए। ज़ाहिर है उन्होंने, बाज़ बड़े आदमियों ने, मास वर्क भी किया, जैसे ठक्कर बापा⁴³ ने। अपने ढंग के वे यूनीक थे, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। नरम दल वालों ने सर्वेन्ट्स ऑफ़ इण्डिया सोसाइटी अच्छी संस्था बनायी, जिसने अच्छे आदमियों

42. Founded in 1905 by Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

43. Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar, popularly known as Thakkar Bapa; worked for Harijan and Adivasi welfare.

को अपनी तरफ खेंचा, और उन अच्छे आदमियों ने अच्छा काम किया। लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि जहाँ गाँधीजी मैदान में आये कि दूसरी तरफ खिंचने लगे लोग।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नरम नेताओं में आपको कौन सबसे ज्यादा पसन्द आया और क्यों आया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: पसन्द आने के क्या माने हैं?

रामनारायण चौधरी: राष्ट्र की दृष्टि से।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: राष्ट्र की दृष्टि से मैंने अभी आपसे कहा था कि मेरी राय में गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले थे। उनका असर बहुत उस ज़माने पर हुआ और हम सभी पर हुआ। हम उस ज़माने में कम उम्र के थे और हमारा सारा झुकाव लोकमान्य की तरफ था। लेकिन गोखलेजी का बड़ा आदर था हमें। उसके बाद श्री तेजबहादुर सप्रू हुए। खैर, उनको तो मैं बचपन से जानता था। साथ था उनका, उनसे प्रेम था, मुहब्बत थी। और मालवीयजी⁴⁴ तो नरम दल के थे नहीं। लेकिन नरम दल में एक क़दम उनका रहता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: दोनों तरफ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: दोनों तरफ रहते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ठक्कर बापा के बारे में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: ठक्कर बापा के बारे में तो मैं कम-से-कम कभी उनको एक राजनीतिक मैदान का नहीं सोचता था। वो थे एक बड़े व्यक्ति, जिन्होंने हरिजनों में, ट्राइबल लोगों में, कहाँ-कहाँ, बहुत ज़बरदस्त काम किया। मैं समझता हूँ, उस मैदान में शायद ही किसी ने उतना काम किया हो। लेकिन उन्हें नरम दल वगैरा के सिलसिले में कहना बिलकुल फ़िज़ूल है। नरम-गरम नहीं, वो तो काम करने वाले थे। वो बैठकर दफ़्तर में काम नहीं करते थे। नरम दल के जो मामूली चिह्न होते हैं, उनमें बिलकुल नहीं थे। (हँसी)

रामनारायण चौधरी: आर्य समाज, ब्रह्म समाज और दूसरे समाज-सुधारक व्यक्तियों और संस्थाओं का हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की में आप क्या हिस्सा समझते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: अपने-अपने ज़माने में सभी ने एक हिस्सा लिया समाज का हलके-हल्के दिमाग बदलने में। आर्य समाज का तो एक बड़ा हिस्सा पढ़ाई में था, और है स्कूल-कॉलेज वगैरा बनाने में, कुछ आम लोगों को सिखाना, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना, अपनी संस्कृति में कुछ गुरुर होना, क्योंकि हमारी मुश्किल यह हो गयी थी कि हम अपनी चीज़ों को कुछ बुरा समझने लगे थे। और वो बुरा होता है किसी भी जाति के लिए कि अपने से घृणा करे, अपनी चीज़ों से। अपनी चीज़ें बुरी भी होती हैं, उनको छोड़ें, लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से बुरा होता है उन्हें बुरा समझना। तो एक तो उनका यह असर हुआ कि खेंचा उन्होंने और इस तरह से उनमें आत्म-विश्वास बढ़ाया। आर्य समाज ने बहुत-कुछ हमारे जो, और ब्रह्म समाज ने भी हमारे पुराने रिवाज जो ग़लत थे, उनके खिलाफ़ बहुत कुछ किया। आर्य समाज ज़्यादा फैला। कुछ उसमें लड़ने का ढंग ज़रा ज़्यादा आया। जिसमें कुछ खूबियाँ भी होती हैं, दम होता है आगे बढ़ने को। ज़ाहिर है कि खराबियाँ भी इस ढंग में होती हैं, क्योंकि वह आदमी का ज़रा, ज़रा दिमाग़ तंग कर देता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में इनका जो हिस्सा रहा, उसको तो आपने देखा होगा, जब यह सत्याग्रह की लड़ाई वगैरा हो रही थी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, उनका हिस्सा रहा। यों आप कहिए बहुत सारे आर्य समाजियों का हिस्सा रहा। वो ठीक है। आर्य समाज का तो नहीं, हाँ बहुत सारे आर्य समाजियों का ज़रूर रहा। इसमें कोई शक नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: स्वामी दयानन्द⁴⁵ के बारे में आपका क्या खयाल है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: बड़े आदमी थे, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। मैं कोई खास सीधे उनके असर में नहीं आया, यानी मेरा मतलब नहीं कि उनसे मिला। वो तो नहीं मिला, ज़ाहिर है। लेकिन उनको मैंने आर्य समाज के ज़रिये से जाना। ज़ाहिर है कि ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी थे, बहुत वाइटैलिटी के, ज्ञान के। लेकिन सिर्फ़ एक बात, मैं क्या कहूँ, मुझे बहुत अच्छी नहीं लगी, उनके हमले और मज़हबों पर, क्योंकि इस तरह से और मज़हबों को कहने से लोगों पर असर उल्टा होता है आमतौर पर।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे अपने मज़हब पर जितना उन्होंने हमला किया उतना शायद दूसरों पर नहीं किया।

45. Dayanand Saraswati.

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, वह भी आप ठीक कहते हैं। मज़हबों की खराबियों पर किया काफ़ी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उन्होंने अपने मारने वाले को बचाने के लिए रुपया दिया और उपाय बताया कि ऐसे बच सकते हो। और किसी महापुरुष की ऐसी मिसाल आपको इतिहास में मालूम है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: इतिहास तो लम्बी-चौड़ी चीज़ है। बहुत सारी तरह-तरह की मिसालें हैं। मैं मुक़ाबला कैसे करूँ?

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह घटना तो आपको मालूम है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कुछ दूर, बहुत दूर से मालूम है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मैंने अजमेर का स्वातन्त्र्य इतिहास लिखा था। उसमें मैंने उनका अध्ययन किया था, क्योंकि स्वामीजी ने बहुत काम किया था राजस्थान में। तो हुआ यह था कि जिसने उनको मारा था, जिस रसोइये जगन्नाथ ने काँच पिलाया था, जब उनको मालूम हो गया कि इसने पिलाया है तो मरने से आधे घण्टे, घण्टे भर पहले उसको बुलाया। बोले, भई देखो, काम तो तुमने बुरा किया। लेकिन मैं लोगों को जेलखाने भेजने के लिए नहीं आया हूँ, मैं तो छुड़ाने आया हूँ। तुमको अंग्रेज़ फ़ाँसी देंगे। तो सौ रुपया उन्होंने अपनी जेब से निकाला और उसको दिया और बोले और भाग जाओ। वह बोला, कहाँ जाऊँ? ये बोले, नेपाल चले जाओ। यहाँ तो अंग्रेज़ पकड़ लेंगे। वहाँ कुछ नहीं होगा। जगन्नाथ बोला, मैं रास्ता नहीं जानता। तो स्वामीजी ने रास्ता बताया कि इस तरह से पटना जाना, फिर बीरगंज जाना। यह गोया इतिहास की बात है। हमको ईसा का भी मालूम है, गाँधीजी का भी मालूम है, सबका मालूम है। लेकिन ऐसी बात मेरे देखने में नहीं आयी। इसलिए मैंने पूछा कि आपका अध्ययन तो बहुत . . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: यह तो बहुत बड़ी बात है। यह तो बड़े आदमी की निशानी है। लेकिन मैं मुक़ाबला क्या करूँ? इतिहास में अजीब-अजीब मिसालें हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या आपको मालूम है कि स्वामी दयानन्द शूद्र के दिनों में ग़ायब थे? आपके नोटिस में भी यह बात आयी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: नहीं, मुझे मालूम नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह भी उसी इतिहास की बात है जहाँ मैंने खोज की। कुछ आर्य समाजी लोगों का खयाल है कि ग़दर का वो पर्दे के पीछे से संचालन करते थे। आप तो इतिहास के बड़े विद्यार्थी हैं, लिखा भी है, शायद मैं कहीं आपको . . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मुझे बिल्कुल इसका इल्म नहीं। सुना भी नहीं था। और हिस्ट्री का मैं कोई बड़ा स्टूडेंट नहीं हूँ। और हिस्ट्री को कुछ समझने की कोशिश की, वो ट्रेड्स हिस्ट्री के, फ़ोर्सेज हिस्ट्री के, उसकी तफ़सील नहीं - डिटेल्स नहीं कि कहाँ इसने यह किया। न व्यक्ति की बात है। व्यक्ति तो उठते ही हैं बड़े, लेकिन व्यक्तियों की तलाश नहीं। ट्रेड्स और फ़ोर्सेज और सिविलाइजेशन का उठना-गिरना, इसको मैं ज़्यादा आवश्यक समझता हूँ हिस्ट्री के समझने में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह आपका एक अलग दृष्टिकोण तो है हिस्ट्री के बारे में। लोगों ने आपकी किताबें पढ़ी हैं कि आप इन फ़ोर्सेज की, सोशल फ़ोर्सेज की तरफ ज़्यादा खयाल करते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you at any time like the policy of the Moderates?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know whom you call the Moderates.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Those who are known as liberals in Indian politics.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sometimes an individual who belongs to an extremist wing may be dubbed a moderate in another age. What is to be seen is the times in which he works. Practically, all the Congress leaders in the initial stages will be called Moderates until Lokmanya Tilak appeared on the scene. As a matter of fact, Dadabhai Naoroji and others would be labelled as Moderates measured in accordance with the present age, though judged by their times, they were revolutionaries. So it depends on the times and not on some plan. Moreover, when compared to that time, it may be said that what they did was appropriate for those times. Zealots, armed with sticks and swords, may very well make themselves fit only for the lunatic asylum. Therefore, mere words do not make a man an extremist. Those who can fulfil the exigencies of the times are usually successful. What Lokmanya Tilak did in his time was just not possible twenty years earlier; the time was not right. When he came, there was a new atmosphere which he himself had helped to create. So, there is no special meaning in labels

except as a way of looking at problems and principles also matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Whom do you consider to be the greatest of the Moderates?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the greatest among the Moderate leaders.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What I meant was that until Lokmanya Tilak and later Gandhiji appeared on the scene, was there not a special Moderate policy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The first internal tussle in the Congress took place between Lokmanya Tilak and the Moderate leaders in 1907.⁴⁶ Now, it is obvious that that was a sure sign that the country was changing and was becoming increasingly impatient to move faster. Lokmanya embodied in himself this spirit of change. Then it petered out. There were several reasons for that. There was yet another tussle a few years later, more strongly this time, which captured the Congress thinking. The result was that a few people left the Congress and formed the Liberal Party.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: That was within the Congress. If you look at it from another point of view, it was not as much a question of the leaders, though leaders are important persons, as of the changes that were taking place in the political and economic ideas of the people. If you look at it in one way, it meant that the Congress was spreading out among the people. The Congress membership in Lokmanya Tilak's time had become much wider than it was earlier, when it was restricted to the elite. You can take it that as the movement became more widespread, the strength of the Extremist wing gained ground.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was the special quality that you may have noticed about it as against the others?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, there was no special quality which distinguished the Moderate and Extremist wings except on an individual level. The Party which

46. See fn 40 in this section.

represents a particular time is the right one. Sometimes the demand of the times is for moderation, and at others of an extremist approach. Among the Moderates, there were both intelligent as well as stupid people. It was the same with the Extremists. Belonging to one group or the other does not necessarily make anyone capable or useless. But it is true that in those days the Moderates in our country had to study and read a lot because of the kind of politics they pursued. They were men of intellect; great people they were. It required them to study a lot. They were not men of action in the sense of going out into the streets. Since their battle was on the intellectual level, it required more preparation. Lokmanya Tilak was also a man of great intellect. So, one's intellectual calibre has no relation to their belonging to either the Moderate or the Extremist wing.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you not believe that there was a greater number of learned people and social reformers among the Moderates?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already answered you. There were reformers like Ranade⁴⁷ and others and their work had a great impact. But if you compare their method of reform with Gandhiji's method, in a sense, they set out to eradicate certain social and that produced some results.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Gandhiji's?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, I am referring to the social reformers. There was an impact, but the society did not change much. Gandhiji, without much ado, shook up the society to its roots. Gandhiji did not say very much against the varnashram system of the Hindus; on the contrary, he even spoke in favour of it. But by one stroke, he did something by which the whole thing would break up. His effort to uplift the Harijans had the immediate effect of breaking up the varnashram system. So, I would say that the question is not of moderates or extremists. The question is whether a movement has the backing of the masses or is it merely the product of a handful of intellectuals sitting in their study and intended for a section of some educated people. The real strength of a movement lies in having the mass opinion in favour of it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It is possible that the social reformers followed that particular course of action because they felt that since they could not

47. See fn 41 in this section.

effectively tackle the government at the political level, they could however do something constructive for the society.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That could be one of the reasons. It was a way of achieving something. It's possible. In fact, they realised that it was necessary to reform the society and that was the way to do it. But whether it is the extremists or moderates, the essential thing is how much of a mass base they have and what its appeal is. There is always a risk in this because the mass mind could be unpredictable. It could be proved wrong or right or they could be led to do something violent. Generally speaking, the liberal mind does not wish to take on a risk because of unpredictable consequences. I do not mean they are timid, but they have to take into consideration the consequences of their action on the society.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was the contribution of the moderates in the attainment of freedom?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There can be no hard and fast way of judging that. But you may say that their contribution was of two kinds. One was to nurture the Congress and strengthen its roots. When we read their resolutions now, they seem very mildly drafted. But they were revolutionary ideas in those days because the idea had to be accepted by the educated people of the time. Secondly, even when Lokmanya Tilak and later Gandhiji appeared on the scene, the moderates continued to play a role. Since they were considered to be moderate in their opinion, anything approved of or frowned upon by them usually left no room for debate in the eyes of the British. It was a good way of judging an issue. But gradually, even the moderates became more outspoken and radical in their views owing to the force of circumstances. They were like one of the several wings of an army.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Don't you consider the Servants of India Society⁴⁸ to be their special contribution? Many individuals of a very high caliber ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: That was there. It was the personal contribution of high class individuals. There was no mass contribution in it. There were some great individuals among them. It is obvious that some of them like Thakkar Bapa⁴⁹ did great work among the masses. There is no doubt that in his own way he

48. See fn 42 in this section.

49. See fn 43 in this section.

was unique. The Servants of India Society was a very good organization, founded by the moderates and it drew some very able people who did good work. But you will find that the moment Gandhiji came on the scene, people began to be attracted in another direction.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Who did you like most among the moderate leaders?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What does "like" mean?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: From the national viewpoint.

Jawaharlal Nehru: From the national viewpoint, as I said just now, in my opinion, Gopal Krishna Gokhale was the best. All of us felt the influence of his personality. We were younger then and our entire leaning was towards Lokmanya Tilak. But there was great respect for Gokhaleji among them. The other was Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru. I had known him since my childhood and there was a bond of affection between us. Malaviyaji⁵⁰ of course did not really belong to the Liberal Party. But he used to have one foot in it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: [Was he] on both sides?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He used to be on both sides.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about Thakkar Bapa?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have never thought of Thakkar Bapa as a political figure. He was a very great individual who had worked among the Harijans and tribals and did very constructive work. I think there is hardly anybody else who can be compared to him. But it is absurd to put a label of liberal or moderate on him. He was not an intellectual of the armchair variety and certainly did not have any of the other qualities which are the hallmark of a liberal.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was the role of the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and other social reformers and institutions in India's progress?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In their own time, all of them participated in the task of gradually changing the thinking of society. The Arya Samaj played a big role in the spread of education, in building schools and colleges; in educating the masses and teaching people to have self-confidence and take pride in our culture,

50. See fn 44 in this section.

etc., because we had begun to hate our own culture and traditions. It is bad for any race or people to hate its own culture. There are bound to be bad points in every culture but to hate everything about it and regard it as fundamentally bad is wrong. So the Arya Samaj inculcated a pride in our culture and generated self-confidence. The Brahmo Samaj also worked to eradicate some of our old traditions and customs which were bad. The Arya Samaj became popular because it was more militant. Militancy has some good qualities: it has the power to take a movement forward; it has some bad qualities as well: it constricts the mind of the individual.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You must have observed the role that they played during the freedom struggle and the Satyagraha movement?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, they took part in it or rather, many individuals belonging to the Arya Samaj did. That is the correct way of putting it. There is no doubt that many of the Arya Samajists took part in it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What are your views on Swami Dayanand?⁵¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no doubt that he was a great man. I did not come under his influence directly. It is obvious that I did not even meet him. But I came to know of him through the Arya Samaj. He was obviously a man of great quality and vitality. The only thing which I did not like was his attack on other religions, because such things often have the opposite effect on the people.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But I think he was far more vitriolic about his own religion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, you are right. He did attack the evils in religious customs.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: He gave money to his own assailant to defend himself and showed him the way to do so. Can you think of another example of such greatness in history?

Jawaharlal Nehru: History is a long affair with numerous examples of all kinds. How can I compare?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you know of this incident?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I knew of it vaguely.

51. See fn 45 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I have written a history of the freedom movement in Ajmer. In that connection, I made a study of Swamiji's life because he had done a lot of work in Rajasthan. So, what happened was this. The cook, Jagannath, had poisoned him; and half an hour before he died, he realized it and called the cook. He told him that what he had done was wrong. But he was not here to send people to jail but to release them. The British would have hanged him [Jagannath]. So, he gave him a hundred rupees and told him to run away. When he asked him [Swamiji] where he should go, he told him to go to Nepal where he would be safe. Jagannath said he did not know the way. So Swamiji told him to go to Patna and then to Birganj. This is a matter of history now. All of us know about the quality of mercy in Christ and Gandhiji. But I have never heard of another such event. That is why I asked if in your vast readings...

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is a great thing and shows the greatness of the man. But how can I make comparisons? There are all kinds of strange examples in history.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you know that Swami Dayanand was missing in the days of the Mutiny? Has it ever come to your notice?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I didn't know.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: This is also something that I found out in the course of my research. Some Arya Samajis feel that he was directing operations from behind the scenes. You are a great student of history and have written books about it. I thought, you might ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no knowledge of this. I have never heard of it. Moreover, I am not a great student of history. I have tried to understand the trends and forces of history, but I am not aware of all the details of who did what. It is not a question of individuals. There have always been great individuals. But I think it is far more important to know about the trends and forces and the rise and fall of civilizations in understanding history.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: This is your own personal, distinct view of history. People who have read your books do feel that you pay more attention to the social forces in history.

Translation ends]

5. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary – II⁵²

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका सार्वजनिक जीवन कब से और किस काम के साथ शुरू हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सार्वजनिक जीवन के क्या माने हैं, मैं समझा नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: पब्लिक लाइफ़।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, वो तो समझा पब्लिक लाइफ़, लेकिन क्या माने हैं। क्या कोई एक दीवार होती है कि उसके बाद जो कहा जाय, लेकिन शायद जिस माने में आप कहते हैं मैं सन'12 के अगस्त में इंग्लैण्ड से वापस आया था और उसी साल के दिसम्बर में मैं कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन⁵³ में गया था, डेलीगेट की हैसियत से। तो आप चाहें उसको कह दें, शुरू हुआ। यानी सन 1912 से मैं कांग्रेस का मेम्बर हूँ। और सिवा दो-तीन कांग्रेसों के, मैं सभी में गया हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: तो मतलब कांग्रेस के साथ ही आपकी पब्लिक लाइफ़ शुरू हुई।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी हाँ, मेरी पब्लिक लाइफ़ कांग्रेस से इतनी बँधी हुई रही, इधर-उधर बहुत फुटकर काम मैंने किये हैं कुछ, लेकिन असल में वो कांग्रेस की ही शाखें थीं या जो कुछ था, कुछ-न-कुछ उसका हिस्सा था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: होमरूल लीग से पहले आपका किसी संस्था से क्या सम्बन्ध रहा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कांग्रेस से ही रहा। पहले भी, बाद में भी और उस ज़माने में भी। वो कोई अलग थोड़े ही थी। होमरूल लीग तो एक नया ज़रिया काम का हो गया था और उस ज़माने में दो-तीन बातों में खास दिलचस्पी हम लोगों ने ली थी। एक तो दक्षिण अफ्रीका में जब गाँधीजी जो आन्दोलन कर रहे थे, और मुझे याद है गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले ने अपील किया था उनको मदद करने की। तो उसका असर हम लोगों पर हुआ था। और हम यहाँ क्या कर सकते थे, पैसा जमा कर सकते थे। तो पैसा हमने काफ़ी जमा किया था उस ज़माने में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मीटिंग्स वगैरा?

52. 20 August 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

53. The 27th session of the Indian National Congress held at Bankipur, Patna.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मीटिंग्स वगैरा? हाँ, वो पैसे के मामले में कुछ किया था। दूसरे, एक आन्दोलन हुआ था; वो फ़िजी में जो कुली थे, इण्डेंचर्ड लेबर, वो सी. एफ़. एण्ड्रूज ने, उसमें भी मैंने काफ़ी दिलचस्पी ली थी। ऐसे कुछ इधर-उधर की बातें होती थीं, कुछ कांग्रेस से मिली हुई, कुछ थोड़ा-सा अलग।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन उनका होमरूल लीग से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं था? इन ऐक्टिविटीज़ का। यह तो बात पहले की है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उसी ज़माने की, आगे-पीछे। होमरूल लीग तो ख़ास तौर से स्वराज के सिलसिले में बनी। मिसेज़ बेसेन्ट की होमरूल लीग का मैं सदस्य हुआ। और सदस्य नहीं, बल्कि इलाहाबाद में उसका सेक्रेटरी था, मन्त्री था।⁵⁴ लोकमान्य तिलक की लीग का भी मैं सदस्य था, लेकिन असल में काम मेरा दूसरे में था। इन दोनों में था, लेकिन काम मिसेज़ बेसेन्ट की लीग के ज़रिये हुआ। मेरा ख़याल है कि आमतौर से उनकी लीग ने ज़्यादा काम किया, कम-से-कम उत्तर भारत में। लेकिन हम सब लोग क़रीब-क़रीब लोकमान्य तिलक की लीग के भी मेम्बर थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: होमरूल लीग में आपका क्या हिस्सा रहा? कौन-सी लीग में आप थे लोकमान्य वाली में या ऐनी बेसेन्ट वाली में? इन दोनों के व्यक्तित्व में आपने क्या विशेषता पायी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: दो बिल्कुल मुख़लिफ़ किस्म के लोग थे। बहुत फ़र्क़ था उनमें। उनका मुकाबला क्या करना? कैसे मुकाबला करें? दोनों अपने-अपने ढंग के थे। मिसेज़ बेसेन्ट यहाँ बस जाने के पहले भी हिन्दुस्तान में आयी थीं, ज़माना हुआ, लेकिन उनकी ज़िन्दगी बहुत ज़ोरों की रही। और एक क्रान्तिकारी ज़िन्दगी रही अपने देश में थियोसॉफ़ी के पहले। फिर थियोसॉफ़िस्ट हो गयीं। फिर हल्के-हल्के कुछ पॉलिटिक्स की तरफ़ बढ़ीं। और उस ज़माने में जब होमरूल लीग शुरू हुई, बहुत तेज़ी से उधर गयीं। और उनके दो-एक साथी थे, वे गिरफ़्तार हुए। वाडिया⁵⁵ और एरडेल⁵⁶ शायद। उसमें बड़ी धूम मची। एक नयी बात थी शायद, पहले वर्ल्ड

54. Nehru was appointed Secretary of the Home Rule League, Allahabad, in 1919.

55. Bahman Pestonji Wadia, also known as Bomanji Pestonji Wadia (1881-1958).

56. G.S. Arundale (1878-1945); taught at Central Hindu College, Banaras, for ten years; joined Annie Besant's Home Rule movement and was arrested in June 1917; edited a weekly, *Conscience*, for six years; organized a Society for the Promotion of National Education; President of the Theosophical Society, 1934-45. S.P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1972), pp. 71-72.

वॉर के ज़माने में। उससे उनकी होमरूल लीग बहुत सामने आ गयी और उन्होंने अखबार निकाला।

रामनारायण चौधरी: 'न्यू इण्डिया?'

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: 'न्यू इण्डिया,' मद्रास से।⁵⁷ रोज़ उसके मज़मून ज़ोरों से लिखने वालीं। तो ये सब बातें लोकमान्य में नहीं थीं। शख्सी तौर से मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ। बहुत बड़े आदमी थे। लेकिन वो जो लोग चला रहे थे, वो संगठित रूप से कभी नहीं चली। कभी जलसा कर दें। कुछ कर दें। मिसेज़ बेसेन्ट आग का एक शोला थीं, जो उस ज़माने में बहुत बुढ़िया हो गयी थीं। (हँसी) लेकिन बहुत ज़ोरों से

रामनारायण चौधरी: विचारक, लेखक, प्रचारक, वक्ता, संगठनकर्ता या प्रबन्धक, कौन गुण आप अपने में विशेष समझते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं अपने गुण या ऐब की एक फ़ेहरिस्त तो नहीं बना सकता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: गुण से मेरा मतलब कोई ऐसा नहीं है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं किस-किस का जवाब दूँ? नामुमकिन है मेरा जवाब देना अपनी निस्वत। जो कुछ अपनी निस्वत लिखा है, किताब लिखी है, पुस्तक लिखी, ऑटोबायोग्राफ़ी और किताबें लिखी हैं। उससे आदमी जज करे। कोई आप अपने निस्वत ऐसे जवाब नहीं दे सकता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: सबसे ज़्यादा इसमें प्रॉमिनेण्ट कौन-सी चीज़ है, यह एक सवाल है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं नहीं कह सकता। वक्त्र से होता है। किसी वक्त्र एक चीज़ होती है, किसी वक्त्र दूसरी होती है। यह हो सकता है, किसी शख्स में एक ही हो इतनी ज़्यादा कि हर वक्त्र रहती है। लेकिन आमतौर से वक्त्र पर मुनहसर होता है। एक ज़माना था जब एक एक्शन की ज़रूरत थी, काम की, कार्य की। तब वही है। दूसरा ज़माना हो गया, जहाँ सोचने की ज़रूरत हो गयी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ठीक है। लिखने का काम तो आपने ज़्यादातर जेल में किया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैंने ख़ाली जेल में किया है, प्रैक्टिकली, क़रीब, क़रीब।

57. Annie Besant purchased the *Madras Standard* in June 1914 and renamed it *New India*.

रामनारायण चौधरी: सार्वजनिक जीवन में आपको अपनी सफलता का रहस्य क्या मालूम होता है? यह गाइडेंस की बात है, लोगों के काम करने वालों के लिए।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुश्किल है जवाब देना इसका। एक मैं समझता हूँ बात यह थी, क्योंकि बुनियाद शुरू ज़माने में पड़ी। शुरू ज़माने से मेरा मतलब सन 1919, 1920, '21, '22 से है। पंजाब का मार्शल लॉ हुआ। सबमें एक बड़ी बात उस ज़माने में वो हुई। बड़ी बात कई मानों में। एक तो उसका असर होता है। दूसरे, उसी ज़माने में या उसके ज़रा पहले से कहिए, सम्बन्ध गाँधीजी से शुरू हुआ। उसके चन्द महीने पहले रौलट बिल आया। किस्सा ज़रा लम्बा है। लेकिन जहाँ तक मैं याद कर सकता हूँ, मुझमें एक ताक़त थी एक बात करने के बग़ैर उसके नतीजे को देखने की, बग़ैर सोचने के कि क्या होगा। एक जैसे कमान से तीर निकलता है। और उस वक़्त तो ख़ैर किसी शख्स को भी खयाल नहीं हो सकता था, क्या ओहदा मिले, क्या न मिले। तो उसको आप कुछ भी कहिए, एक एनर्जी, ताक़त। दिल में बहुत बहस भी नहीं कि यह करना कि वो करना। जो करना है, करें। जो कुछ हो, देखा जाय। तो जब भी इस तरह की किसी आदमी में ताक़त होती है दिमागी, तो वो दूर ले जाती है उसे, या ख़तम कर देती है उसे। और यह चीज़ भी उस पाये पर बहुत दिन तक चलती नहीं, ऊँच-नीच होती है। वो दो-तीन बरस शुरू में तो एक जुनून-सा हो जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ उसी ज़माने से मेरा सम्बन्ध लोगों से हुआ और मैंने उन्हें पहचाना। और कुछ प्रेम उनका हुआ, जो कुछ कहिए। और फिर हल्के-हल्के एक-दूसरे की पहचान बढ़ती गयी। आखिर उसको भी ज़माना हो गया, 40-50 बरस हो गये।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कांग्रेस में काम करने के अलावा आपने कौन-कौन-सी संस्थाएँ बनायीं और उनसे देश को क्या लाभ हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने तो कोई खास संस्थाएँ नहीं बनायीं। बल्कि मैं कुछ इस बात को मानता नहीं था कि मैं अपनी शक्ति के टुकड़े करूँ। ज़माना था यह सब ज़माना था गाँधीजी की लड़ाई का, हुकूमत से लड़ाई का। तो संस्थाएँ अलग-अलग बनाने का सवाल नहीं था। कांग्रेस के अन्दर जो मिली हुई संस्थाओं में दिलचस्पी ली, कुछ दिन के लिए इण्डिपेन्डेंस फ़ॉर इण्डिया,⁵⁸ रिपब्लिकन लीग⁵⁹ में।

58. The Independence for India League, started at Lucknow at the time the All Parties Conference met there in August 1928, demanded full independence for India. S. Srinivasa Iyengar was the President of the League and Jawaharlal Nehru one of its two Secretaries.
59. Swadhin Bharat Sangh or the Republican League, organized during the Madras session of the Congress in December 1927; its objective was an independent republic; Nehru presided at its first session.

रामनारायण चौधरी: एक ऐण्टी-इम्पीरियलिस्ट लीग⁶⁰ भी तो थी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: वो यहाँ नहीं बनी थी। वो तो मैं यूरोप गया तब तक सम्मेलन उसका हुआ था। मैं वहाँ चला गया था। हाँ, एक संस्था मैंने बनायी थी ज़रूर सिविल लिबर्टीज़ यूनियन।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: याद नहीं कब बनायी थी, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि सन '31, '32 या '33, उसी ज़माने में बनायी होगी।⁶¹ याद है मैंने उसको बनाया था और सरोजिनी नायडू को

रामनारायण चौधरी: सरोजिनी नायडू को प्रेसिडेंट बनाया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: प्रेसिडेंट बनाया था शुरू में।⁶² फिर बाद में तो मालूम नहीं क्या हुआ। वह अब भी चलती है कि नहीं, लेकिन वो एक कांग्रेस का विरोधी दल हो गया। (हँसी)

रामनारायण चौधरी: तो इनसे कोई खास फ़ायदा वक्ती या स्थायी हुआ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: वो जो इण्डिपेन्डेंस ऑफ़ इण्डिया लीग वगैरा थी, उसका तो मतलब एक ही था कि कांग्रेस को उधर ले जाय और जब कांग्रेस वहाँ पहुँची तो वह अपने आप ख़तम हो गयी। सिविल लिबर्टीज़ यूनियन से कुछ-न-कुछ फ़ायदा हुआ था उस वक़्त ध्यान दिलाने को। और जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, फिर कुछ जो कांग्रेस के विरोधी लोग हैं, उनके हाथ में आयी तो वो कांग्रेस की शिकायत करते थे उसके ज़रिये से।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके साथ सरकार और संगठन में तरह-तरह के स्वभाव, विचार और रुचि के लोग काम करते हैं। उन सबका आप आपस में मेल रख सकते हैं और सबको अपने से सन्तुष्ट रख सकते हैं? अगर हाँ, तो कैसे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: इन बातों का मैं कैसे जवाब दूँ? कितनों को रखता हूँ, कितनों को नहीं। यह कुछ, बहुत कुछ मेरी खुशनसीबी है कि जैसा ज़माना गुज़रा, बदलता हुआ ज़माना, मुझे भी तज़ुर्बा

60. The League against Imperialism.

61. In 1936.

62. Others who looked after the work of the Civil Liberties Union included Rammanohar Lohia and K.M. Ashraf; K.B. Menon was the Secretary. See A.P. Saxena, *Jawaharlal Nehru: The Quest for Civil Liberties* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 2005), pp. 20-21.

हुआ इन सब बातों से जो हुई मेरे साथ इस ज़माने में—कोई तीस बरस स्वराज आने के पहले और बारह बरस उसके बाद। अब ये बातें दुहरायी नहीं जा सकतीं। स्वराज फिर से नहीं आता। स्वराज के पहले लड़ाई हुई। तो अब एक दूसरी हवा हो गयी, दूसरा ढंग हो गया। कुछ ऐसे ज़माने में मैं पड़ा और उस ज़माने से मैं मिल-जुल गया। बहुत बड़ी बात होती है एक ज़माने से मिल जाना। ज़माने से लड़ने में आदमी परेशान होता है। हमेशा नहीं मिला, लेकिन उस वक़्त मिल गया और उस मिलने से मेरी ताक़त बढ़ी और मैं कुछ ख़िदमत कर सका। और मिल जाने से जो बातें आती हैं, फ़्रस्ट्रेशन वगैरा की वो नहीं आतीं। न फ़िक्र होती है कि क्या होने वाला है, क्या नहीं होने वाला है। और न कुछ ख़ास ख़्वाहिश कोई ओहदे वगैरा की रही, क्योंकि शुरू से ही ओहदे मुझे मिले। यानी ओहदे से मतलब कांग्रेस में। शुरू से ही अपने ज़िले में, शहर में, प्रदेश में, चाहे जहाँ कहीं मुझे काम मिला, ओहदे मिले। बल्कि मैं तो शुरू में इनकार करता था ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के जलसे तक में जाने से, अगर दूर हो, हालाँकि मेम्बर था उसका — इसलिए कि मैं अपने आप जो काम कर रहा हूँ तो क्यों अपने को खींच के ले जाऊँ वहाँ, यानी एक कंसन्ट्रेशन हो काम में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: तो यह कंसन्ट्रेशन भी तो आपकी सफलता का कारण बताया जा सकता है न?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: ज़ाहिर है, है कंसन्ट्रेशन।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन मेरा सवाल यह था कि वो लोग जो आपके साथी हैं, उनमें...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: इसका मैं कैसे जवाब दूँ, साथियों पर क्या असर पड़ता है, क्या नहीं पड़ता है?

रामनारायण चौधरी: काफ़ी मेल रख सकते हैं आप?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: शिकायत आमतौर से होती है मेरी निस्वत कि मेरा कोई करीब का दोस्त दुनिया में नहीं है। यह शिकायत होती है और बहुत कुछ सही है। दोस्त बहुत हैं, जान-पहचान के बहुत हैं, लेकिन जिनसे मैं दिल खोल के बातें करूँ, सचमुच में कम हैं, क्योंकि मेरी दोस्ती के हल्के अलग हैं। उन हल्कों में करीब-से-करीब के हैं, लेकिन हर हल्के में कोई नहीं इस माने में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके ख़याल से सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता का कौन-सा दोष सबसे ज़्यादा हानिकारक होता है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: सबसे बड़ा दोष है उसमें सच्चाई न होना, इण्टेग्रिटी न होना — लैक ऑफ़ इण्टेग्रिटी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी ईमानदारी न होना?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, ईमानदारी न होना, असली ईमानदारी, यानी मैं महज़ पैसे की नहीं कह रहा हूँ। पैसे की तो है ही। उसमें बेईमानी न हो, वह तो मोटी बात है, लेकिन असली ईमानदारी जो अपने आपको भी धोखा न दे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बनावट न हो?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ। और यह दुनिया भर की बात है। लेकिन और दुनिया के मुक़ाबले में हिन्दुस्तान में और भी ज़्यादा ज़रूरी है। यहाँ आदमी की ईमानदारी की ज़्यादा क़दर है, अक़ल की कम। अक़ल की भी है, लेकिन ईमानदारी असल चीज़ है। तो वह उसके लिए बहुत ज़रूरी है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आप कांग्रेस में कब और कैसे शरीक हुए, उसका जवाब तो आपने दिया, शायद 1912 में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: 1912 से मैं डेलीगेट की हैसियत से, लेकिन 1904 में मैं लड़का था तो बम्बई कांग्रेस में मेरे पिताजी ले गये थे मुझे एक विज़िटर की हैसियत से।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अच्छा, तभी से गोया।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी हाँ, तभी से, 1903 में कि 1904 में।⁶³

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे यानी विद्यार्थी की हैसियत से आप गये थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, वैसे मैं विद्यार्थी था, एक 13-14 वर्ष का लड़का था। हम बम्बई में थे और मैं पिताजी के साथ था, वो मुझे ले गये। मैं बैठा देखता रहा वहाँ कुछ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: गाँधीजी से पहला परिचय आपका कब, कैसे और कहाँ हुआ?

63. The Congress session was held in Bombay in 1904.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जहाँ तक मुझे याद है, गाँधीजी से पहला परिचय मैं ठीक कह नहीं सकता। मेरी किताब में शायद लिखा है। किसी ज़माने में उनसे मिला था। इलाहाबाद आये थे वो, लखनऊ कांग्रेस से पहले। लखनऊ कांग्रेस में मुलाकात हुई। लेकिन शायद इलाहाबाद में जब आये थे, उसके पहले वो मालवीयजी के यहाँ ठहरे थे तब पहले मिला था। हो सकता है कि मैं बम्बई में पहले मिला होऊँ, उसी ज़माने की बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आप पर पहली छाप उनकी क्या पड़ी—पहला इम्प्रेशन, पहली मुलाकात का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मैंने अपनी किताबों में कुछ लिखा है। उसको आप देख लें। छाप पड़ी बड़े आदमी की, लेकिन कोई एकदम से उन्होंने मुझे कोई चित नहीं कर दिया। हल्के-हल्के असर बढ़ा, खासकर पंजाब के मार्शल लॉ के ज़माने में। उनके साथ महीनों रहना पड़ा, मिलना रोज़। किसी तरह से उनको तजवीज़ें पहले ग़लत मालूम हों फिर हल्के-हल्के वो सही मालूम होने लगीं। सही थी जो उन्होंने राय दी थी। उससे असर होता मुझ पर, औरों पर भी हुआ।

[Translation begins:

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: When and how did you begin your public life?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't understand what you mean by "public life."

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Public life.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I understood that, but what does it mean? Is there some dividing line? But, perhaps in the sense that you mean, it began in August 1912 when I came back from England. I attended the session of the Congress in December that year as a delegate.⁶⁴ So, if you like, you can say it started then. I have been a member of the Congress since 1912 and except for two or three, I have attended all the sessions.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So you mean your public life began with the Congress?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, my public life has been inextricably tied to the Congress. I have done other things in a small way, here and there, but in fact even they were part of the Congress work in some way or the other.

64. See fn 53 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Were you ever connected with any other organization before the Home Rule League?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Only with the Congress. Before, after and at that time. It was not a separate thing. The Home Rule League was only a new agency of work, and in those days we used to take a special interest in two or three things. One was Gandhiji's movement in South Africa, and I remember Gopal Krishna Gokhale had issued an appeal for its support and help. It made an impression on all of us. And, what else could we do here, except collect funds. We collected a great deal of money in those days.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Meetings, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, meetings were held in connection with fund raising. The other thing was the movement about the coolies in Fiji, the indentured labourers. C.F. Andrews was involved in it and I had also taken great interest in it. In this way I was involved in several things; some within the Congress, some outside.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But those activities had nothing to do with the Home Rule League? These happened before, did they not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They were all taking place around the same time. The Home Rule League was established specially in connection with winning freedom. I became a member of the Home Rule League. In fact, I was not only a member but became the secretary of its branch in Allahabad.⁶⁵ I was a member of Lokmanya Tilak's League too. But my real work lay elsewhere. I was a member of both, but the work was done through Mrs. Besant's League. I think, in general, her League did the most work, at least in North India. But nearly all of us were members of Lokmanya Tilak's League too.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was your role in the Home Rule League? Did you work through Lokmanya's League or Annie Besant's? What are the special qualities that you found in their personalities?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They were two completely different individuals. So, there can be no comparison at all. How can you compare two such individuals? They were both different types of people. Mrs. Besant had visited India even

65. See fn 54 in this section.

before she finally came and settled down here. Her life was a very adventurous and a revolutionary one in her country before she became interested in theosophy. She became a theosophist and then gradually drifted towards politics. In the days when the Home Rule League had just begun, she joined it with great fervour. Two of her colleagues; I think Wadia⁶⁶ and Arundale⁶⁷ were arrested—which created a great furore. It was a new thing in those days—the days of the First World War. This brought the Home Rule League into the forefront, and she published a newspaper.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: *New India*.

Jawaharlal Nehru: *New India*, from Madras.⁶⁸ She used to publish articles about it every day. These things were not to be found in Lokmanya. I am not talking about their personalities. He was a great man. But the League that he was running never worked in an organized way. Sometimes there used to be meetings and sometimes some other things. Mrs. Besant was a ball of fire, who had already become very old then. But she was still very active.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Thinker, writer, speaker, organizer or administrator—which of these qualities do you think you possess?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot make a list of my qualities or weaknesses.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: By qualities I do not mean ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: What am I to say? I cannot possibly give an answer to this. Whatever I have written about myself has been published in my autobiography. Anyone can judge from that. I cannot say anything about myself.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Which of these traits is prominent in you? That is the question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say. It depends on the occasion. Sometimes it is one and sometimes the other. It is possible that an individual may possess one of them to such a degree which may be the predominant one. But generally it depends on the occasion. There is a time when there is need for action. At others, it becomes necessary to think.

66. See fn 55 in this section.

67. See fn 56 in this section.

68. See fn 57 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: All right. But you did most of your writing work in jail, did you not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did it all, practically, only in jail.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What do you think is the secret of your success in public life? This is for guidance for others.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to say. For one thing the foundations of my public life were laid in the earlier days; that is, between 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922. That was the time when Martial Law had been imposed on the Punjab. It was a very big thing in those days, in more senses than one. That had an impact. Secondly, in those days, or just a little earlier, I came into contact with Gandhiji. A few months before that, the Rowlatt Bill had been passed. It is rather a long story. But as far as I can remember, I had the knack of embarking on a course of action and visualizing its result, without caring about the consequences. It was like an arrow shot out of a bow. In those days, in any case, no one ever thought of positions and offices. So, whatever you may call it, there was energy to do something; and there was not much debate in the mind as to what course of action to adopt or its consequences. Whenever a human being is possessed of such irrepressible energy, it either takes him far or finishes him up. It does not continue at that peak for long. There are ups and downs. In the first two, three years, it was a kind of obsession. I believe it is in those days that I came into contact with the people and understood them, and they came to know and love me. After that, gradually, the relationship grew. After all, it has been more than forty to fifty years ago.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes. What were the other organizations, apart from the Congress, that you founded, and how did they benefit the nation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I never founded any special organizations. On the contrary, I did not believe in compartmentalizing my energies in this manner. It was a time of the freedom struggle under Gandhiji, a battle with the Government. So, there was no question of founding separate organizations. I took an interest in the activities of all the allied organizations of the Congress; like the Independence for India,⁶⁹ Republican League,⁷⁰ etc ...

69. See fn 58 in this section.

70. See fn 59 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Wasn't there an anti-imperialist League⁷¹ also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That was not formed here. A conference was held under that banner in Europe, when I was there and I attended it. Yes, I did form one organization called the Civil Liberties Union.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see!

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember exactly when, but I think it must have been in 1931, '32 or '33 or somewhere around then.⁷² I remember I had formed the association and Sarojini Naidu was ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Sarojini Naidu was made the President?

Jawaharlal Nehru: She was made the President in the beginning.⁷³ But I do not know what happened after that. I do not know if it is still there. But I think it is in opposition to the Congress now.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So, were these organizations of any use temporarily or permanently?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The only role of such organizations as the Independence of India League was to attract the attention of the Congress towards a goal, and once that was achieved, they died a natural death. The Civil Liberties Union served to draw people's attention to them. Then, as I said, it fell into the hands of people who were opposed to the Congress and it began to be used against the Congress.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: People of different temperaments, tastes and ideas work with you in the Government and the Party. Are you able to keep them all together and satisfied with you? If so, how?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I answer such questions? How can I say how many are satisfied with me or not? It has been my good fortune that with time, I have been gaining experience, especially from the events of the thirty years before the coming of freedom and twelve years since then. Now these things

71. See fn 60 in this section.

72. See fn 61 in this section.

73. See fn 62 in this section.

cannot be repeated. The struggle for freedom is now over and the atmosphere has changed. I threw myself heart and soul into those times and identified myself with them; which is quite a big thing to have done. It is only when a man is in conflict with his times that there are problems. I was not always in tune with the times; but later I was and that gave me strength and I could be of some service. Being in tune with the times meant that there was no frustration or anxiety about the consequences and what not. I never had any particular desire for position and office, and so on. By position I mean in the Congress. Right from the beginning, wherever I worked, whether in my city, district or province, position came to me. In fact, in the beginning, I used to refuse to attend the AICC sessions if they were being held far away, although I was a member, because I felt that it would disturb my concentration in the tasks that I had on my hands then.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So this concentration can also be cited as one of the reasons for your success, isn't it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, there is concentration.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But my question was about your colleagues...

Jawaharlal Nehru: What can I say about how it affects my colleagues?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Are you able to keep them together?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The general complaint about me is that I have no close friend in the world. To a large extent this is true. I have many friends and acquaintances but very few in whom I can confide fully because the circles of my friendship are different. In one sense, within those circles everyone is close and in another sense, no one is close enough.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In your opinion, what is the defect which is most harmful in a public servant?

Jawaharlal Nehru. The worst possible defect is a lack of integrity.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is, lack of honesty?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, honesty in the true sense. I am not referring merely to money, though that is also there. One should not be dishonest in money matters.

But real integrity means not deceiving oneself either.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No artificiality?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, this applies to the whole world. But in comparison to the world, it is even more essential in India. Here a man's honesty is respected more than his intellect. Intellect is important but integrity is the real thing and it is very essential in a public servant.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I think you said that you joined the Congress in 1912?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a delegate since 1912. However, in 1904, when I was a boy, my father had taken me to the Bombay Congress as a visitor.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh, so since then ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, since 1903 or 1904.⁷⁴

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You went as a student?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I was about 13 or 14. We were in Bombay then with my father and he took me. I sat there and looked on.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: When did you first meet Gandhiji? Where and how?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as I remember, I cannot say definitely when. I think I have written about it in my book. I met him sometime when he came to Allahabad before the Lucknow Congress. I met him at the Lucknow Congress. But I think I met him for the first time when he came to Allahabad; when he stayed with Malaviyaji. It is possible that I may have met him earlier in Bombay. It was at about that time.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was your first impression of him?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have written about this in my books. You can see it. I was impressed by the great man but I was by no means bowled over by him.

74. See fn 63 in this section.

Gradually, his influence grew, particularly at the time of the Martial Law in the Punjab. Somehow, his ideas which had initially seemed wrong gradually began to make sense. The advice he gave proved right. This made an impression on me as well as others.

Translation ends]

6. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary – III⁷⁵

रामनारायण चौधरी: गाँधीजी के आने से पहले कांग्रेस में आपका क्या हिस्सा रहा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जो मामूली कांग्रेस वालों का होता है। उत्तर प्रदेश कांग्रेस में काफी बड़ा हिस्सा था। उसकी कार्यकारिणी में था। अन्दर बहसों में शरीक होता था। मुझे इस वक्त ठीक याद नहीं, उस समय मैं उसका कोई ओहदेदार था कि नहीं, मन्त्री हुआ था कि नहीं, या बाद में हुआ, याद नहीं। गरज कि काफी जैसे एक प्रान्तीय कार्यकर्ताओं का हिस्सा होता है, वो था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ऑल इण्डिया की दृष्टि से।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ऑल इण्डिया की दृष्टि से कभी-कभी ऑल इण्डिया के जलसे होते थे। उसमें शरीक होता था। और हमारा झुकाव ज़रा उस दल की तरफ या विचार की तरफ था, जो कि ज्यादा तेज गिना जाय। जैसे गाँधीजी के आने से पहले ही उत्तर प्रदेश में आपस में एक बड़ी बहस शुरू हुई थी कांग्रेस के अन्दर, जिसका नतीजा हुआ कि कुछ लिबरल दल के नेता अलग हो गये थे। उनके आने से पहले की बात है। डॉ. तेजबहादुर सप्रू वगैरा कांग्रेस में उनके आने से पहले अलग हो गये थे। उस समय मेरा काफी दखल था कांग्रेस के काम में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अंग्रेज़ी राज से भारत को कोई लाभ हुआ? हुआ तो क्या? राज यानी उनके आने से यूँ समझ लीजिए।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, इस बारे में तो मैंने कुछ लिखा भी है अपनी किताबों में। मेरी राय में जो बड़ा लाभ हुआ, वो भारत को एक धक्का लगा, विचारों का धक्का। हम अपने विचारों के एक गढ़ में पड़ गये थे, उससे निकलते नहीं थे। दुनिया बदलती जाती थी, बदल गयी थी। अंग्रेज़ी राज आने के पहले ही पड़े थे हम। इसलिए अंग्रेज़ी राज आया कि पिछड़ गये थे हम। उनके आने से हमें आर्थिक और बहुत बातों की हानि हुई, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। लेकिन एक तो कुछ

नयी दुनिया की खबर आयी। नयी दुनिया से मतलब यह जो इण्डस्ट्रियल सिविलाइज़ेशन थी उसकी कुछ खबर आयी। दूसरे, अंग्रेज़ी भाषा के ज़रिये से जो अंग्रेज़ी लिबरल थॉट है, उसकी पुस्तकें यहाँ काफ़ी चलीं। उनका असर हुआ। तीसरे, अंग्रेज़ी राज सारे हिन्दुस्तान में फैल गया और एक क्रिस्म की एकता हिन्दुस्तान की उसने पैदा की, हालांकि वह अंग्रेज़ों के नीचे एकता थी। लेकिन पैदा की और उसका दूसरा नतीजा यह हुआ कि उनके विरोध में एकता हुई। और सब संस्थाएँ कांग्रेस वगैरा विरोध की थीं। लेकिन एक तरह से अंग्रेज़ी राज के आने से एक नये ढंग की एकता निकली थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन कल्चरल यूनिटी तो हमारी पहले भी थी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कल्चरल यूनिटी थी और वो किसी क़दर रही। और उसको कुछ धक्का भी लगा, अंग्रेज़ी राज के आने से हानि भी हुई। लेकिन 'कल्चर' शब्द के माने क्या हैं? एक कल्चर जो आजकल की दुनिया को न समझे, वह अधूरा कल्चर है। अपने ढंग का अच्छा है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह बात ठीक है। देश बन्धु दास,⁷⁶ लाला लाजपत राय, मौलाना आज़ाद, डॉक्टर अंसारी,⁷⁷ सुभाष बाबू,⁷⁸ सरदार पटेल, राजाजी,⁷⁹ राजेन्द्र बाबू⁸⁰ और मालवीयजी के व्यक्तित्व में आपको क्या खास खूबियाँ दिखायी दीं? यानी जो स्पेशल कैरेक्टरिस्टिक हों एक-एक में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मुश्किल सवाल है। व्यक्तियों का इस तरह से तराजू पर रखना और उनको तौलना। कुछ-न-कुछ उनका चर्चा मेरी किताबों में आया है काम के ज़रिये से। देश बन्धु दास का मेरा करीब का साथ हुआ था मार्शल लॉ के ज़माने में। उसके बाद हम वहाँ गये थे और वो खासतौर से अमृतसर में और जलियाँवाला बाग़ वगैरा की जाँच के लिए भेजे गये। मैं उनके एक जो कुछ समझिए, सैक्रेटरी की हैसियत से उनके साथ था। लोगों पर बहुत असर उनका हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: किस चीज़ का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: किस चीज़ का? मुश्किल है। एक तो वो क़ाबिल आदमी थे ही। एक ऊँचे दर्जे के कानूनदाँ। और दिमाग़ तेज़ था। लेकिन इन बातों का असर उतना नहीं होता है। उनकी

76. Chitta Ranjan Das.

77. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari.

78. Subhas Chandra Bose.

79. C. Rajagopalachari.

80. Rajendra Prasad.

भावनाओं का। वो एक इमोशनल आदमी थे। आमतौर पर जो एक पॉलिटिशियन में, राजनीतिज्ञ में जो कुछ बातें होती हैं वो तो थीं ही उनमें। लेकिन किसी क्रूर कवि भी थे वो। इसलिए उनका एक दूसरा ढंग, तर्ज हो गया था चीज़ों को देखने का। इन बातों का असर हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: और लाला लाजपत रायजी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: लाला लाजपत राय से मेरा कभी बहुत करीब का सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा। यानी जलसों में मिलने का रहा। जलसों से रहा। लेकिन फिर भी उनके साथ करीब का काम करने का मौका नहीं मिला मुझे। लालाजी हमारे लीडर्स में, पुराने लीडर्स में शायद पहले थे, जिन्होंने दो बातों में जोर दिया था। एक तो कुछ मज़दूर दल की तरफ झुकाव था यानी आर्थिक बातों की तरफ, जिन पर कि आमतौर से राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में कम खयाल होता है। दूसरे, स्त्रियों के कुछ उठाने का। दो बातें थीं। बाद में तो बहुतों में हो गयीं। लेकिन वो पहले गिरोह में नहीं थीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मौलाना आज़ाद?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मौलाना से तो बहुत करीब का मेरा सम्बन्ध रहा, हालांकि ज़रा आखिरी दिनों में ज़्यादा था। जब वो शुरू में आये कांग्रेस में मेरे इल्म में यानी सन' 20 के हेर-फेर में, वो नज़रबन्दी से छूट कर आये, पहली दफ़े उनसे मिले। हालांकि उनकी उमर ज़्यादा नहीं थी, मुझसे साल भर ही ज़्यादा थी, लेकिन उनकी शोहरत इस क्रूर बचपन से थी उनके इल्म की कि बुजुर्गों में गिने जाते थे शुरू से ही।

रामनारायण चौधरी: (हँसी)।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: और उनका दिमाग तो इन्तिहा दर्जे तेज़ था, बिल्कुल एक तलवार की धार थी। उनकी सारी हमदर्दी बचपन से आज़ादी की तरफ थी। लेकिन कुछ आसानी से भीड़ों में मिलने वाले आदमी नहीं थे। वो घबराते थे एक भीड़ से और हुजूम से और बड़ी मुश्किल से खींचे जाते थे। आखिर दम तक पढ़ने-लिखने में उनकी दिलचस्पी थी। और चूँकि वो खिंचते थे सियासी बातों में, तो उसमें भी थी। लेकिन एक मुश्किल थी उनकी। यही कि वे इतने अपनी खुद की बातों में धिरे रहते थे कि दूसरे को दरवाज़ा पाना आसान नहीं था। हाँ, मिलते थे तपाक से, लेकिन यह कि दूसरे से बहुत खुल के दोस्ती हो जाय करीब की, यह आसान था नहीं उनके लिए।

रामनारायण चौधरी: एक बात मैंने देखी कि दिमाग उनका, विचार उनके, बड़े साफ़ थे। जब कभी बात करते थे किसी मामले में, तो बहुत साफ़ राय देते थे। उनका यह असर पड़ता था। यह बात सही है या ग़लत?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: बिल्कुल ठीक है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: डॉक्टर अंसारी के बारे में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: डॉक्टर अंसारी को मैं बहुत ज़माने से जानता था, बल्कि मैं यूरोप में लंदन में पड़ता था तबसे। हालांकि मुझसे उम्र में ज़्यादा थे काफ़ी, लेकिन वो उनके आखिरी दिन थे वहाँ लंदन के अस्पताल में। वहाँ उस वक़्त मुलाक़ात हुई और रही जब तक कि वे ज़िन्दा रहे। और मुझे उनसे तो मुहब्बत थी, और पुराने साथी थे, और . . .

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनमें ख़ास चीज़ जो और लोगों में न हो, उस तरह की कोई? ख़ास गुण ऐसा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मुश्किल होता है। वह बहुत ही अब्बल दर्जे के डॉक्टर थे। चुनांचे इसके माने ये हैं कि उनका दख़ल आजकल की साइंस और दुनिया में था। कोई बड़ा डॉक्टर हो नहीं सकता है, अगर न हो तो ज़रा ख़याल वसी हो जाता है। तो पुरानी दुनिया से निकल आता है। वो उनमें था और उसी के साथ उनके ताल्लुक़ात पुरानी दुनिया से बहुत थे, पुरानी दिल्ली से और पुरानी दिल्ली के ख़ानदानों से। उनके बड़े भाई मशहूर हकीम थे नाबीना।⁸¹ वो पुराने ज़माने के थे। मेरे लिए हमेशा ज़रा ज़्यादा आसान होता था ऐसे शख्स से मिल-जुल कर काम करना। काम तो हरेक के साथ होता है। लेकिन जिसका दिमागी रिश्ता, दरवाज़ा कुछ मॉडर्न दुनिया में खुला हो तो फ़र्क़ हो जाता है। तो डॉक्टर अंसारी कुछ वैसे ही थे। और मेरे पुराने साथी थे या कहिए मिलने वाले थे, तो वह रिश्ता फ़ौरन ही क़ायम हो गया यानी आते ही।

रामनारायण चौधरी: सुभाष बाबू के बारे में?

81. Abdul Wahhab (d. 1946); a reputed hakim, also known as Hakim Nabina for he was blind; educated at Dar ul-ulum at Deoband; specialized in the Unani system of medicine at Tibbia school in Delhi; practiced in Hyderabad, Poona, Bombay and Delhi. See Mushirul Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience: M.A. Ansari, The Congress and the Raj* (Delhi: Manohar, 1987), pp. 10-11.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सुभाष बाबू, ज़ाहिर है एक बहादुर आदमी थे और हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी बहुत उनके दिमाग में भरी हुई थी। कभी-कभी उनके-मेरे विचार मिलते नहीं थे। उससे तो ख़ास उस ज़माने में फ़र्क़ नहीं होता था। मैं नहीं जानता बाद में ज़माने में क्या होता जब वो सवाल आते। फिर वो लड़ाई का ज़माना था। और एक बात जिसमें बाद में दिक्कतें पेश आयीं जब वो कांग्रेस प्रेसीडेंट हुए और अलग हो गये। उसमें उन्होंने जो मुक़ाबला किया वो गाँधीजी की मर्ज़ी के खिलाफ़ किया। इसमें कोई ऐब नहीं था। लेकिन जैसे मैंने उस वक़्त भी कहा था कि मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा था कि गाँधीजी से फूट होना, यानी सियासी फूट होना हिन्दुस्तान के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। चाहे उनसे किसी बात में हमारी राय इधर हो, उधर हो, उनको समझायें, जो कुछ करें। लेकिन गाँधीजी की इतनी ज़रूरत थी हिन्दुस्तान को कि कोई आस-पास भी नहीं आता था उनकी जगह लेने को। चुनांचे आखिर में समझा-बुझा कर उन्हीं के साथ रहना था। अब इतना फ़र्क़ था कि सुभाष बाबू नहीं उसको समझते थे इतना ज़रूरी कि उनकी राय पर अमल करना चाहिए। और भी जो उनका कुछ झुकाव उस ज़माने में जर्मनी वगैरा की, यानी हिटलर की जर्मनी की तरफ़ थोड़ा-बहुत था, मैं सख़्त खिलाफ़ था उसके। उसका कोई सीधा असर तो हिन्दुस्तान पर नहीं पड़ता था, लेकिन कुछ झलक पड़ती थी इधर-उधर की।

रामनारायण चौधरी: सरदार पटेल?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सरदार पटेल। सारी उनकी ज़िन्दगी एक निशानी है उनके विचारों की, शक्ति की, काम करने की ताक़त की। यह तो बहुत ज़बरदस्त थी। सख़्त आदमी थे और एक बहुत सख़्त डिसिप्लिनेरियन थे। अब आप मिलायें, गुजरात में कैसे कांग्रेस चली और उत्तर प्रदेश में? गुजरात में एक बहुत ज़बरदस्त कांग्रेस का संगठन बना उनके नीचे। उसमें बहुत गुंजायश किसी की नहीं थी ज़रा भी राय इधर-उधर झुक कर दें। उसकी ताक़त भी थी और एक कमज़ोरी भी, जो बाद में निकलती है। उत्तर प्रदेश में कोई मेरा ख़ास हाथ नहीं, सभी का हाथ था। लेकिन कोई एक शख्स हावी नहीं था उत्तर प्रदेश पर। कई थे। कम-से-कम दस-बारह थे। कमोबेश बराबर की हैसियत के थे। और जो हमारी कांग्रेस के वहाँ सभापति हों, उनको ख़ास जगह देते भी नहीं थे। वो दस-बारह में एक होता था। वो होता था, जाता या बदलते रहते थे। यह नहीं कि एक ही रहे, जैसे रहे गुजरात में, जैसे रहे और जगह, बंगाल में, बिहार में। एक ही दस-दस बरस रहे। वहाँ हर साल बदलने का फ़ायदा हमारा था, इसलिए कि कोई एक आदमी बिलकुल हावी न हो जाये। इसी तरह से हमारा डिसिप्लिन भी उत्तर प्रदेश में था ज़ाहिर है, लेकिन काम था और बहुत ज़्यादा आज़ादी थी बहस करने की, एक-दूसरे की मुख़ालिफ़त करने की। लेकिन हाँ, अमल में एक। अब उस ज़माने में अमल में एक तो हो ही जाता था। थोड़े-थोड़े दिन बाद जेल जाना होता था। मालूम नहीं क्या हो। तो उसमें उत्तर प्रदेश में कमज़ोरियाँ भी आयीं और कुछ फ़ायदे भी हुए उससे, दोनों।

रामनारायण चौधरी: राजाजी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कांग्रेस के सारे इतिहास में राजाजी की क़दर हुई, लेकिन कभी सोलह आने कांग्रेस में हुए नहीं वो। यानी कांग्रेस में तो थे ही। मेरा मतलब है कि कांग्रेस में जो हवाएँ चलती थीं, उनसे वो अलग रहे। जो भी कुछ उसकी वजह हो। सन '22-23 में यह बात हुई। उस वक़्त तो ख़ैर यह बहस हुई थी नो चेंजर्स प्रो चेंजर्स की। वो तो एक माने में थे कांग्रेस में। लेकिन उसके थोड़े ही बाद फिर कांग्रेस में कुछ अजीब दलबन्दी-सी हुई कि क्या हुआ। एक में वो थे, एक में वो थे। डॉक्टर अंसारी और मैं वग़ैरा कुछ बीच में थे। फिर सन '30 वग़ैरा में भी हमारी जो पॉलिसी वग़ैरा थी, उससे वो कुछ अलग-से चल रहे थे। ख़ासकर मुझे तफ़्सील इस वक़्त याद नहीं, लेकिन उन्होंने जो उस वक़्त क़दम उठाये थे जब हम जेल में थे जिन्ना साहब से तसफ़िया करने...

रामनारायण चौधरी: सन '30 में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सन '30 में नहीं, थर्टीज़ में वो हमें बहुत नागवार गुज़रे थे। जेल में भी हम पढ़ते थे। यही बात सन '40 के शुरू में हुई। ये सिलसिले बार-बार हुए हैं। जबकि हमारे मूवमेण्ट ज़ोरों से चल रहे हैं तब वो कोई बात करें जो हम समझते थे कि कमज़ोर कर दिया उन्होंने मूवमेण्ट को, यह ग़लत रास्ते पर की। चुनांचे बावजूद इतनी क़दर के, जो थी उनके त्याग की, उनकी लियाक़त की, कभी वो पूरी तौर से उसमें नहीं, कांग्रेस की हवा में, मासेज़ की कांग्रेस के हवा में। क़दर सब करते थे। मुझे याद है एक बात बहुत नागवार गुज़री थी। याद नहीं शायद '40 की है या कुछ ऐसी ही। ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी का जलसा था इलाहाबाद में।⁸² राजाजी आये थे। मेरे घर पर ठहरने वाले थे। उन्होंने उस ज़माने में कुछ बातें की थीं जो हमें नागवार गुज़री थीं, हिन्दू-मुस्लिम सवाल के सिलसिले में। तो हिन्दू सभा ने काले झण्डे हिलाये इलाहाबाद के स्टेशन पर उनका स्वागत करने में। मुझे बुरा लगा ये। एक तो यों भी कि इलाहाबाद के वो मेहमान थे, दूसरे मेरे ख़ास मेहमान थे। बस, हिन्दू महासभा से मेरा झगड़ा हुआ उस पर, धक्कम-धक्का भी हुआ। इसके माने क्या? तुम्हारी राय हो, हो। मैं भी उनसे नहीं सहमत हूँ, लेकिन काला झण्डा क्या इतने बुजुर्ग आदमी को दिखाना। वो हमारा मेहमान होकर इलाहाबाद आया। वैसे इतने पुराने कांग्रेसी थे वो, लेकिन किसी-न-किसी इत्फ़ाक़ से वो कांग्रेस के प्रेसिडेण्ट नहीं हुए कभी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनका सबसे बड़ा गुण आप क्या समझते हैं, जिसकी वजह से उनको यह ख़ास स्थान दे सकते हैं?

82. Perhaps the AICC meeting held in Allahabad in April 1942.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सबसे बड़ी क्वालिटी उनका दिमाग, इण्टेलिजेंस तेज़ होना था। और जो उनमें कुछ गुणों के खिलाफ़ बात थी, वो भी इण्टेलिजेंस से निकलती थी।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपको यह मालूम है कि गाँधीवादी सर्कल में उनको चाणक्य कहा जाता है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, हाँ, मैंने सुना है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: राजेन्द्र बाबू ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: राजेन्द्र बाबू बहुत लोकप्रिय हमेशा से रहे बिहार में, हिन्दुस्तान में। और शुरू से ही गाँधीजी के साथ थे। कांग्रेस में उसी ज़माने में, आजकल का नहीं, कुछ जिसको कहा जाय थोड़ा-सा कन्ज़र्वेटिव विंग में थे, विचारों में। अंग्रेज़ों के खिलाफ़ की बातों में नहीं। इसमें तो वो बराबर साथ थे। और जो सामाजिक बातों में वो कुछ कन्ज़र्वेटिव विंग के गिने जाते थे, जैसे और भी। यों तो सरदार पटेल भी उधर थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उनका सबसे बड़ा गुण आपको क्या मालूम है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कोई गुण चुनना चाहते हैं? कैसे बताऊँ? मुश्किल है। बहुत सादे, सिम्पल हैं। ह्यूमिलिटी उनमें है, दिखावे की ख्वाहिश नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मालवीयजी के बारे में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मालवीयजी! जब से करीब-करीब मुझे होश आया तबसे मालवीयजी की तस्वीर मेरे सामने है। बच्चा था, लड़का था। उनको देखा करता था इलाहाबाद में। उनकी क्रदर करता था। मुहब्बत करते थे। मुझे याद है कि ग़ालिबन पहली लड़ाई के ज़माने में, जब तक गाँधीजी नहीं आये थे मैदान में, हम लोग झुंझलाते थे, परेशान होते थे, कुछ-न-कुछ करना चाहिए। तो हम लोग मिलकर मालवीयजी के पास जाते थे कि आप कीजिए कुछ, क्रदम बढ़ाइए आगे। जो उनको ज़रा भी जानता था, उनसे मुहब्बत करता था, उनकी क्रदर करता था। हालाँकि मेरी कहिए शिक्षा, मेरी बैकग्राउण्ड, दूसरी थी, विलायती और ये और वो। लेकिन उनकी बड़ी क्रदर और उनसे मुहब्बत थी। वे हमेशा एक कड़ी थे बीच में, मॉडरेट और एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट के। उनका दोनों तरफ़ कुछ रहता था। उनकी भावनाएँ, उनके ज़बात उन्हें एक तरफ़ खींचते थे, फिर उनके विचार दूसरी तरफ़ लाते थे। लेकिन दोनों से उनका सम्बन्ध था और रहा। कभी इधर ज़रा ज़्यादा झुक जायँ, कभी उधर झुकें। और इसमें शक नहीं कि शुरू में कांग्रेस को वो बनाने वालों में थे और आखिरी

वक्रत तक बड़ा हिस्सा उनका रहा उसमें। बड़ा रहा लेकिन कभी सोलह आना गाँधी-कांग्रेस में वो पूरे नहीं हुए।

रामनारायण चौधरी: फिर इन नहीं हुए।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, हालाँकि उससे अलग भी नहीं हुए। रहे भी, लेकिन पूरे फ़िट इन नहीं हुए।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या कभी आपका कांग्रेस छोड़ने का विचार हुआ? हुआ तो किस बात पर? क्या यह सच है कि किदवई⁸³ वगैरा के साथ आप भी समाजवादी दल में जाने वाले थे? अगर थे तो क्यों रुक गये?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इसमें तो आपने कई सवाल किये। कांग्रेस छोड़ने का मेरा कभी भी ख़याल नहीं हुआ, बिल्कुल नहीं। हाँ, ओहदा छोड़ दूँ, यह तो बहुत दफ़े हुआ, चाहे कांग्रेस की सदारत छोड़ दूँ, ऐसा बहुत दफ़े हुआ या मैं मन्त्री था, छोड़ दूँ, कभी छोड़ा भी, कभी नहीं। लेकिन कांग्रेस को जड़ से छोड़ने का विचार नहीं हुआ। न पहले हुआ, न बाद में हुआ आज़ादी आने के। और यह आपने किदवई साहब का कहा और समाजवादी। किदवई साहब कौन-से समाजवादी दल में जा रहे थे? उनका दल अलग था। समाजवादी वो थे, लेकिन समाजवादी दल में कभी नहीं थे वो। बल्कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जो अपने को समाजवादी दल कहता था, वह उनका विरोधी था, हालाँकि शायद वो उनसे ज़्यादा समाजवादी हों। वो दूसरी बात है, लेकिन दल की हैसियत से वो समाजवादी कहलाता था, वो इनका किसी क़दर विरोधी था। असल में दोनों ही विचार समाजवादी रखते थे और विरोध व्यक्तिगत रूप का था, वो कोई विचारों का नहीं था। और अब तक इन पुराने दलों के झगड़े थे और किदवई साहब नहीं रहे, और नहीं रहे, लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश में उसकी झलक जारी है। तो कोई सवाल मेरा उनके साथ जाने-आने का हुआ नहीं। लेकिन जब उन्होंने इस्तीफ़ा दिया था, तो बाद में बातचीत करने से, समझाने-बुझाने से फिर वापस आ गये थे गवर्नमेण्ट में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके ख़याल से अली भाइयों⁸⁴ के कांग्रेस से अलग होने का क्या कारण था? क्या यह सच है कि वे पण्डित मोती लालजी की वजह से कांग्रेस से हटे थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं। मैंने तो सुना भी नहीं कभी।

83. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

84. Mohamed Ali and his elder brother, Shaukat Ali.

रामनारायण चौधरी: इसका काफ़ी चर्चा हो गया है। इसीलिए मैंने कहा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, यह सही है कि बाद में जब वो आधे अलग हो गये थे, उस वक़्त उनका और मेरे पिताजी का ताल्लुक कुछ करीब का नहीं रहा था। सही है। लेकिन वाक़यात तो पहले हुए। लेकिन ये हिन्दू-मुस्लिम झगड़े कई हुए थे उस ज़माने में पंजाब में, उत्तर प्रदेश में। उनका उन पर बहुत असर हुआ था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अली भाइयों पर?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अली भाइयों पर बहुत असर हुआ था और उसी झगड़े के सिलसिले में गाँधीजी ने तो तीन सप्ताह का फ़ास्ट किया था दिल्ली में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: 1924 में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: '24 में या '23 में।⁸⁵ बल्कि बाहर एक तस्वीर शायद आपने देखी है, वहाँ निकलते ही बड़ी-सी। वो पलंग पर लेटे हुए हैं और इन्दिरा बैठी हैं उनके पलंग पर। जब यह 6-7 बरस की थी। वो तस्वीर ली गयी थी उनके उस तीन हफ़्ते के उपवास के ख़त्म होने पर। किसी ने ले ली थी। कोई इत्फ़ाक़ से ले ली थी, जान के तो नहीं। तो अच्छी थी तो रख ली, याददाश्त थी उस फ़ास्ट की।

रामनारायण चौधरी: इस सिलसिले में यह कहा जाता है कि जो नेहरू रिपोर्ट⁸⁶ छपी थी, वो कोलोनियल फ़ार्म ऑफ़ गवर्नमेण्ट या डोमिनियन स्टेट्स के बारे में थी। उसमें कोई उनका और पण्डितजी [मोतीलालजी] का मतभेद . . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जो नहीं, बिल्कुल नहीं। उसके पहले ही अलग हो गये थे। और उसमें कुछ उनका हिस्सा नहीं था। उस रिपोर्ट में जो कुछ बहस थी, उस रिपोर्ट में और जो एक मिनिट ऑफ़ डिसेण्ट था, वो कुरैशी⁸⁷ का था। वो इन बातों पर नहीं था जिनका ज़िक्र है। वो तो महज़ एक शुद्ध हिन्दू-मुसलमान सवाल पर। क्या हो, कितने आये, सेपरेट इलेक्ट्रेट हो या जॉयण्ट हो, इन बातों पर था। उस पर नहीं था, कुछ उस पर राय थी, अलग-अलग, वो होती है ऑल पार्टीज़ कॉन्फ़रेन्स के बाद। तो कुछ लोगों की राय थी कि हम इसको डोमोनियन स्टेट में मंज़ूर करें वगैरा,

85. From 18 September to 8 October 1924.

86. Report proposing a Dominion constitution for India drawn up in 1928 by a committee, with Motilal Nehru as chairman, appointed by the All-Parties Conference.

87. Shuaib Qureshi, General Secretary of the Congress, 1925-28. was a member of the Nehru Committee.

वो दूसरा था, तो असली बहस की बात नहीं थी इस रिपोर्ट में।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका क्या रुख था उस मामले पर? आप तो पूरी स्वतन्त्रता के पक्ष में थे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, मैं पूरा-पूरा था और मैंने ऑल पार्टीज़ कॉन्फ़ेन्स में कहा था कि मुझे यह बात पसन्द नहीं है, बाक़ी और बातें ठीक हैं अगर हो जायँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आप किसी समय अंग्रेज़ों से सम्बन्ध तोड़कर भारत की स्वाधीनता के पक्ष में थे। फिर कॉमनवेल्थ में शरीक रहना आपने कैसे पसन्द किया? इसमें आपके स्वाभिमान को धक्का नहीं लगा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी नहीं, बिल्कुल नहीं, क्योंकि जो पुराना नक्शा था कॉमनवेल्थ का — ब्रिटिश कॉमनवेल्थ कहलाती थी - उस नक्शे के हम खिलाफ़ थे। कोई अंग्रेज़ों या किसी और मुल्क से महज़ ताल्लुक तोड़ देने के माने कुछ नहीं थे। वो तो बार-बार गाँधीजी ने भी कहा, वो तो करना ही था। मैं चाहता था हिन्दुस्तान का एक रिपब्लिक हो, यानी जो एक रिश्ता होता है बादशाह का वह भी तोड़ देना। जब ये सब बातें हो गयीं तब फिर तो एक समझौते का रिश्ता है, जैसे कोई दो मुल्क सुलह करें, अलायन्स करें, जब तक उनका जी चाहे करें। इस वक़्त हमारे विधान में इस बात का कोई चर्चा भी नहीं है। एक आज़ाद मुल्क है, कोई किसी बात में उनका दखल नहीं है यहाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कोई छोटे-बड़े का कोई सवाल नहीं है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कोई बड़े-छोटे का सवाल नहीं है। हमारे विधान में तो कुछ है ही नहीं। इसका नाम ही नहीं है कि कोई रिश्ता है। लेकिन जब हम रिपब्लिक हुए तब पेंच हुए थे कि रह सकते हैं कि नहीं। हमने उनसे कह दिया कि हम रहने को तैयार हैं, हम क्यों रिश्ते को तोड़ें? लेकिन नयी हैसियत से कि हम रिपब्लिक हैं और आपके यहाँ बादशाह हैं, ज़ाबिते से भी कोई दखल नहीं हमारे इसमें, क्योंकि यों तो कनाडा, ऑस्ट्रेलिया, वगैरा बिल्कुल आज़ाद मुल्क हैं, लेकिन उनकी मज़ी से इंग्लैंड की रानी उनकी भी क्वीन है — एक ज़ाबिता है, पसन्द करें, रखें। हमने उस ज़ाबिते को भी तोड़ दिया। हाँ, फिर सवाल आया था कॉमनवेल्थ में, एक फ़िकरा निकाला, समझ में नहीं आता उसे जोड़ें कैसे कि क्वीन ऑफ़ इंग्लैण्ड या किंग ऑफ़ इंग्लैण्ड, जो कुछ है, वो हेड ऑफ़ दि कॉमनवेल्थ समझी जाय एक तरह से। आखिर, कड़ी रखने के लिए उन्हें हेड ऑफ़ द कॉमनवेल्थ समझ लिया गया। वैधानिक दृष्टि से इसके कोई ख़ास माने नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कांग्रेस के लोगों से कभी आपका मतभेद झगड़े की नौबत तक पहुँचा? सरदार पटेल के साथ ऐसी नौबत आयी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मतभेद और झगड़े के माने क्या हैं? मतभेद तो हरेक से होता था कुछ-न-कुछ। झगड़ा क्या? झगड़ा किस बात का?

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी दो पार्टीज़-सी हो जाती हैं, फिर एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ कैवसिंग होती है। यह होता है, वो होता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: खैर वो तो गुंजाइश नहीं थी कभी इस क्रिस्म की। मेरे नाम की या मेरे साथ की कोई पार्टी थी नहीं। न मैंने कोशिश की, न मैं इस ढंग से काम कर सकता हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन लोगों ने आपका नाम तो लिया है, जो अपने को कहते थे कि हम पण्डितजी के साथ हैं। इस तरह की कुछ . . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, नाम लें, लेकिन पार्टी का तो मैं नहीं जानता आप किस ज़माने का कह रहे हैं कि चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश में जहाँ मैं काम करता था, कुछ पार्टी-वार्टी नहीं थी। मेरा असर सारे उत्तर प्रदेश की कांग्रेस पर हो और भीड़ पर हो तो और बात है, लेकिन यह कोई पार्टी नहीं। ज़ाहिर है, यहाँ ऑल इण्डिया में यही दो-एक बार हुआ था जो आप कहें। मैं मद्रास कांग्रेस के बाद शरीक हो गया था एक इण्डिपेंडेंट्स फ़ॉर इण्डिया लीग में। वह भी एक छोटा-सा गिरोह था, कोई पार्टी नहीं, इसीलिए कि पूरे स्वराज्य की तरफ़ ज़ोर देने को। साल-डेढ़ साल बाद ख़त्म हो गया, क्योंकि हमने स्वीकार कर लिया इस तरह से बनी थी। यों कोई भी बड़े लीडर नहीं हैं कांग्रेस के, यहाँ तक कि गाँधीजी से लेकर, जिनसे मतभेद न हुआ हो किसी-न-किसी बात पर। यह कुछ और बात होती है, लेकिन मतभेद का नतीजा हो एक दलबन्दी, इसमें मैं कभी नहीं पड़ा।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नहीं, जैसे एक दफ़े मुझे याद है रेडियो पर आप दोनों के कुछ इस तरह के बयान हुए थे गाँधीजी के मरने के बाद या पहले कि हम मिलकर काम करेंगे, फ़लाना, ऐसा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो दूसरी बात आप कह रहे हैं। यह सही है कि गवर्नमेण्ट बनने के बाद कुछ हमारे विचारों में फ़र्क़ था। वो बात गाँधीजी तक भी गयी थी। और गाँधीजी के सामने भी हुई थीं कुछ बातें। उन्होंने भी समझाया था और कहा था बल्कि जिस रोज़ गाँधीजी मारे गये उसी रोज़ हम फिर मिलने वाले थे उनसे। सही बात थी और एक कुछ उसमें एक ख़ास बात पकड़

सकते हैं, लेकिन उसमें कोई खास बात पकड़ने की नहीं थी जितनी कि कुछ निगाहें ज़रा-सी अलग थीं सवालोंने पर।⁸⁸

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपने देश की आज़ादी के लिए लड़ने वाली दुनिया की मुख्य संस्थाओं और हमारी कांग्रेस में क्या खास फ़र्क़ देखा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: देश की आज़ादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाली संस्थाओं में आमतौर से राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं के माने गिने जायेंगे। हालांकि साम्यवादी संस्थाएँ भी लड़ी हैं, लेकिन वो और बातों से मिली-जुली हैं। तो राष्ट्रीय या नेशनलिस्ट संस्थाओं में, मेरा खयाल है कि किसी देश में हमारी कांग्रेस की-सी संस्था नहीं हुई। दो माने में। एक तो इतनी बड़ी नहीं हुई कहीं। कुछ यह भी बात है कि उनके बड़े होने का मौका भी नहीं मिला और कुछ हुई नहीं। दूसरे यह कि हमारी कांग्रेस हल्के-हल्के झुकने लगी अलावा आज़ादी के, आर्थिक और सामाजिक प्रश्नों पर और विशेषकर किसानों के मसले पर। क्योंकि जहाँ इतनी बड़ी संस्था हो गयी, उसमें बहुत किसान आये, तो उनका असर होने लगा, उनका विचार हमें करना पड़ा। यानी उसका प्रोग्राम शुरू से आर्थिक और सामाजिक था। शुरू से न सही, लेकिन जैसे गाँधीजी आये, गाँधीजी के आने के बाद से असर हुआ और फिर सन 30 में कराची रेज़ोल्यूशन हुआ और बढ़ता ही गया और उस पर रंग कुछ समाजवादी था।⁸⁹

रामनारायण चौधरी: उसमें तो काफ़ी साफ़ बातें थीं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी हाँ, यह बात नहीं पायेंगे आप और राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं में। और संस्थाएँ हों, लेबर हो, ये हो, वो हो, और बात है। दोनों का जोड़ जितना यहाँ था और कहीं नहीं था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: और वह होना ही था यहाँ, इसलिए कि जहाँ एक संस्था बड़ी हो जाती है—जैसे कांग्रेस थी यहाँ तो आँखें नहीं बन्द कर सकती वो सवालोंने से। और जगह देखा और जगहें एक जज्बाती चीज़ थी—जोश चढ़ा, यह हुआ, बलवा हुआ, हुल्लड़ मचा, फिर खामोश हो गये कुछ दिन के लिए। फिर बलवा हुआ और कोई उसकी पक्की संख्या नहीं बनी और जगह। और यह भी

88. For Nehru's correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi and Patel on Nehru-Patel differences, see SWJN/SS/5/pp. 471-476 and 479-480.

89. The Congress session held in Karachi in March 1931 passed a resolution on fundamental rights and duties and the economic and social programme. See SWJN/FS/4/pp. 511-513.

बात सही है कि ओर जो ऐसे कोलोनियल देश थे, वहाँ बढ़ने भी नहीं पाती थी। जहाँ किसी ने सर उठाया वो कुचल दी जाती थी। यहाँ हल्के-हल्के बढ़ने का उसे मौका मिला, हालांकि अंग्रेजी हुकूमत ने दबाया, जो कुछ हुआ, लेकिन मिला और खासकर जब गाँधीजी ने इतने ज़ोरों से उसकी एक शान्तिमय पॉलिसी कर दी, तो उतना आसान नहीं रहा उसकी बात करते दबा देना। गाँधीजी ने बहुत इसको ज़ोरों से डिसिप्लिण्ड किया, यह करो, यह न करो। रोक दिया मूवमेण्ट को जब किसी से ग़लती हुई। तो सारे मुल्क को डिसिप्लिण्ड करना और संस्था को करना। और जगह तो हुल्लड़बाज़ी ज़्यादातर रही। तो आन्दोलन में ताक़त नहीं इतनी पैदा हुई।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कांग्रेस में आपने देहात का कुछ काम किया? किया तो कब और क्या?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कांग्रेस के मेरे करीब-करीब बिलकुल शुरू ज़माने में तो नहीं, लेकिन पिछले पाँच बरस में तो उत्तर प्रदेश में देहात के काम में बहुत फंस गया था, खासकर अवध के ज़िलों में, प्रतापगढ़, रायबरेली, फ़ैज़ाबाद और कुछ इलाहाबाद। और फिर इसके अलावा . . .

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह तो सन '20 की बात है, सन '20 के आस-पास।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी हाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: शुरू की बात है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी हाँ, उसी का कह रहा हूँ मैं। कांग्रेस में ज़ाबिते से मैं सन '12 से था न। उस वक़्त सन '20-21 में वहाँ जाने लगा, फंस गया और फंसता ही गया उसमें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे आपका मोटे तौर पर प्रोग्राम क्या रहता था, आपके खाने-पीने, चलने-फिरने का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: वहाँ जब जाऊँ?

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कोई खास बात नहीं। कोई-न-कोई प्रबन्ध कर देते थे वो कहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कभी यह बात सुनने में आती थी कि आप एक कम्बल कन्धे पर डाल कर पैदल चल देते थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, ऐसी बात तो नहीं, लेकिन हाँ गाँव में रहने का इत्फ़ाक़ अक्सर हुआ। वहाँ कुछ-न-कुछ इन्तज़ाम कर देते थे। वहाँ कुछ खाते-पीते थे, नहाते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके ख़याल से कांग्रेस ने कब और क्या ग़लत क़दम उठाये? उनसे देश को क्या नुक़सान हुआ और उनको रोकने का आपने क्या उपाय किया?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अब यह तो बड़े फ़लसफ़े की बातें हैं। क्या ग़लत क़दम उठाये, कब उठाये, हज़ार बातें होती हैं, किसी ख़ास बात को पकड़ लेना कि बड़ी ग़लती थी, यह तो मुश्किल है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी ऐसे कोई निश्चय, प्रोग्राम बने हों, कि जिन पर आपका काफ़ी मतभेद रहा हो कि यह ठीक नहीं है या ग़लत हो रहा है आपके ख़याल से और उससे कुछ

हाँ गाँव में रहने का इत्फ़ाक़ अक्सर हुआ।
खाते-पीते थे, नहाते थे।

ने कब और क्या ग़लत क़दम उठाये? उनसे
के आपने क्या उपाय किया?

बातें हैं। क्या ग़लत क़दम उठाये, कब
पकड़ लेना कि बड़ी ग़लती थी, यह तो

प्रोग्राम बने हों, कि जिन पर आपका काफ़ी
हो रहा है आपके ख़याल से और उससे कुछ

गौंधीजी ने जो ज़ोर दिया तरह-तरह की बातों
के सामने जो था, हिन्दू-मुसलमानों को मिलाने
पर मौलवी एक तरफ़ और वैसे ही कट्टर हिन्दू

ओं में वो दबे रहे। कुछ ज़्यादा दबे, क्योंकि
फिर बाद में, मेरा ख़याल है कि, अच्छा असर

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: नहीं, ऐसी बात तो नहीं, लेकिन
वहाँ कुछ-न-कुछ इन्तज़ाम कर देते थे। वहाँ कुछ

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपके ख़याल से कांग्रेस
देश को क्या नुक़सान हुआ और उनको रोक

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अब यह तो बड़े फ़लसफ़े व
उठाये, हज़ार बातें होती हैं, किसी ख़ास बात व
मुश्किल है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी ऐसे कोई निश्चय,
मतभेद रहा हो कि यह ठीक नहीं है या ग़लत
नुक़सान हुआ हो?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: गौंधीजी के ज़माने में एक तो
पर, जैसे खिलाफ़त, ये, वो, जिससे फ़ायदा हुआ उन
का। लेकिन उसका एक नतीजा यह हुआ कि कट्टर
पण्डित दूसरी तरफ़।

रामनारायण चौधरी: (हँसी)।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो ज़रा अगुवा हो गये। हिन्दू
गौंधीजी खुद मौजूद थे या और लोग थे। तो इससे
नहीं हुआ। यानी उस तरह से विचार की ज़्यादा

वो नहीं राजेन्द्र बाबू कपलानी से ⁹⁰ और यह बात निश्चय से यह सत्य है यह सत्य

Jawaharlal Nehru: There used to be All India Committee meetings and conferences. I took part in them. Our leanings were more towards the extremist way of thinking. For instance, a great big argument had started in the UP Congress even before Gandhiji came, with the result that some of the liberal leaders, like Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru and others left the Congress. I was pretty active in the Congress in those days.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did the British rule do any good to India? If it did, what? I mean their coming here.

Jawaharlal Nehru : Yes, I have written about this in my books. In my view, the best thing that it did was to give a jolt to India, a mental jolt. We had fallen into a mental rut and were unable to get out of it. The world had changed. Even before the British came, we had become backward. There is no doubt that their coming did a great damage to our country, and so on, but it renewed our own contacts with the outside world once again, with the new industrial civilization of the west. Secondly, through the medium of English, we began to have access to the English liberal thought which had an impact. Thirdly, British rule spread to the whole of India and created a kind of unity in the country, though it was under colonial rule. This unity also had the result of creating an opposition to colonial rule. The Congress and other organizations came up in opposition to the British rule. So, in a way, the establishment of British rule created a new kind of unity in the country.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But there was cultural unity in India even before that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Cultural unity was there and it remained to a large extent, though the British rule did some damage to it. However, what does the word culture mean? A culture which does not understand the modern world is an incomplete culture. It was all right in its own way.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is quite true. What were the special qualities that you perceived in the personalities of Deshbandhu Das,⁹¹ Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Azad, Dr Ansari,⁹² Subhas Babu,⁹³ Sardar Patel, Rajaji,⁹⁴

91. See fn 76 in this section.

92. See fn 77 in this section.

93. See fn 78 in this section.

94. See fn 79 in this section.

Rajendra Babu⁹⁵ and Malaviya? What were the special characteristics of each of them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to weigh each individual on a scale like that. I have made some mention of most of them in my books in connection with our work. I had come into close contact with Deshbandhu Das during the time when Martial Law was imposed in the Punjab and we were sent to Amritsar to enquire into the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. I went with him in the capacity of his secretary. His personality had a great impact on the people.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In what way?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is difficult to say. For one thing, he was an extremely able person and a first class lawyer. He had a very sharp mind. But it was not these things so much as his emotions which had an impact. He was an extremely emotional individual. Apart from the general qualities of a politician, which he had in any case, he was also a poet. So he had a different way of looking at things. That had an impact.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about Lala Lajpat Raiji?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I never came into very close contact with Lala Lajpat Rai. I used to meet him sometimes at meetings, etc. I never had the opportunity of working closely with him. He was perhaps the first of our old leaders who laid emphasis on two things. One was on economic issues and the problems of the workers, and so on, which are usually neglected in national movements. The second thing was the upliftment of women. Later on, many others took up these issues. But the first group did not pay much attention to it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Maulana Azad?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maulana Azad and I were extremely close, though it was more so perhaps towards the end of his life. I became acquainted with him around 1920 when he had been released from jail. Though he was not very old—I think he was a year older than me—he was so famous for his scholarship right from a young age that he was counted among the elders right from the beginning.

95. See fn 80 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: (Laughter).

Jawaharlal Nehru: His intellect was absolutely razor sharp. All his sympathies had lain towards freedom right from childhood. But he did not easily form a part of the herd. He used to shun crowds and it was only with difficulty that he could be drawn in. He was interested in intellectual exercises right up till his death. Since he was drawn towards politics, he was interested in it no doubt. But there was one difficulty. He was so immersed in his own thoughts that it was difficult for another to gain an entry into his mind. He used to meet everyone with great alacrity. But he did not come close to anyone very easily.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I have observed that his thinking was very clear. Whenever he spoke on some issue, he expressed his views very closely. That was the impression that he used to create. Is that right or wrong?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Absolutely right.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about Dr Ansari?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had known Dr Ansari for a long time; from the time that I was pursuing my studies in England. He was much older than me and those were his last days in a hospital in London. I met him then and kept up my contact so long as he was alive. I was fond him, he was an old colleague and...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did he have some special quality that others did not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is difficult to say. He was a first rate doctor. His main interest lay in the world of modern science. No one can become a great doctor without taking an interest in modern science. But at the same time, he had very close contacts with the old world and the old families of Delhi. His elder brother, Nabina,⁹⁶ was a very famous hakim. He belonged to the old world. I have always found it a little easier to work with such an individual. One has to work with all sorts. But it makes a difference where an individual's thinking is modern. Dr Ansari was one of those and since he was an old colleague, acquaintance, a relationship was easily established at once.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What did you think of Subhas Babu?

96. See fn 81 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: He was obviously a very brave man and India's freedom filled his thoughts to the exclusion of everything else. Sometimes he and I did not see eye to eye. But that did not make much of a difference in those days. I do not know what may have happened later. Then it was war time. There were some problems and he became the Congress President and resigned. He had opposed Gandhiji on some issue. There is nothing wrong with that. But, as I had said even on that occasion, I had reached the conclusion that a political rift with Gandhiji was not a good thing for India. If there was a difference of opinion, it could have been ironed out. But Gandhiji was indispensable to India and nobody could have dared to take his place. Therefore, we had to stay together somehow or the other. The difference was that Subhash Babu did not think it was essential to do what Gandhiji said. Moreover, in those days, his leanings were towards Germany and Hitler, and I was strongly opposed to that. It did not have a direct impact on India but one caught glimpses of it here and there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Sardar Patel?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sardar Patel! His entire life is a symbol of his thoughts, his strength and ability to achieve things, which was tremendous. He was an extremely strict disciplinarian. You can compare the Congress organization which was built up in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. In Gujarat, a very strong organization came up under his leadership. There was no scope for any divergence in views. There is strength in this as well as weakness, which were exposed later. In Uttar Pradesh, it was not I alone but all my colleagues who built up the Congress organization. No one individual had the upper hand in Uttar Pradesh. There were at least ten or twelve people of an equal status. Even the PCC President did not occupy a superior position. It used to be rotated among those ten or twelve by turn. One individual did not hold the position year after year as it happened in Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar. We had a rule that every year, a different member became the President so that no individual may get an upper hand. It is obvious that to that extent there was less discipline in the U.P. Congress, but there was greater freedom of debate. But we used to come together when the decision had to be implemented. In those days, going to jail was an everyday occurrence. That led to weaknesses in the Congress but there were some advantages too.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Rajaji?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Rajaji has been held in great respect in the entire history of

the Congress. But he was not ever one hundred per cent part of it. Of course he was in the Congress. What I mean is that he kept himself aloof from the winds that blew through the Congress for whatever reasons. This happened in 1922-23. At that time, there was a great debate between the no-changers and the pro-changers within the Congress. But soon, a kind of groupism developed within the Congress, with some members on this side and others on the other. Dr. Ansari and I and some others steered a middle course. Then even in 1930, he kept himself aloof from our policy. I do not remember the details. But he took some steps to hold talks with Mr. Jinnah when we were in jail.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In 1930?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, not in 1930. It was between the thirties and 1940. The steps that he took were something which we could not tolerate. We used to read about it in jail. The same thing happened in 1940 and the process was repeated again and again. Whenever our movement was at its peak, he would do something which we thought was improper and would weaken the movement. So, in spite of the tremendous respect that he was held, in his sacrifices and his ability, he never identified himself wholly with the masses in the Congress. Everyone respected him. I remember I did not like one thing in particular—I think this happened in 1940 or thereabouts. There was a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Allahabad.⁹⁷ Rajaji came for that. He was to stay with me. He had made some remarks about the Hindu-Muslim issue at that time which we felt were highly improper. So the Hindu Mahasabha had waved black flags at the station and I felt very bad about it. For one thing, he was coming as a guest of Allahabad and on top of it, as my special guest. So I had a show down with the Hindu Mahasabha. I told them that I too disagreed with him; but whatever one's views may be, there was no justification for waving black flags before an elderly gentleman who was coming as a guest to Allahabad. Anyhow, though he was an old Congressman, by some strange coincidence he never became the Congress President.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What is the special quality which qualified him for this high office?

Jawaharlal Nehru: His greatest quality was his intelligence, sharp intellect. The defects in his character also sprang from this intelligence.

97. See fn 82 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you know that in the Gandhian circle he was referred to as Chanakya?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes, I have heard.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Rajendra Babu?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Rajendra Babu has always been a popular figure in Bihar and in India, and he was with Gandhiji right from the beginning. He belonged to the conservative wing of the Congress in those days though he was with everyone else in opposing the British rule. His thinking was conservative in matters of social change, and so on. Even Sardar Patel was in that wing in a way.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was his greatest quality?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You want me to select one? It is very difficult. He was very simple. He had great humility and abhorred show of any kind.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about Malaviyaji?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ever since I can remember, the picture of Malaviyaji has been with me. I used to see him when I was a child in Allahabad and held him in respect. He used to be very fond of me. I remember that before Gandhiji came on the scene, during the First World War, we used to be very impatient to do something and would try to persuade Malaviyaji to do something, to take the first step. So I had always known and loved him. Though my background was different and I was educated in England, I had always held him in great affection and respect. He had always acted as a link between the moderates and the extremists. His emotions and feelings used to pull him in one direction but his thinking was on the opposite side. But he maintained relations with both sides. He may have leaned a little more this way or that, sometimes. There is no doubt that in the beginning he was one of the people who built up the Congress and he was associated with it right till the end. He played a very significant role though he did not fit in hundred percent into Gandhian Congress.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: He did not fit in?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, though he never cut himself off. He stayed on but he did not fit in fully.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Have you even thought of leaving the Congress? If so, on what grounds? Is it true that you had thought of joining the Socialist Party along with Kidwai⁹⁸ and others? Why did you not do so?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You have asked several questions. I have never thought of leaving the Congress. I have thought of giving up my official position as leader of the Congress several times. I have wanted to quit the Prime Ministership. But I have never entertained the thought of leaving the Congress altogether, neither before nor after the coming of freedom. Now you have mentioned Kidwai Sahib and the Socialist Party. Which socialist party was he going to join? He belonged to a separate party. He was a socialist but he never belonged to the Socialist Party. On the contrary, the so-called Socialist Party in Uttar Pradesh was opposed to him though he was a keener socialist, perhaps, than them. Anyhow, the party which called itself the Socialist Party was against him. Actually, both believed in socialist principles. The opposition was on a personal level, not of ideas. Even now, long after Kidwaiji is no more, you can find traces of this dispute between the parties in Uttar Pradesh. So, the question of my joining them never arose. But when he resigned, I talked to him and after a great deal of persuasion, he agreed to come back to the government.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was the reason, in your opinion, for the Ali brothers⁹⁹ leaving the Congress? Is it true that they left because of Pandit Motilalji?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I have never heard of this.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It has often been talked about. That is why I asked.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, it is true that later, by the time they were on the verge of leaving the Congress, relations between them and my father were not close any more. But several events had preceded that. The factor which influenced them was the various Hindu-Muslim riots which had taken place in those days in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary : On the Ali brothers?

98. See fn 83 in this section.

99. See fn 84 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it had a great impact on the Ali brothers and Gandhiji had gone on a fast for three weeks in Delhi in that connection.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary : In 1924?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In '24 or '23.¹⁰⁰ You might have seen a photograph of Gandhiji just as you enter. He is lying on a cot and Indira is sitting by his side. She was six or seven years old then. That photograph was taken when he broke his fast. Somebody had inadvertently taken a photograph and, as it was a good one, I have kept it as a memento of that fast.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It was believed that there were some difference of opinion between them and Motilalji over the Nehru Report¹⁰¹ on the colonial form of government and Dominion status...

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, that is not true at all. They had left before that and had no part in it. The Minute of Dissent in that Report was Qureshi's.¹⁰² It was not over the issues which have just been mentioned. That was a pure and simple Hindu-Muslim issue and whether there should be a joint or a separate electorate. Different views were expressed. An All-Parties Conference was held. Some people were in favour of our accepting dominion status and others were not.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What were your views in the matter? You must have been for complete freedom?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I was and I said so at the All-Parties Conference. All the rest of it was all right.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Were you ever in favour of achieving independence even if it meant a complete break with the British? Then how did you agree to remain in the Commonwealth? Was it not a blow to your self-respect?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh! No, not at all, because we were opposed to the old pattern of what is known as the British Commonwealth. There was no sense in our cutting ourselves off from the British or anyone else. Even Gandhiji used to

100. See fn 85 in this section.

101. See fn 86 in this section.

102. See fn 87 in this section.

say that again and again. I wanted that India should become a republic which meant breaking off from the last vestiges of imperialism. When that was done, there was no obstacle to our alliance with Britain as between two nations of equal status. India is today a completely independent nation with no interference of any sort from the British in our affairs.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is there no disparity in our status?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Absolutely none. There is no mention of this alliance in our Constitution. But when we became a republic, the question arose whether we could stay on in the Commonwealth. We told them that we were prepared to continue because we did not wish to break any bonds. But we agreed to it in our new status as a republic and would not tolerate any interference in our affairs. For instance, Canada and Australia are independent nations too. But they have chosen to be under the overlordship of the Queen of England. We have broken off even from that formality. There came the question of the Commonwealth and it was decided to accept the Queen or King of England as the head of the Commonwealth. But it has no constitutional meaning.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did your differences of opinion with other members of the Congress ever culminate in a dispute? Did it happen with Sardar Patel?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What is the meaning of difference of opinion and quarrel? There is bound to be some difference of opinion with everyone. What is there to quarrel about?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I mean when it leads to a party being split into two and canvassing against one another and what not.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that sort of thing has never come to pass, neither personally nor in my party, nor have I ever tried to resort to such things. It is simply not possible for me to work in that manner.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But others have taken your name, those who have talked about being with Panditji and things like that ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, that may be. But I do not know of any split in the Party either when I was working in Uttar Pradesh or later. It is a different matter that I wielded an influence over the U.P. Congress and the people. But there was no

groupism. It is obvious that such things may have happened only once or twice even on an all India level. After the Madras Congress, I had joined the Independence for India League. It was a small group, not a party and I joined it to emphasize the need for complete independence. After a year or so, it was wound up because we accepted it as our goal. For that matter there is no great leader in the Congress, including Gandhiji, with whom I have not had differences of opinion on some grounds or the other. That is a different thing altogether. But I have never encouraged groupism, etc., as a result of my difference of opinion.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, I remember that both of you [Patel and Nehru] had issued statements, after or just before Gandhiji passed away that you would work together, etc. ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: You are referring to something else. It is true that we had some differences of opinion after we formed the government and the matter reached Gandhiji's ears. We had talks in his presence and he had tried to explain to us. In fact we were to meet again the very day that Gandhiji was assassinated. That is true. But there was no serious rift between us. It was more a question of our looking at issues from different points of view.¹⁰³

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What are the main differences between the Congress and the other organizations in the world which have fought for freedom?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The organizations or parties which fight for a country's freedom are generally regarded as nationalist parties, though communist organizations have also fought for freedom. But that is linked to other things. So, from the point of view of nationalist organizations, I think there has been no party in any other country which could be compared to the Congress. For one thing, there has not been such a single large party in any other country. It is also true that they have not been allowed to grow and partly the potential has not been there. Secondly, the Congress had slowly started leaning towards economic and social issues, apart from the question of freedom, and had taken up the question of the peasants in particular. The moment peasants began to join the Congress in large numbers, they had an impact and we had to take up their particular problems. The Congress programme right from the beginning

103. See fn 88 in this section.

was economic and social, at least from the time that Gandhiji came on the scene. Then in 1930, the Karachi Resolution was passed¹⁰⁴ and gradually the programme acquired a socialistic pattern.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Its goals were pretty clear cut.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, and which you will not find in other national organizations. It is a different matter with other organizations, like labour. But you will not find such a link-up elsewhere.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That was bound to happen because a large organization like the Congress could not ignore these matters. In other places, I have seen that these became national issues and after a great deal of noise and riots and what not, things quietened down. There was no sustained effort. It is also true that under colonial regimes, it could not gain a foothold. The moment somebody started a movement, it used to be crushed. Here it got the opportunity to grow gradually, although the British government tried to suppress it. Because Gandhiji laid such great stress on its peaceful nature, so it was not easy to suppress it. Gandhiji insisted on great discipline also and would call off the movement if someone made a mistake. He tried to organize the Party and the entire country into a disciplined force. If there is lawlessness in a movement, it does not become very strong.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever work in the villages? If so when and how?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not right at the beginning but I was involved in the work of the rural areas of Uttar Pradesh for six or seven years, particularly in the districts of Awadh, Pratapgarh, Rae Bareli, Faizabad and Allahabad. Apart from that ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: This was around 1920?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It was in the beginning.

104. See fn 89 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what I am talking about. I had been formally a member of the Congress from 1912. I became involved in the rural areas in 1920, 21 and continued for years after that.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What was your general routine like?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There was nothing special. Some arrangement used to be made for my stay and food and so on.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It has been said that you used to set off on foot with a blanket on your shoulder.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, it was no such thing. But yes, I have often had to stay in a village. Some arrangement used to be made for food, stay, bathing, etc.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In your view, when and what were the wrong steps that the Congress took? What harm did they do to the nation and what steps did you take to stop them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now this goes into the realm of philosophy. How can one say what wrong steps were taken and when? Thousands of things happened. It is difficult to pinpoint something as a big mistake.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I meant, was there some decision or programme ever, on which you had a major difference of opinion about its feasibility, and did it cause any damage?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In Gandhiji's time, he had laid great stress on various things like the Khilafat which had a good effect because his aim was to foster Hindu-Muslim unity. But another result which occurred was that it ranged the orthodox Maulvis on the one side and the orthodox Hindu pandits on the other.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: (Laughter).

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was slightly more pronounced among the Maulvis than the Hindus who were subdued because of Gandhiji and others. Anyway, I think the result was not a happy one because it led to that way of thinking being considered respectable. It has always been my desire that the Congress should have one major objective. It could be broadly termed as socialism. I do not mean a rigid kind of socialism. I do not like the idea of a small socialist party

which is separatist. When I was in jail, a Socialist Party was formed and everybody said that it was at my instigation. I did not like the idea at all, because I felt that forming of such small parties would reduce the overall impact on the Congress. Those who had socialist inclinations could come into the Congress. What I feared did happen, because immediately a great big debate started off within the Congress, with some being in favour and others against them. The new group used to claim that they would throw out the old guard and capture the Congress. But the old guard, with Sardar Patel and others, was stronger and so they threw them out. There were, besides Sardar Patel, Rajendra Babu and Kripalani,¹⁰⁵ etc. You can get the facts from the books. In short, when the Congress was ready to follow the path of socialism at a suggestion, it was divided by these events into two. Well, anyhow later on, the Congress gradually veered round to it once again. In all these things, my attention was always drawn towards the modern, scientific world. I wanted people to appreciate that spirit. That did not mean that we had to abandon our fundamental principles. The two should be linked together. This was not the thinking in the country in those days. Now it is gradually taking roots. Even now it has not become strong enough.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But now the people have learnt to tolerate it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It is certainly true that Gandhiji called off the movement after the Chauri Chaura incident and started working among the Harijans and often went on fasts and so on. What was your stand in all these things?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not understand his fasting and whenever there was an opportunity, I used to say so. At the same time I was fully aware that his method was different. That was not open to debate. I did not like the idea of working among the Harijans because, though the idea in itself was good, I did not like the idea of moving away from the political field.

Translation ends]

105. See fn 90 in this section.

7. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary – IV¹⁰⁶

रामनारायण चौधरी: गाँधीजी में आपको क्या विशेषताएँ मालूम हुई, जो और लोगों में नहीं पायी जातीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: ऐसे सवालों का जवाब कोई मुश्तसर नहीं होता है। और लम्बा जवाब तो एक किताब हो जाती है। खासकर गाँधीजी के बारे में कुछ कहना मुश्किल होता है, क्योंकि ऐसे आदमी मामूली ग़ज़ से नहीं नापे जाते हैं। कुछ तो मैंने कहा भी है उनकी निस्वत अपनी किताबों में या व्याख्यानों में। एक बड़ी बात उनमें थी उनका निडर होना और उनकी सच्चाई। वो करीब-करीब एक ही बात है। और उनमें एक अजीबो-ग़रीब ताक़त थी, जो उससे आती थी एक।

रामनारायण चौधरी: निडरता से आती है वो ताक़त?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, निडरता और सच्चाई से रहने से आती है। ताक़त वो थी बहुत बड़ी। बहुत सारे गुण उनमें थे। गुण औरों में भी होते हैं, लेकिन कोई खास बात ऐसी होती है खास लोगों में, बहुत कम लोगों में दुनिया में, जो कि उनको कुछ औरों से अलग कर देती है, बहुत ऊँचा कर देती है। उसको तराजू में तोलना या ग़ज़ से नापना बहुत मुश्किल है। वो होती है। और उनमें वह थी, कोई शक नहीं। इसके माने ये नहीं थे कि हर बात जो कहें वो मुनासिब है, हर मसले पर राय दें तो सही है कि वो एक पेंटिंग पर राय दें, आर्किटेक्चर पर राय दें, तो मान ली जाय? (हँसी) मेरी राय में अक्सर उनकी राय ऐसे मज़मूनों में सही नहीं होती थी, लेकिन यह तो एक छोटी बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: पण्डितजी, उनके बारे में ये जो ख़याल है कि वो ईस्ट-वेस्ट का बड़ा सिन्येटिक व्यू लेते थे

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: ईस्ट-वेस्ट से क्या मतलब आपका?

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी पूर्वी और पश्चिमी सभ्यता की बातों में बड़ा एक मेल-मिलाप का दृष्टिकोण। अच्छी बात उनकी भी लेना, अच्छी बात अपनी भी ले लेना, इस तरह का व्यू वे लेते थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वह कौन शख्स है जिसने ज़रा भी इस पर ग़ौर किया है, कौन पढ़ा-लिखा आदमी है जो यह नहीं कहता कि ईस्ट-वेस्ट की अच्छी बातों को ले लेना चाहिए? यह तो हरेक कहता है। हाँ, उसके बँटवारे में क्या चीज़ ले, क्या नहीं, इसमें राय अलग-अलग हो सकती है। लेकिन उसूल तो यही है कि सब लेनी चाहिए। ईस्ट-वेस्ट जो कहलाता है, फ़र्क़ है उसमें। हर मुल्क में फ़र्क़ है। ईस्ट के मुल्कों में भी फ़र्क़ है। हिन्दुस्तान में और, फ़र्क़ करो, ईरान में दोस्ती है। बहुत बातें हमने एक-दूसरे से ली हैं, लेकिन काफ़ी फ़र्क़ है। इसके माने ये तो नहीं हो गये कि दो दुनिया हैं। ईस्ट और वेस्ट जो कहा जाता है आजकल के ज़माने में, तो असल में माने उसके हो जाते हैं कि वो मुल्क, जिन्होंने पिछले डेढ़-दो सौ बरस में इस मशीन-युग में तरक्की की है। ये माने होते हैं। अगर दो-ढाई सौ बरस पहले जाइए तो इस ढंग का ईस्ट-वेस्ट में फ़र्क़ नहीं था। फ़र्क़ थे जैसे देशों में होते हैं वैसे थे। अब फ़र्क़ है उन देशों में जिन्होंने मशीन-युग में पड़ के अपना धन-दौलत बढ़ाया है और इसलिए एक माने में खुशहाल हो गये हैं, और दूसरे जो ग़रीबी के दलदल में फंसे हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन एक फ़र्क़ यह भी तो है न कि मेटेरियल और स्पिरिचुअल एम्फ़ेसिस में

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जी, मैं नहीं मानता इसको। यानी ईस्ट-वेस्ट के सिलसिले में नहीं, हाँ, किसी देश में उधर झुकाव हुआ, वो हुआ। मैं कहता हूँ आप दो-ढाई सौ बरस हुए जो बोली यूरोप की थी वो हिन्दुस्तान की अब है। यानी वहाँ कोई मेटेरियल सिविलाइजेशन का चर्चा नहीं था। इन नयी-नयी बातों से उधर झुकाव हुआ, सही या ग़लत। तो उसमें कोई यूरोप की मिट्टी में वो बात नहीं है, न भारत की मिट्टी में, न कहीं और की। वो तो वाक़यात के ज़माने में विचार उठते हैं। और अब भी यूरोप में बहुत काफ़ी लोग हैं, जो मेटेरियल सिविलाइजेशन को बहुत अहमियत नहीं देते, काफ़ी नहीं समझते। उसके अलावा भी कुछ चाहते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपका और गाँधीजी का सम्बन्ध नेता-अनुयायी का, गुरु-शिष्य का या पिता-पुत्र का या क्या था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरी राय में ज़ाहिर है, वो नेता थे और मैं उनका अनुयायी था। गुरु-शिष्य का तो कहना शायद सही न हो, न पिता-पुत्र का पूरा सही हो, लेकिन इन सब बातों की थोड़ी झलक आ जाती है। हरेक का ज़रा-ज़रा असर होता है। बिलकुल सोलह आने तो नहीं होतीं ये बातें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्योंकि आप लिखते तो उनको बापू थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: तो बापू तो उन्हें दुनिया कहती थी। इसमें कौन-सी बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन आप तो उनके नज़दीक...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, हाँ, नज़दीक थे और एक माने में आप कह सकते हैं कि पिता-पुत्र का भी रिश्ता हो गया था किसी दर्जे। लेकिन पूरी तौर से कोई चीज़ नहीं है वो, टुकड़े थे सब बातों के।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी ऑन द होल यह नेता-अनुयायी की बात ज़्यादा कह सकते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, यह सही है कि एक उससे ज़्यादा करीब का रिश्ता था, ख़ाली एक लीडर का और उनके अनुयायी का नहीं। हाँ, उसका जो आप रिश्ता कहें, एक हमारे परिवार के मित्र थे। सलाह देते थे कई बातों में। हम सलाह लेते थे कोई बात हो, जिससे कोई राजनीति से मतलब न हो। यह दूसरा रिश्ता हो गया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी एक तरह का व्यक्तिगत सेंटिमेंट भी था बीच में। जैसे घर के लोगों में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: व्यक्तिगत सेंटिमेंट तो बहुत ज़्यादा था। एक तरह का क्या, वो तो था ही और औरों को भी बाँधता था। और उनमें माद्दा यह था कि वो अलग-अलग व्यक्तियों से काफ़ी रिश्ता क़ायम कर लेते थे, हज़ारों-लाखों से रखते थे। व्यक्तिगत के अलावा, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, एक ख़ानदानी रिश्ता भी कुछ था। बहुत सारे बन्धन होते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या आपने 1936 में उनसे यह कहा था कि आपका दिल उनके साथ है और दिमाग़ उनके विरुद्ध है? क्या इस पर आप उनके सामने रोये थे? उनका क्या जवाब था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुझे तो कभी भी ऐसा कहना याद नहीं पड़ता है और न मैं समझता हूँ कि कभी मैंने कहा होगा। और न मैं कभी उनके सामने रोया हूँ — कभी भी, जहाँ तक मुझे याद पड़ता है। क्योंकि रोने की मेरी आदत नहीं है। ये फ़िकरे और लोग अक्सर कहा करते थे मेरे और उनके रिश्ते की निस्बत। अख़बारों में निकले, मैगज़ीनों में निकले लोग कहें कि दिल उनके साथ है, दिमाग़ अलग है। वो बात कोई इस तरह अलग नहीं होती है। मेरा दिल साथ था उनके, बहुत था। दिमाग़ भी काफ़ी साथ था। कभी-कभी दिमाग़ किसी बात में न हो, वो और बात है। लेकिन अगर दिमाग़ साथ में न हो एक दिमागी आदमी का, तो काम नहीं कर सकता है। गाड़ी चलती नहीं है कभी भी। यह और बात है कि कभी-कभी किसी बात पर फ़र्क़ हो जाय, लेकिन आमतौर से जब तक दिमाग़ न पकड़े उस बात को, तो काफ़ी नहीं है। उसके लिए हमेशा वो

एक मैदान हो जाय लड़ाई का, अन्दरूनी, अपने में, दिलो-दिमाग में। कुछ नहीं कर सकता वो। हाँ, कभी-कभी ऐसे सवाल उठते हैं तो और बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी इस तरह की कोई घटना, कभी कोई बात।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मुझे तो कोई याद नहीं। हाँ, उनसे बहस बहुत हुई, यह हुआ, वह हुआ। मुमकिन है, मेरी बाज़ बातें उनको नागवार गुज़री हों, बाज़ उनकी बातें मुझे अच्छी नहीं लगीं। यह तो होता ही रहता है। पचासों दफ़े हुई होंगी। कोई घटना याद नहीं इस समय मुझे, जिसमें इस तरह की बातें हुई हों।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या आपने गाँधी सेवा संघ¹⁰⁷ को कांग्रेस का राइवल समझ कर गाँधीजी के सामने उसका विरोध प्रकट किया था? क्या यह भी एक बड़ा कारण था, जिससे उन्हें गाँधी सेवा संघ को तोड़ देना पड़ा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: नहीं, यह बात बिलकुल सही नहीं है। कोई मुझे ख़ास याद नहीं कि मैंने कोई विरोध किया हो और यह बिलकुल ग़लत है कि मेरे कहने से उन्होंने कुछ किया हो। ये अक्सर, अक्सर क्या, कई बार बातें हुई थीं, गाँधी सेवा संघ के बारे में नहीं, बल्कि कुछ लोग जो कि बहुत अपने को गाँधीवादी कहते थे, खादी में काम करते थे या और जगह तो मैंने ध्यान दिलाया था कि बहुत तंगख़याली से काम कर रहे हैं। काम अच्छा है। इस क्रिस्म की बातें कभी-कभी हुई थीं, लेकिन गाँधी सेवा संघ के बारे में तो मुझे याद नहीं पड़ता कभी कुछ कहना।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यही कि कांग्रेस की मुखालिफ़त कुछ उनकी वजह से होती है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: वो उस ज़माने में तो नहीं। उनके बाद ये सवाल उठे हैं। उस ज़माने में तो इस क्रिस्म का सवाल मुझे याद नहीं पड़ता। कहीं मुकामी उठा हो, लेकिन आम नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह सवाल तो मैं छोड़ देता हूँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: छोड़िए या पूछिए। मैं कह दूँगा जो मुझे कहना होगा।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, अच्छा। गाँधीजी और आपके विचारों में ख़ास मतभेद किन-किन मुद्दों पर रहा? मोटे तौर पर दो-चार बातें क्या हैं? क्या आपने गाँधीजी की इस कोशिश

107. See SWJN/FS/8/pp. 387-389.

की मुखालिफ़त की थी कि कांग्रेस वालों का ख़ानगी जीवन शुद्ध हो। क्या आपने इसी ख़याल के अनुसार 1940 के व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह में विनोबा सम्बन्धी गाँधीजी के बयान में से कुछ अंश कटवा दिया था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: यह तो आपका एक बहुत अजीब सवाल है। गोया कि कोई आदमी भी इस बात का विरोध करे कि औरों का या कांग्रेस वालों का जीवन शुद्ध हो। बिल्कुल बेमानी बात है। कम-से-कम मेरे समझ में नहीं आता कि कैसे कोई कर सकता है यह। हाँ, यह और बात है कि किसी के जीवन शुद्ध होने के माने आपके क्या हैं? फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, कोई मुझसे कहे आ के, तुम्हारा जीवन शुद्ध नहीं होगा, तुम मांस खाते हो। तो मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता। ये तो एक अपने-अपने विचार की बात है। लेकिन जो बुनियादी बातें होती हैं वो तो होनी ही चाहिएँ, उन पर ज़ोर देना ही चाहिए। और जो आपने विनोबाजी के बयान अव्वल तो मैंने देखा नहीं वो कि मैं उसमें कुछ कहूँ और देखता तो बिल्कुल नामुमकिन बात थी कि मैं उसमें कुछ टीका-टिप्पणी कहूँ कि उसमें कभी, यानी मैंने देखा ही नहीं था। देखा हो तो बाद में देखा हो, मुझे इस वक़्त याद भी नहीं वो क्या था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: गाँधीजी और आपके विचारों में ख़ास मतभेद किन-किन मुद्दों पर रहा? मोटे तौर पर दो-चार बातें क्या हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: यह तो मैं नहीं बता सकता। न मैंने इस पर चर्चा किया। एक अपनी किताबों में काफ़ी लिखा है। उसमें कहीं-कहीं आयी हैं। बहुत मुश्किल है उन सवालों को लेना, क्योंकि छोटी-छोटी बातें होती हैं। यों एक मोटे तौर से मेरा ख़याल है कि आजकल की दुनिया एक विज्ञान की दुनिया है और विज्ञान के बग़ैर हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते। और विज्ञान की जो औलाद है उसने आजकल की दुनिया को बनाया है। उसके बग़ैर हम पिछड़े रहेंगे, हमारी ग़रीबी कभी दूर नहीं होगी, दुर्बल रहेंगे और दुर्बल रहने से हमेशा ख़तरा है कि हम दास बना लिये जायेंगे, गुलाम बना लिये जायेंगे। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि विज्ञान और साइन्स की दुनिया में भी ख़राबियाँ पैदा हुई हैं। और भी हो सकती हैं। अब उसकी रोक-थाम करने की कोशिश की जाय कि और न हों। लेकिन इसके बग़ैर मैं नहीं समझता कि हिन्दुस्तान कभी भी खुशहाल हो सकता है। और दुनिया के देश जो खुशहाल हैं, वो हुए हैं कि उनमें शक्ति आयी अधिक सामान पैदा करने की ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने से, उससे खुशहाली हुई। और वो शक्ति आ नहीं सकती बग़ैर नये तरीक़ों के, नयी टेकनीक के। हाँ, हो सकता है कि आदमी बजाय दस घण्टे के पन्द्रह घण्टे का काम करें, और कुछ करें। कुछ ज़रा उससे अधिक लाभ हो। लेकिन उसमें और दूसरे में बहुत फ़र्क़ है। वहाँ दस और पन्द्रह घण्टे का फ़र्क़ नहीं, दस और हज़ार घण्टे का फ़र्क़ हो जाता है। मशीन का काम इस तरह से तो होना नहीं चाहिए कि इन्सान बेकार पड़ा है। वो तो प्रबन्ध की, इन्तज़ाम की बात है कि न हो। बेकारी नहीं हो और अधिक सामान व धन पैदा हो, जो कि लोगों की

हालत को बेहतर करे, यानी सामान उनको पहुँचे। मैं नहीं समझता कि बुनियादी तौर से गाँधीजी उसका विरोध करते, क्योंकि गाँधीजी बहुत कम कोई लम्बा नक्शा रखते थे सामने। वक्त पर जो उचित समझते थे, कहते थे, करो उसे। दूसरा कदम उठाने का वक्त आये तो दूसरा कदम उठाते थे। इसलिए यह मैं कहने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि वो इसका कोई विरोध करते थे। क्योंकि बाद में उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि अब बिजली का इस्तेमाल करना बहुत ठीक है, यानी बिजली से कारखाने छोटे-छोटे गाँवों में चलें, वो ठीक है। लेकिन कहा उन्होंने कारखाने तो गाँवों में हों, इसको तो मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ। तो यह कहना कि मेरा-उनका विरोध था, मुश्किल है। किसमें था, किसमें नहीं था। आखिर मेरा ढंग, मेरी पढ़ाई-लिखाई, मेरा बचपन से बढ़ाव एक ढंग का था, उनका दूसरा था। तो फ़र्क तो होते ही हैं देखने में प्रश्नों के। उनके सामने यह बात बड़ी थी कि दुनिया ऐशो-आराम की तरफ बहुत जा रही है, यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। ज़ाहिर है उसमें भी कोई विरोध की बात नहीं है कि इस दर्जे ऐशो-आराम हो। फिर वो भी देखें न कि ऐशो-आराम किसको कहते हैं? यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में एक मोटर रखना दौलत की निशानी है, इंग्लैण्ड-अमरीका में वो दौलत की निशानी नहीं है। वो एक मामूली चीज़ है जो हरेक आदमी के पास है, हर एक मज़दूर के पास है, ऐशो-आराम का सवाल नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मतलब ऐसी कोई बातें नहीं कहीं जा सकती कि आपके-उनके बीच में कोई बड़ा मतभेद हमेशा रहा हो।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मेरे ख़त छपे हैं उनके नाम, उनके ख़त मेरे जवाब में। मेरी परेशानी बाज़ बातों पर, उनका जवाब। एक माने में छोटी-मोटी बातों पर अक्सर ऐसा होता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मैं सवाल इसलिए करता हूँ, पण्डितजी, कि आपका पन्द्रह बरस पहले मान लीजिए गाँधीजी के बारे में एक ख़याल रहा हो, और जैसे-जैसे आपका अनुभव होता है, उसमें थोड़ी तब्दीली हो सकती है। तो आज का आपका जो मानस है उसको मैं जानने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। क्या आपने उनके जीते-जी उनके कार्यक्रम को जिस हद तक स्वीकार किया, उस हद तक अब भी उस पर अमल कर रहे हैं? अगर नहीं कर रहे हैं तो क्या वजह है? जैसे उनका रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम वगैरा-वगैरा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उनका रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम? बहुत सारी चीज़ें तो ऐसी हैं कि वे एक-दूसरे से बर्ताव की हैं। वो कहें कि हिन्दू-मुसलमानों में मेल हो तो ठीक है। उसमें कोई खास प्रोग्राम बनाया जाय मेल का कि रोज़ कि आजो भाई सौ आदमी इधर से गले मिलो। वो एक नकली बात हो जाती है। तो ऐसे प्रोग्राम तो चलते ही हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन आपको पॉलिसी में तो वो प्रोग्राम है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: वो तो सभी है हरिजनों वगैरा का। ये सब बुनियादी बातें तो हैं ही। ग्रामोद्योग वगैरा सब हैं। और शायद उसमें काम ज्यादा हो रहा है पहले से। कम-से-कम सरकारी तौर से बहुत हो रहा है। खादी में, इसमें, उसमें। तो वे बातें तो चलती हैं। लेकिन वो सब मिला के काफ़ी नहीं हैं। यानी वो सब बातें अच्छी हैं अपने ढंग से और करनी चाहिए। लेकिन उसके अलावा और बहुत काम करने पड़ते हैं। तो वज़न हो जाता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: तो इसका मतलब अब जो और अलावा है वो उनसे भी ज्यादा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ। बहुत ज्यादा है। बेशुमार ज्यादा है। यानी ज्यादा का सवाल नहीं है। वो तो बुनियादी बातें हैं, जैसे हिन्दू-मुसलमान-मेल। वो तो है ही। हरिजनों को उठाना है, वो है ही, ग्रामोद्योग बढ़ाना है। ये सब बातें तो हैं। लेकिन सारी हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना मोटी पोथी है। वो ही बातें तो हैं ही, पचासों बातें हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन गाँधीजी का 'गाँवों में खादी और शहरों में मिल का कपड़ा' वाला उसूल लागू करने में आपको क्या दिक्कत है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: इसमें दिक्कत का कौन-सा सवाल है? हम कोशिश करते हैं कि गाँव वाले करें। शहर वाले भी पहनें। लेकिन मजबूर तो हम नहीं कर सकते उन्हें। समझा सकते हैं। बाज़-बाज़ गाँवों में हुआ है, होता जाता है। लेकिन आखिर में समस्याएँ बहुत दिन तक मजबूरी से हल नहीं होती हैं। और सस्ता मिल का कपड़ा मिले गाँव वालों को तो लेते हैं। हम रोक तो नहीं सकते उन्हें, न रोकना चाहते हैं। जितना इसको करें, करें। खादी से हमें बहुत लाभ हुय है, बहुत फ़ायदे हुए हैं और रहेंगे। लेकिन आखिर में खादी कामयाब उसी समय होती है जब वो अपने पैरों पर खड़ी हो और मुक्काबला कर सके। अगर उसको हर वक़्त बाहर से मदद करने की ज़रूरत है, जैसे कि बहुत होता है, तो ठीक है वक़्त पर मदद करना, कुछ वर्ष तक करना और इसलिए मदद करना कि उससे लोगों को काम मिलता है वो ठीक है। लेकिन बड़े पैमाने पर मुक्काबला करें तो वो एक आर्थिक नीति से मुक्काबला करना है। अगर उसके पैदा करने में ज्यादा खर्च होता है, तब तो बहुत दिन तक मुक्काबला नहीं कर सकते। वह नामुमकिन हो जाता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: चाहें तो भी नहीं हो सकता?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, चाहें तो भी नहीं हो सकता। उसके माने यह हैं कि कोई काम, कोई चीज़ भी जिसको आप ऐसे ढंग से, क्या कहूँ, पुराने टेकनीक से करते हैं, वो नये टेकनीक का मुक्काबला कभी नहीं कर सकता। खास जगह पर कर लें, खास वक़्त पर कर लें, पक्के तौर पर नहीं कर

सकते। अब एक आदमी करघा हाथ से चलाता है, एक अपने वहीं गाँव में पावर लूम लगा लेता है, तो हाथ वाला उसका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता। फ़ौरन निकल जाता है वो आगे। हालांकि वह भी कॉटेज इण्डस्ट्री है, पावर लूम; यह नहीं कि बाहर की है, लेकिन हाथ वाला उसका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता। वो ज़्यादा बनाता है। आखिर में इन्सान की सारी तरक्की जो सारे इतिहास में है, उसकी बुनियाद यह है कि उसके हाथ में नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ आयीं, जिससे उसके हाथ की ताक़त बढ़ गयी। मशीन क्या है? मशीन आदमी के हाथ को लम्बा कर देती है या एक आदमी के 12 हाथ कर देती है, 1000 हाथ कर देती है। कहानियाँ पढ़ते हैं लोग कि 1000 हाथ और 12 सिर थे रावण के, क्या-क्या। तो मशीन 1000 हाथ देती है आदमी को और 12 सिर देती है, 100 सिर देती है, उसकी ताक़त बढ़ा देती है करने की। हाँ, उसका दुरुपयोग भी हो सकता है। वो दूसरा सवाल है। उसका सदुपयोग हो, दुरुपयोग हो? वो तो एक शक्ति है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह जो एक सवाल इस सम्बन्ध में उठता है कि एक आदमी को आप मशीन देते हैं और वो पाँच आदमियों का काम कर लेती है, तो जो चार आदमियों को बँटवारा हो जाता था काम का थोड़ा-थोड़ा करके, वो एक सवाल

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो ठीक है। इसलिए हम मशीनें देते नहीं, जहाँ-जहाँ मशीन गयी है, वहाँ बेकारी नहीं बढ़ी, बेकारी ख़तम हो गयी है। ज़ाहिर है। हिन्दुस्तान का नहीं कह रहा हूँ मैं। जिस देश में गयी है मशीन, मशीन के जाने से इतने नये काम आते हैं। फ़र्ज़ करो इंग्लैण्ड, फ़्रांस, अमरीका, जर्मनी। वहाँ बेकारी नहीं है जो मशीन के मुल्क हैं ज़ोरों से या रूस। इससे कोई मतलब नहीं पूँजीवाद और समाजवाद और साम्यवाद का। मशीनवाद है आजकल की दुनिया का। और जहाँ वो गयी है, वहाँ ये बेरोज़गारी ख़तम हो गयी है हल्के-हल्के। बीच में तकलीफ़ हुई। तो यह कहना कि मशीन के आने से रोज़गार बन्द हो जाता है एक तो यह आरज़ी तौर से होता है। दूसरे, बदइन्तज़ामी भी उसकी वजह होती है। इसलिए उसको ऐसा समझ के करना चाहिए कि जिससे ये बातें न हों।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी टेम्पोरेरिली ख़ास ऑक्यूपेशन में कुछ दिन बेकारी हो सकती है, लेकिन नये ऑक्यूपेशन निकलते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, नये ऑक्यूपेशन निकलते जाते हैं उसमें।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ये कम्पेंसेशन वाली नयी बात है। मेरे ध्यान में नहीं थी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इनका आप मुकाबला कर लें। जितने मुल्क हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अब मैं समझ गया। आपकी बात ठीक है। हाँ, गाँधीजी की सादगी और किफ़ायत का उसूल मन्त्रियों और शासन पर लागू करने में आपको क्या एतराज़, क्या कठिनाई है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: सादगी के उसूल में कोई कठिनाई या एतराज़ तो हो नहीं सकता। कठिनाई एक ढंग की हो सकती है, जब वह काम करने के रास्ते में आये। गाँधीजी के सादगी के उसूल उनके काम करने के लिहाज़ से ठीक थे। गाँधीजी के पीछे बीस आदमी उनकी सादगी को सँभालते थे। वो असल में मिला के बीस आदमियों का काम हो जाता था, जहाँ एक आदमी काम करेगा दूसरी जगह। एक मेरा स्टेनोग्राफ़र का काम करेगा, फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, एक टाइपिस्ट करेगा जो शॉर्टहैंड जानता है और टाइप राइटर है। दूसरे उसकी जगह वहाँ दस आदमी हों, जो ख़त हाथ से लिख रहे हैं। अगर हम आजकल की एफ़िशियेन्सी के सामान को इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए मैं हूँ। मेरे पास हज़ारों ख़त रोज़ आते हैं। मेरा उसका केयरफ़ुल इन्तज़ाम न हो, किसको जवाब दूँ, किसको नहीं, किसको जल्दी, यह और वो, तो मेरा काम न चले, गाड़ी बैठ जाय। तो काम करने की एक टेकनीक होती है। गाँधीजी की टेकनीक उनके लिए निहायत मौज़ू थी। एक माने में सब लोग सादा थे। लेकिन बीस आदमियों को करना पड़ता था दो आदमियों के काम को।

रामनारायण चौधरी: फिर तो थर्ड क्लास में बैठने की बात में भी यह हो जायेगा कि दस आदमी की जगह एक आदमी ले लेता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: वो तो है ही। नहीं, बीस पोटलियाँ हैं। हरेक आदमी एक-एक पोटली लिये जा रहा है। होता है न? उसमें गाँधीजी की ख़ूबी थी और बड़ी भारी ख़ूबी थी। वो यह कि हर बात वे ऐसे करना चाहते थे जैसे मामूली हिन्दुस्तान का किसान, गाँव के ग़रीब किसान करते हैं। बहुत बड़ी बात थी। उससे अपनायत होती थी। उससे आप करीब आते थे। लेकिन वो चीज़ उनके लिए खप जाती थी। हम ऐसे लोग करें, तो मज़ाक हो जाय। यानी एक नकल हो जाती है बड़े आदमी के करने की कि हम भी साहब ... (हँसी)

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, बात ठीक है और स्थिति भी दूसरी है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: और मुल्क के काम चल नहीं सकते इस ढंग से। और मैं आपसे कहूँ, ये आपने लिखा मन्त्रियों के ऐशो-आराम का। ये क्या लिखा है आपने?

रामनारायण चौधरी: सादगी पर ये मैंने लिखा है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: ये, ज़ाहिर है, व्यक्तिगत लोगों पर ही होता है, क्या करें, क्या न करें, कैसे

रहें। लेकिन यह आम शिकायत हमारे सेण्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के और और जगह के मन्त्रियों को कुछ होती है। वो मुझे बहुत सही नहीं मालूम होती। यानी जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि किसी क्रदर सही हो, कोई आदमी गुरुर करे वगैरा। वह तो व्यक्तिगत बात है। आमतौर पर हरेक मन्त्री काफ़ी बड़ी मुसीबत में बेचारा रहता है। यानी उसको तनख्वाह क्या मिलती है? मुझे इन्कमटैक्स वगैरा काट के 1620 रुपये मिलते हैं। हाँ, मुफ्त में मकान है, बहुत नौकर-चाकर मुफ्त में हैं, यह मैंने माना। और उससे ज़ाहिर है, मुझे बहुत फ़ायदा है। और लोगों को, जो मन्त्री हैं, उनको शायद दो हज़ार पड़ता है। इसके साथ और जो मुझे मुफ्त में बातें हैं, वो उन्हें नहीं मिलतीं। अब जिस तरह यहाँ दिल्ली में कोई मामूली हैसियत का भी आदमी रहता है, तो दो हज़ार रुपये आज के पुराने ज़माने के 500 रुपये के बराबर नहीं हैं। उससे भी कम हों शायद। लेकिन इतनी उसके ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारियाँ भी आये दिन रहती हैं। और हिन्दुस्तानी एक ढंग भी ऐसा है, मेरा ढंग खास नहीं है, कि किसी के यहाँ जाइए तो उसका सारा खानदान लम्बा-चौड़ा, दायें-बायें, आगे-पीछे सब जमा होते हैं। सब दोस्त आते हैं। दिन-रात एक बीस आदमी मौजूद रहते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: उम्मीद रखते हैं बहुत लोग।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: उम्मीद रखते हैं, कुछ खानदान वाले हैं, कुछ दोस्त हैं, आते हैं, जाते हैं। यह हिन्दुस्तानी दस्तूर है। काफ़ी उसके ऊपर बोझा पड़ता है। अलावा इसके कि आमतौर से दिल्ली में जो आ के रहता है उसका घर कहीं और है। उस घर को चलाना है। मेरा घर¹⁰⁸ इलाहाबाद में है। मेरी तनख्वाह आधी से ज़्यादा तनख्वाह, इलाहाबाद के घर को चलाने में चली जाती है। ये बात है, छोड़ दीजिए। इतने पुराने आदमी हैं, नौकर हैं, मैं कैसे उनको अलग करूँ? काफ़ी उसमें मेरा खर्च होता है, काफ़ी क्या, एक आधी से कहीं ज़्यादा मेरी तनख्वाह उसमें जाती है। मेरा काम कैसे चलता है? एक तो यह कि जब मैं चाहूँ मैं उसको कम कर दे सकता हूँ। मैं अभी मजबूर हूँ। मैं इलाहाबाद के घर को अलग कर दे सकता हूँ। मेरी कोई तनख्वाह से काम चलता है? मेरी किताबों से जो रॉयल्टी मिलती है उससे काम चलता है। हालाँकि टैक्सेज़ वगैरा में चला जाता है, लेकिन फिर भी जो कुछ कमी उसमें होती है, उससे निकल जाती है। नहीं तो सारा रहन-सहन मुझे बदलना पड़े। और मेरे कम-से-कम खर्च होते हैं। यही जो मामूली खर्च होते हैं लोगों के, कपड़े वगैरा के, इन बातों पर मेरा खर्च क़रीब-क़रीब होता ही नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कुछ तो वो लोग

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: बड़े मकानों में रहते हैं। बड़े मकान हैं यहाँ चार-पाँच कमरे हैं। अव्वल तो आमतौर से हिन्दुस्तानी घराने इतने बड़े हैं; खुद भी बड़ा होता है, और भी सब साथ होते हैं। दूसरे,

मेहमान वगैरा। तीसरे, अलावा मेहमानों के, बाहर और भी मेहमान—विजिटर्स आते हैं, मिलना-जुलना है। कुछ तो इन्तज़ाम करना पड़ता है न। ये कुछ फैलावा, दिखावा उसमें है। बाज़ लोग करें लेकिन आमतौर पर यह बात ठीक नहीं है। हाँ, मेरे लिए ठीक है कि मैं एक बड़े महल में रहता हूँ, यह बात है। और मैंने कई दफ़े हिसाब लगाये इसके कि मेरे यहाँ हटने से खर्चा बढ़ जाता है इसका। लोग ये महसूस नहीं करते। जैसे हमारे राष्ट्रपति राजेन्द्र बाबू हमारे राष्ट्रपति-भवन से अलग हों तो हमारा खर्चा दुगुना हो जाता है। यह अजीब बात है। बड़े हिसाब लगाये इसके। क्योंकि एक तो राष्ट्रपति-भवन को चलाना ही है। देखिए न, उसका खर्च बहुत कम नहीं होता। कुछ कम होता है? उसको चलाना है मेहमानों के लिए, इसके लिए, उसके लिए, हज़ार बातों के लिए। वह तो चलेगा ही और इनके इन्तज़ाम करने में इनका जो बड़ा ख़ानदान, अपना ज़ाती ख़ानदान नहीं और लोग भी जो इनके स्टाफ़ हैं, यह हैं, वह हैं, उनके लिए हमें दस बँगले लेने पड़ें। कहीं मिलते भी नहीं साथ-साथ। परेशानियाँ साथ न रह सकें, खर्चा उन पर हो काफ़ी। तो दो खर्च हो जायें, एक इधर का और एक उधर का। और इनएफ्रिशियन्सी हो, जो कि एक जगह न रहने से होती है। अब क्या? वो (राजेन्द्र बाबू) राष्ट्रपति-भवन में रहते हैं, लेकिन रहते हैं क्या? चार बेचारों के कमरे हैं, चार कमरे, पाँच कमरे जो कुछ हैं। इतने बड़े मकान का क्या? हमारे दस दफ़्तर हैं वहाँ। हमारी कैबिनेट है, हमारा प्लानिंग कमीशन तो नहीं, कोई और कमीशन है, हमारे गेस्ट रूम हैं, हमारे एण्टरटेनमेण्ट रूम हैं। बहुत सारी बातें उसमें आ जाती हैं न। उसको अगर हम निकालें, तो और बातें सब हमें चलानी हैं। उनके लिए दस बंगले लें हम अलग, और खर्च बढ़ें, तकलीफ़ हो, परेशानी हो। ये दिक्कत हो जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कांग्रेस को लोक सेवक संघ बनाने की गाँधीजी की आखिरी वसीयत¹⁰⁹ को उनके राजनीतिक वारिस होने पर भी आपने क्यों नहीं माना? यह बड़ा सवाल उठता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह सवाल उसके मानने-न मानने का तो मेरे सामने आया नहीं। यानी कोई उन्होंने बुला के हमसे बात कही नहीं। एक उनका कोई लेख है। जो कुछ है, वो बाद में पेश हुआ। तो उनसे कुछ बातचीत तो नहीं हुई। लेकिन कुछ एक ज़माना हुआ यानी सन '30-31 का ज़माना हुआ, गाँधी-इर्विन समझौते के बाद उनसे मेरी कुछ बातें हुई थीं। मैंने अपनी किताब में ज़िक्र किया है। उन्होंने कुछ इशारा किया था इस तरह का और मैंने उनसे कहा था कि आपकी बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती।¹¹⁰ लेकिन नाम कांग्रेस या लोक सेवक संघ कुछ भी रख दीजिए,

109. On this point, see D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Vol. 8, (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1963 Edition), pp. 283-284.

110. Nehru suggests, in his autobiography, that it was before, not after, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, see Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1980 Edition), pp. 251-257.

मतलब यह है कि देश की राजनीति के चलाने, सँभालने के लिए एक संस्था की ज़रूरत है। तो फिर बात यह रह गयी न कि या तो कांग्रेस करे या हम ही लोग दूसरी संस्था बनायें? ख़ाली एक नाम का प्रश्न रह गया। यह राय हो कि नहीं चाहिए ऐसी संस्था, दूसरी संस्था चाहिए तो दूसरी बात है। मैंने न उसे उस वक़्त समझा, न इस वक़्त समझता हूँ कि एक छोड़ दिया जाय लोगों के ऊपर और कोई एक चीज़ उन्हें बाँधने को न हो संस्था के रूप में। उससे तो हमारी डेमोक्रेसी नहीं चल सकती। वो तो हुल्लड़बाज़ी होती है, एक एनार्की-सी होती है। यह एक सवाल है जिसमें दो रायें हो सकती हैं कि ज़्यादा अच्छा होता कि एक नयी संस्था शुरू की जाती, कांग्रेस वाले शुरू करते नयी संस्था। नतीजा उसका यह होता कि कांग्रेस का रूप ही बदल जाता, इतनी बड़ी संस्था नहीं रहती। दूसरी संस्था कितनी बड़ी होती, मैं नहीं जानता, क्योंकि ये बातें ऊपर से बदलने से नहीं, लोगों के ऊपर हैं। क्या बात है। इस वक़्त लोग कांग्रेस में आते हैं, हज़ारों-लाखों ईमानदारी से आते हैं, बेईमानी से आते हैं, बोगस मेम्बर्स भी सब आते हैं। क्यों? लोभ से, लालच से, पाना। नाम आप कुछ रखिए। और हमारी संस्थाएँ हैं, भली संस्थाएँ हैं, चाहे वो सर्वोदय हो, चाहे कुछ हो, लोग जाते हैं, ज़रूर खिंचते जाते हैं। विनोबाजी जाते हैं, भीड़ आ जाती है। वो चले गये, फिर अपने रह जाते हैं। कुछ लोग जाते हैं, वो अच्छी बात है। वो जायें। मेरा मतलब यह है कि यह तो लोगों को बदलना है, लोगों को नये क्रिस्म का बनाना है। कोई ऊपर से ख़ास संस्था को अदलने-बदलने से नहीं होता। गाँधीजी ने जो कही थी वो बात एक माने में माकूल थी, दूर की थी। लेकिन कुछ समय में नहीं आता था कि अमल उस पर कैसे करें? और अमल करने में यह न हो कि अमल करने की कोशिश में गाड़ी टूट जाये या बैठ जाय, चले ही नहीं। ये पेंच बहुत थे।

[Translation begins:

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What were the qualities in Gandhiji which were not to be found in others?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There can be no direct answers to such questions. Books could be written on the subject. It is particularly difficult to say anything about Gandhiji, because men of his stamp cannot be judged by ordinary yardsticks. I have said something about him in my books and speeches. The great things about him were his fearlessness and truthfulness. Both are almost the same thing. He had an extraordinary strength in him which arose out of these qualities.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: His strength arose out of fearlessness?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it was born out of fearlessness and truthfulness. He had an extraordinary strength. He had many qualities in him. But that can be said of others too. However, there is something special in a few individuals in the

world which sets them apart from the others and puts them on a high pedestal. It is difficult to gauge what it is. But it is there. There is no doubt about it that it was there in Gandhiji. That does not mean that everything that he said was right. After all, how could we accept his views on painting and architecture as infallible? (Laughs). In my opinion, his views on such subjects were very often not right. But this is a very small matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Panditji, the idea that he used to take a very sympathetic view of the East-West....

Jawaharlal Nehru: What do you mean by East-West?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I mean the need for a synthesis between the best in the civilizations of the East as well as the West. This was his view.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Is there any thinking, educated individual who does not think so? Everyone says this. There can be differences of opinion about what should be taken and what should be left. But on principle there should be a synthesis. The view of the East-West differs from country to country. There is a difference within the countries of East. For instance, suppose there is friendship between India and Iran. We have adopted many things from each other's cultures and there is a tremendous difference. But that does not mean that we are two worlds. The connotation of the East and West as it is understood today is in relation to the progress made by the West during the last couple of centuries because of industrialization. The difference between the East and West was not so marked before that. There were differences, as they are bound to be, between nations. Today the difference arises because the countries of the West have entered the machine-age and become extremely wealthy and, in a sense well-off, while the first is stuck in a mire of poverty.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But isn't there a difference in the emphasis on material and spiritual values....

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, I do not accept that in the context of the East and West. Yes, it is possible that in some country, there may be a greater leaning towards that. I would say that a couple of hundred years ago, Europe spoke the same language as India does today. What I mean to say is that there was no talk of material civilization then. Rightly or wrongly, these new developments have led to their leaning in that direction. Therefore it is not something in the soil of Europe or India, or anywhere else, which leads to all this. It depends on the

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exigencies of the times. Even now there are many people in Europe who do not attach much importance to material civilization and nor do they think that is enough. They want something more.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Was your relationship with Gandhiji that of leader and follower, teacher-disciple, or father and son?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In my opinion, obviously, he was the leader and I was the follower. It may not perhaps be quite right to call it a teacher-disciple relationship, nor would father-son be fully right. But there was an element of all these things. Each aspect had some influence, though not always hundred percent.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You used to refer to him as Bapu.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The whole world knew him as Bapu. What is there special about my doing so?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But you were so close to him ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yea, yes, we were extremely close and in a sense, you can say relationship had become that of father and son to some extent. But essentially it was a mixture of various things.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So on the whole it would be better to say it was a teacher-follower relationship?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is true that it was a much closer relationship. It was not merely that of leader and follower. He was a family friend too and used to advise us on various matters. We used to go to him for advice on matters, which had nothing to do with politics. This is a different kind of relationship.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is, there was a personal sentiment also involved, as between members of a family.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There was an enormous personal sentiment which used to bind others too. He had the capacity to establish a personal bond with various people, with millions of people. Apart from the personal relationship, as I told you, there was a familiar relationship too. So there were many bonds.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you say to him in 1936, that while your heart was with him, your mind was against him? Did you weep over this before him? What was his reply?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember ever to have said such a thing, nor do I think I could have said it. Nor did I ever weep before him, as far as I can remember because it is not my habit to cry. There were things which others often said about my relationship with him. Magazines and newspapers were in the habit of publishing such things, like the hearts are one but minds are divided, etc. There can be no such distinction. My heart was with him and to a very large extent, so was my mind, except in very rare cases, when I did not agree with him. But if one does not see eye to eye with another, it is impossible to work together. It is another matter that sometimes there used to be differences of opinion. But generally speaking, unless there is intellectual agreement, it cannot work. It will pave the way for a constant inner conflict between the heart and the mind. Yes, sometimes such problems may arise, which is a different thing.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Has there ever been such an incident ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot remember. Yes, I used to argue with him a great deal. It is possible that he may have found some of my views difficult to accept and vice versa. That is always possible. In fact it must have happened dozens of times. But I cannot remember any single occasion, when such a thing might have happened.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you ever oppose the Gandhi Seva Sangh¹¹¹ as a possible rival of the Congress? Was this one of the reasons for breaking up the Gandhi Seva Sangh?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, this is absolutely incorrect. I do not remember having opposed it and it is absolutely wrong to say that he did something because I said so. It has often happened that I pointed out to Gandhiji the fact that many people who called themselves Gandhites, not in the Gandhi Seva Sangh but in other areas, were adopting narrow-minded ways. I used to say that, that is why they did not grow. Such things may have been said, sometimes. But I do not remember saying anything about the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

111. See fn 107 in this section.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Your report says four bottles of illicit liquor and one bottle of a liquid with a strange taste and smell. For your information it is lemonade!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 7 AUGUST 1959)

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Did you not feel that the Congress was opposed because of them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not in those days at least. These problems arose later. In those days I do not remember that such issues ever arose. It may have happened in isolated instances but not as a rule.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I shall drop this question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whether you ask or drop it, I shall say what I want to.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, all right. Did you ever try to oppose Gandhiji's effort to ensure that the personal lives of Congressmen should be clean? Did you, with this in view, have some portions of Gandhiji's statement concerning Vinobaji deleted in the Individual Satyagraha statement of 1940?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is an extremely strange question of yours. Why should anyone be opposed to having the Congressmen, or anyone else, observe complete integrity in their personal lives? It is absolutely absurd. I for one reason fail to understand anyone doing such a thing. Yes, it is another matter as to what you may mean by clean personal lives. Suppose someone were to tell me that my life is not clean because I eat meat, I am not prepared to accept it. These are a matter of all Individual preferences. But stress has to be laid on the observance of the basic principles in life. I am amazed to hear what you said about Gandhiji's statement. First of all, I do not see that it has to do anything with it. Even if I had seen it, it is absolutely impossible that that I should have criticized it. Anyway, I did not even see it. Even if I did, it must have been later. I cannot even remember what it was.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What were the basic issues over which a difference of opinion between Gandhiji and you arose? What are the few broad categories of subjects?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That I cannot say, nor have I discussed it anywhere. I have written a great deal in my books in which you get a glimpse of it. It is very difficult to analyse these things because usually there are small matters. Broadly speaking, I think that the modern world belongs to science and we cannot progress without it. The modern industrial world of today is an off-shoot of science. Without it, we will remain backward and cannot get rid of our poverty. We will remain weak and the danger in that always lies in the fact that we

become vulnerable to outside powers. I agree that there are short-comings and defects in the modern scientific world. More can arise. An effort can be made to steer clear of the evil consequences. But I do not think India can ever become prosperous without science. The countries of the world which have become wealthy and powerful have done so because they have acquired the ability to increase production, agricultural production, industrial production, etc. We cannot acquire that without adopting new techniques of production. It may be possible if a man works for fifteen hours instead of ten. But the difference is more than that between manual and mechanized labour. Now it is obvious that machines should not replace human beings completely so that the latter have to remain idle. But that is a matter of arrangements. We should organize things in such a way that there should be no unemployment and production of goods may increase so that everyone may get what they need. I do not think basically Gandhiji was opposed to that because he very seldom kept any long-term view before him. He used to tell people what to do as he thought proper at that time. Then he would go on to the next step. Therefore I am not prepared to say that he used to oppose industrialization, because later he has also said that the use of electricity is a very good thing if it leads to setting up of small industries in the villages. I too agree that there should be industrialization in the rural areas. Therefore it is wrong to say that our opinions were divided on this. After all, my education and the way I grew up were different from his. So there were bound to be difference in our way of looking at problems. He was very concerned with the fact that the world was tilting too much towards a softer living, which is not a good thing. It is obvious that there can be no quarrel on that head. But then the question is, what is a luxury? In India a car is a symbol of wealth, whereas it is an ordinary, everyday thing in England and the United States and even workers have them. There is no question of its being a luxury there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So you cannot point to anything over which there was always a difference of opinion between you and Gandhiji?

Jawaharlal Nehru: My letters to him and his replies have been published. They show my perturbation over certain things and what his reply was. In a sense, this often happens in some odd cases.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I am asking you, Panditji, because it is possible that you have had a particular impression of Gandhiji fifteen years ago and gradually, with time and experience, you may have changed your views a little. So I am trying to find out what your thinking is today. Are you

implementing the programme charted out by him to the same extent as you did when he was alive? If not, what is the reason? I am talking about his constructive programme, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: His constructive programme? Most of them were concerned with behaviour of people with one another. For instance, there was the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Now how can anyone make a deliberate programme to have a hundred people embracing one another every day? That will become highly artificial. So these things go on.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But that programme is a part of your policy, is it not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: All the basic things like Hindu-Muslim unity, Harijan welfare, establishment of village industries etc., are all there and are being implemented more vigorously than ever. At least at the governmental level, a great deal is being done. But all that is not enough. They may be good in their own way and must be done. But there are many other tasks, apart from this, which have to be done. So it imposes an enormous burden.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So that means many more things are being done now?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, enormously so. Apart from the fundamental things like Hindu-Muslim unity, Harijan uplift, promotion of khadi and other village industries, we have the task of implementing the Five Year Plans, which involves hundreds of things.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But what is the difficulty in applying Gandhiji's principle of khadi for the villages, and mill-cloth for the cities?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Who said there was any difficulty? We try to make the villagers, as well as townspeople, wear khadi. But we cannot force them. We can only explain it to them. It is taking roots in some villages. But after all, economic problems cannot be solved permanently by using force. Even the villagers prefer to buy the mill cloth which is cheaper. We cannot prevent them, nor do we wish to. Khadi has no doubt a great many advantages. But it can be successful only when it can stand on its feet and compete with the others. But it has to be constantly propped up by outside help. Help can be given for a few years, as we have been doing, because it provides employment to people. But it has to become economically viable to compete on a large

scale. If its cost of production is more, it cannot compete for very long. It becomes non-feasible.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It cannot be done even if we want to?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, that is right. It means that when something is done, no matter what it is, by old techniques, it cannot compete with the new techniques. It may be possible to do it at some particular place, at a special time, but not on a permanent basis. Now if there is a handloom and a power-loom in the same village, the former is immediately outstripped in the competition. though even the power-loom is a cottage industry. But the handloom cannot compete, because the production from the power-loom is much more. After all, in our entire history, the basis of human progress has been the acquiring of new sources of power. What is a machine? A machine increases the capacity of human beings to work. We read in mythology about human beings with a thousand hands and ten heads and what not. Now machines are making that a reality. Yes, it is true that this power can be misused too. That is a different question altogether. It is after all a source of power.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about the problem that machines make human beings redundant and takes away employment from them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is all right. But by and large mechanization has got rid of unemployment. I am not talking about India, obviously. In the West, in England, France, United States, and Germany, machines have led to the opening up of new avenues of employment. Mechanization has not led to unemployment in the West. It is not a question of capitalism, communism or socialism. This is the age of mechanization. It has gradually eradicated unemployment wherever it has been adopted. There were problems no doubt. So it is not quite right to say that machines lead to unemployment. It could happen due to some defect in the arrangements. Therefore, it is up to us to go about it carefully, so that such things may not occur.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You mean that temporarily it may cause unemployment, but ultimately new occupations arise?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, new sources of occupations results.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Then there is the new thing about compensation, which I did not remember.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You can compare all these countries.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, now I understand. You are right, what is your objection, or difficulty, in trying to impose austerity and simplicity on the ministers and administration?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, there can be no objection, or difficulty, to it in principle. The difficulty arises, in one way when it acts as an obstacle. Gandhiji's principle of simplicity was all right as far as his own method of working went. There were twenty others behind Gandhiji to take care of the simplicity. Now one stenographer, a shorthand typist can take care of the work that those twenty did. If everything is done by hand, you require ten people instead. It is a question of whether we wish to utilize equipment for efficiency. For instance, I receive thousands of letters every day. If I do not have a careful arrangement to screen the important ones from the others, sort out the ones which need urgent action, my work will come to a stand-still. So it is a question of technique of working. Gandhiji's technique was highly suited to him. In a sense everyone was simple. But twenty people were needed to do the work of two.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Then that should apply to travelling third class too, because one individual used to take away ten seats.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, that is not right. Gandhiji's greatness was that he wanted to live like the ordinary, poor Indian peasant. It brought him closer to them. But that suited his personality. It will become a joke if we tried to do it as if we were trying to copy a great man. (Laughs).

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, that is true and the circumstances are also different.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The tasks of a nation cannot be handled like this.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I have talked about simplicity.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That, obviously, is up to the individual. But this is a complaint which is often made about our Central Government and other Ministers, which does not seem quite right to me. As I said, it may be true to some extent, that somebody may be very proud or something. That is a personal thing. Generally, all ministers are in great difficulties. What is the salary that he earns? I get after paying income-tax about 1,620. Yes, I have a free house, free servants etc., I

agree. It is obvious that I benefit a great deal by all this. The other ministers perhaps get about 2,000. Moreover they do not get the other benefits as I do. Today Rs. 2,000 is not equal even to Rs. 500 of the olden days. It is perhaps less than that. For a man living even in an ordinary style in Delhi, it is very little. He has innumerable commitments, and the special Indian style is that the whole family and friends gather together in their houses. There are 15 to 20 people in each of their houses every day.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: People have great expectations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, family, friends and what not. They come and go. This is the Indian tradition. It imposes a tremendous burden upon them. Apart from that they have to run two establishments, because their houses are elsewhere, and they have to live in Delhi. Now my house¹¹² is in Allahabad. More than half my salary goes in running that house, paying the wages of the old servants and what not. How can I dismiss them? I have to spend a great deal. I am helpless. I cannot get rid of them. How do I manage? I manage because of the royalties that I get on my books, though a great deal goes by way of taxes. Yet it makes up the short fall. Otherwise, I would have to change my entire lifestyle. This is when my personal expenditure is very little. Even the ordinary things like clothes, etc., which other people spend on is almost nil in my case.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: For one thing they.....

Jawaharlal Nehru: They live in huge houses with four to five bedrooms. First of all, Indian families are very large. Secondly, guests come. Thirdly, there are innumerable visitors. So some arrangement has to be made for all that. I agree that these things should be cut down. I live in a huge palace. But I have calculated that my moving would cost more. For instance, if Dr. Rajendra Prasad leaves the Rashtrapati Bhawan, it will double our expenditure. This is a strange thing. The Rashtrapati Bhawan has to be maintained in any case, which costs a great deal. It has to be maintained for guests and what not. Then some arrangement will have to be made for the President's family and staff and this and that. We would have to take ten other bungalows which are not available at the same place. That creates difficulties and involves more expenditure. So this would become a double expenditure, in addition to the inefficiency, which comes from not having everyone in one place. Now, Rajendra Babu, occupies four or five rooms in the Rashtrapati Bhawan. The rest are occupied by offices, the Cabinet Secretariat, some commission or the other, guest-rooms, and

112. See fn 108 in this section.

entertainment rooms and what not. It takes care of a lot of things. There are bound to be difficulties if we try to move. There will certainly be more expenditure, difficulties, inefficiency, etc..

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Why did you not, in spite of being his political heir, accept Gandhiji's last will, to convert the Congress into a Lok Sevak Sangh?¹¹³ This is a big question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question of my accepting it, or not, never arose. He himself did not even discuss the matter. He had written an article about it, which came to light later. We never had talks on the subject, except years ago, in 1930-31, after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, when we talked a little about this. I have mentioned it in my book. He had hinted at this, and I had replied that I could not understand what he meant.¹¹⁴ Whatever name it may be called by, the Congress or the Lok Sevak Sangh, what was necessary was a political organization to manage the affairs of the country. So that meant that either we let the Congress be, or form a new organization. It was more a question of name. If it had been a question of the establishment of a new party, it would have been another matter. I could neither understand it then, nor do I feel now that it should be left to the people and there be no organized force to keep them together. Democracy cannot function in this way. It will lead to anarchy. There can be two opinions whether it would have been better to form a new party. One result would have been that the character of the Congress would have changed completely. It would not have remained such a large party. I do not know how big the new party would have been, because it is not a question of a superficial change but it is up to the people. Why do people come into the Congress in their thousands? Honest people, dishonest ones, bogus members, all of them come into the Congress. Why? I agree it is due to greed. You may call an organization by any name. There are other parties which are very good, like the Sarvodaya and others, and people are attracted. Great crowds gather when Vinobaji comes. What I mean is that it is a question of changing the people and moulding them. It cannot happen by changing the name of the organization or something else. What Gandhiji had said was very good, in one sense, and far-sighted. But it was not quite clear as to how it should be put into practice. The important thing was to see to it that in the effort to implement it, everything should not come to a stand-still. These were the complications.

Translation ends]

113. See fn 109 in this section.

114. See fn 110 in this section.

8. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary – V¹¹⁵

रामनारायण चौधरी: मौलाना आज़ाद ने लिखा है कि 1937 में आपने उत्तर प्रदेश में दो मुस्लिम लीगी मन्त्री लेना मंज़ूर नहीं किया, इसलिए मुस्लिम लीग के साथ स्थायी समझौता नहीं हो सका और जिन्ना साहब की ताक़त बढ़ गयी। इसी तरह देश के विभाजन के पहले ऊँची सतह पर जो बातचीत चल रही थी, उस समय किसी मौक़े पर आपने यह कह दिया बताते हैं कि मुस्लिम लीग के साथ कोई समझौता नहीं हो सकता, इसलिए जिन्ना साहब ने पाकिस्तान की माँग पर ज़ोर दिया और देश के टुकड़े हुए। ये दोनों बयान कहाँ तक सच हैं?¹¹⁶

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह दूसरा बयान, मुझे याद नहीं, मैंने एक दफ़े नहीं, कई दफ़े कहा होगा। मुस्लिम लीग से समझौता नहीं हो सकता, उसके माने ये होते हैं कि जिस ढंग से वो काम कर रहे हैं या जो चीज़ें पेश करते हैं, उस बुनियाद पर नहीं हो सकता। इसके माने यह थोड़े हैं कि किसी और ढंग से भी नहीं हो सके। लेकिन यह सही बात है कि मैंने मुस्लिम लीग की मुखालिफ़त उस ज़माने में की थी। पहली बात की निस्वत मेरा ख़याल है कि मौलाना आज़ाद के सामने शायद सारे वाक़यात उस वक़्त के न हों जो उन्होंने कहा या लिखा। यानी इस माने में कि मेरी ज़िम्मेदारी उसमें बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं थी। और लोग थे, उत्तर प्रदेश की गवर्नमेण्ट के लोग। सवाल यह था कि गवर्नमेण्ट में कौन लिये जायें। मैं तो गवर्नमेंट में कुछ था नहीं। हाँ, मुझसे मशविरा एक आध दफ़े हुआ और कुछ ख़त-वत भी भेजे थे चौधरी खलीकुज़्ज़माँ¹¹⁷ ने मुझे। लेकिन और लोग थे, पन्तजी थे, रफ़ी अहमद किदवई थे, टण्डनजी¹¹⁸ थे, और कई थे। उस ज़माने में उन सभी के मशविरों से बातें होती थीं। मुझे तो ठीक याद भी नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन आपने अपनी राय दी होगी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुझे याद नहीं, दी होगी। और यह नहीं था कि दो-एक का सवाल हो। और कई बातें पेचीदा थीं। मौलाना साहब के तो ख़ास कांग्रेस की वर्किंग कमेटी की तरफ से यू.पी. उनके सुपुर्द था। मुझे इस वक़्त कोई बहुत तफ़सील याद नहीं, क्या हुआ और क्या नहीं हुआ। मैं नहीं जानता। लेकिन यह बात सही है कि जिस ढंग से मुस्लिम लीग वाले मिलना चाहते थे,

115. 27 August 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

116. See SWJN/SS/46/item 12, here pp. 149-153, for Nehru's response to Abul Kalam Azad's criticism in his *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative*, published posthumously in January 1959.

117. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, a leading Congressman of the United Provinces until 1937, when he joined the Muslim League.

118. Purushottamdas Tandon.

उस ढंग को मैंने पसन्द नहीं किया था। उसकी वजह मुस्लिम लीग या कोई और बात नहीं थी। उसकी वजह यह थी कि हमारा सबसे बड़ा प्रोग्राम था ज़मींदारी को हटाने का यू.पी. में और यू.पी. मुस्लिम लीग थी ख़ालिस ज़मींदारों में। मेरा यह ख़याल था कि वो लोग आ के कहीं इन बातों को रोकें नहीं, ज़्यादातर।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ठीक, ठीक।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुस्लिम लीग से मेरा मतलब नहीं, उस उसूल से था यानी इस बात से कि वो हमें रोक-थाम बहुत न करे जो हम चाहते थे रिफ़ॉर्म्स लाना। यह मेरे दिमाग़ में ख़याल था। लेकिन फिर भी हम उन्हें लेने को तैयार थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह दो मन्त्रियों की बात कही है ख़ास तौर से उन्होंने — एक के लिए तो आप तैयार थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह आप ठीक कहते हैं कि दो का सवाल उठा था और मुझे इस वक़्त याद नहीं कि किस सिलसिले में मैंने क्या जवाब दिया, क्या नहीं, क्या रुक गया। कई बातें इसमें मिली थीं लेकिन यह सही उन्होंने लिखा है कि दो का सवाल उठा था। एक का तो हर सूरत में मंज़ूर था। लेकिन मेरा मतलब यह है कि और लोगों का उसमें काफ़ी दखल था। और शायद एक बड़ा दखल रफ़ी अहमद किदवई का था, जो मुस्लिम लीग वगैरा को नहीं पसन्द करते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मौलाना आज़ाद, वी.पी. मेनन, डॉ. लोहिया और प्यारेलाल¹¹⁹ के बयानों से ज़ाहिर होता है कि आपने और सरदार पटेल ने गाँधीजी की राय के ख़िलाफ़ या उनकी सलाह के बग़ैर या गम्भीरतापूर्वक उनसे चर्चा किये बिना देश का विभाजन मंज़ूर कर लिया। इस बारे में हकीकत क्या है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह भी मुश्किल है कहना कम-से-कम मेरे लिए, क्योंकि एक मुश्किल ज़माना था जब सुबह से शाम तक नयी बातें होती थीं। नयी मुसीबत आये, नये झगड़े हों, बहुत-सी बातें जल्दी से कहना-करना पड़े। और मशविरा तो हम करते थे। जब गाँधीजी हमारे पास होते थे तो हमेशा ही मशविरा होता था। लेकिन जब वे नोआखली में थे तो उनसे मशविरा तो नामुमकिन हो गये—एक दफ़े हम गये थे उनसे मिलने—तो फिर हमें अपनी अक़ल पर चलना पड़ता था।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी।

119. Pyarelal Nayyar; private secretary to Mahatma Gandhi in his later years.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: क्योंकि रोज़ाना नयी बातें थीं। इण्टेरिम गवर्नमेंट बनी थी, जिसमें झगड़े होते थे रोज़। पंजाब में आग लगी हुई थी। यानी पार्टीशन से पहले लाहौर वगैरह में रोज़ झगड़े हों, क्रल्ल हों, आग लगे शहर के मकानों में। ये सब सवाल थे। तो यह बात तो सही है कि आखिरी वक़्त पर—पहले तो बहुत मशविरा हुआ था—आखिरी वक़्त पर हमें मौका नहीं मिला गाँधीजी से मिलने का। एक दफ़े मिले थे। मैं गया था नोआखली।¹²⁰ लेकिन इतनी दूर थे वो और हमें रोज़मर्रा कुछ-न-कुछ राय देनी होती थी। और आखिर में वाक़यात की मजबूरी से या जो कुछ कहिए, हमने एक चीज़ जो उस वक़्त पेश हुई, लॉर्ड माउण्टबैटन ने पेश की, उसको हमने मंज़ूर किया। और उसके पीछे कई बातें थीं। एक तो हम आजिज़ आ गये थे अन्दरूनी झगड़ों से और यह ख़याल था कि अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत उनको बढ़ाती है और जब तक अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत यहाँ रही, हम कुछ कर नहीं सकेंगे। दूसरे एक और ख़याल आने लगा कि अगर देश का पार्टीशन नहीं भी होता तो उसकी क़ीमत हमें बहुत बड़ी देनी पड़ेगी। यानी क़ीमत इस माने में कि देश की असली एकता कमज़ोर पड़ जायेगी। यानी पार्टीशन न हो, किन्तु इतनी शक्ति एक-एक हिस्से में होगी कि देश कुछ कर नहीं सकेगा। यह क़ीमत हमें देनी थी, यानी एक स्ट्रांग सेंटर नहीं होगा, बहुत वीक सेंटर होगा, प्रैक्टिकली, करीब-करीब, अलग-अलग, बड़े-बड़े हिस्से देश के खेंचेंगे तो ऐसा हमें विधान बनाना पड़ेगा। इससे हमें घबराहट हुई कि हम इतनी क़ीमत देकर फिर कमज़ोर देश कर दें कि फिर टूट जायें, इससे तो यह अच्छा है कि कोई हिस्सा तो देश का मज़बूत हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ठीक है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह भी विचार था और तबीयत ज़िच आ गयी थी झगड़े से कि जब इतने झगड़े हों, इतनी अदावत हो गयी है, एक-दूसरे को मारते हैं रोज़, जलाते हैं, तो उसको ज़बरदस्ती जोड़ के रखने से कोई असली जोड़ तो हुआ नहीं। कुछ ख़याल यह था कि यह ज़ब्बा जो बढ़ गया है पार्टीशन का, हालांकि मैं नहीं समझता था कि बुनियादी है, बहुत गहरा है। लेकिन जो भी हो, उस वक़्त बहुत ज़ोरों का था, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। मुसलमानों में, ज़्यादातर मुसलमानों में, सबमें तो नहीं। एक दफ़े उन्हें मालूम हो जाय कि अच्छा हम कर सकते हैं यह, उन्हें आज़ादी मिल जाये, तो एक बीमारी दिमाग़ से निकल जायेगी और हल्के-हल्के फिर मिल सकते हैं। मिलने से मेरा मतलब यह नहीं कि पार्टीशन ख़त्म कर दिया जाय, वो रहे, लेकिन दिलों में मिल कर रह सकते हैं। दो मुल्क मिल के रहें। हमारे बड़े पुराने रिश्ते हैं। यह बात नहीं हो सकी। एक तो यह कि पार्टीशन के बाद दंगा-फ़साद हुआ, खून के दरिया बहाये गये, जिसने अलग कर दिया दिलों को। फिर भी हल्के-हल्के हो सकते हैं आयन्दा, वो और बात है।

120. In December 1946, when Mahatma Gandhi was touring the district to douse communal frenzy.

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह खयाल तो नहीं था कि साहब जैसे लोगों में यह खयाल थोड़ा-सा फैला हुआ है कि गाँधीजी को एक तरफ से इग्नोर किया गया उस मामले में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: ये तो ख़ैर आप अलग-अलग लोगों से राय लें। गाँधीजी किसी बात में इग्नोर नहीं होते थे। वो तो बात यही थी, असल बात, कि हमें फ़ैसले करने थे बहुत जल्दी। और वे इतनी दूर हो गये थे और ख़ाली दूर नहीं, ख़बरें तक उनके पास पहुँचना मुश्किल था। दिक्कतें हो गयी थीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आप आमतौर पर उपवास के खिलाफ़ हैं। लेकिन 1947 के आस-पास जब हिन्दुओं की तरफ से मुसलमानों पर ज़्यादतियाँ हो रही थीं, तब क्या आपने उपवास नहीं रखा था और गाँधीजी के कहने से नहीं छोड़ा था? यह उपवास कैसे वाजिब था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने जो किया उसे उपवास कहना तो ज़रा लम्बा-चौड़ा शब्द है। यह सही है। और कोई झगड़े-वगड़े की वजह से नहीं, लेकिन गाँधीजी ने उस ज़माने में ब्रत रखा था, उपवास किया था। मुझे याद नहीं है कितने दिन हो चुके थे, सात-आठ दिन, दस दिन। तो जो कुछ कहिए, एक वजह होती है, ज़रूबा था कुछ, मैंने एक दिन के लिए रखा था। डेढ़ दिन हो गया, शायद दूसरा दिन था। उनके कान तक कैसे बात पहुँची, मुझे मालूम नहीं। कोई चर्चा, धूम-धाम तो हुई नहीं, नहीं खाना खाया एक रोज़। लेकिन उनके कान तक पहुँच गयी। उन्होंने कहा और आखिरी जो ख़त लिखा था, उसमें लिखा। वह इसलिए नहीं था कि हिन्दू-मुसलमान का झगड़ा हो रहा है। वो तो महज़ एक सिम्पेथेटिक फ़्रास्ट कहिए, एक दिन के लिए मैंने किया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: वैसे उपवास में उसूलन आपको क्या बुराई मालूम होती है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अब ये तो लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें हैं। छोटे उपवास से मेरा खयाल है कि आदमी को फ़ायदा होता है, यानी शरीर को फ़ायदा, दिमाग़ को फ़ायदा, रूहानी फ़ायदा, जो रख सकें। वो अपने आप रखता है अपने लिए। लेकिन यह पोलिटिकल फ़्रास्ट हो जाते हैं एक असर डालने के लिए। अब ये असर हो सकता है यह तो आदमी पर मुनहसिर है, लेकिन मेरी राय में एक वायलेंस की शकल है उसमें। यानी सारा मुनहसिर है इस बात पर कि वह किस ढंग से कौन करता है। लेकिन आमतौर से उसमें एक ज़ब्र है, दबाव है। यह तो बही है न कि कोई भी करे। लेकिन जब गाँधीजी जैसे आदमी करें एक तो उनकी शख्सियत ऐसी थी कि वो मामूली ग़ज़ से नहीं नापे जाते थे। वो जो करें, उसको निभा जाते थे। लेकिन जो बड़े आदमी करते हैं, छोटे आदमी उसकी नक़ल करते हैं। और उनको तमीज़ नहीं होती बाज़ बातों में, तो उससे नुक़सान होता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन एक बात मैं पूछना चाहता था। मान लीजिए कि आप मेरे बुजुर्ग हैं और मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आप मेरी किसी वाजिब बात को नहीं मान रहे हैं। आपके समझ में नहीं आ रही है या प्रिजुडिस है या और कुछ भी है। मैं अपनी तकलीफ़ से आप पर यह असर डालूँ कि भाई, इसकी तकलीफ़ तो बहुत है, ध्यान देना चाहिए। तो उसमें क्या आपत्ति हो सकती है? वो तो एक ऊँचे दर्जे की मुहब्बत को गुदगुदाने वाली चीज़ है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह तो मैंने कहा कि थोड़ा-सा वह ठीक है। लेकिन मैं उसका एक पोलिटिकल माने में कह रहा था कि और लोग उसकी नक़ल करें, वो एक ख़ातरनाक हथियार है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: बात यह है कि कई लोगों का ख़याल है कि आप तो उपवास के बिलकुल खिलाफ़ हैं ही, किसी भी हालत में आप इसको ठीक नहीं समझते हैं। इसलिए यह सवाल मैंने पूछा। ख़ैर। लॉर्ड माउण्टबैटन और उनके परिवार का आप पर काफ़ी असर रहा बताते हैं। इसका कारण उनकी अक्लमन्दी या शराफ़त या अच्छी सलाह, क्या है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: बहुत बातें होती हैं, जिनका एक-दूसरे पर असर होता है। मैं लॉर्ड माउण्टबैटन से पहले सिंगापुर में मिला था।¹²¹ उनके आने के डेढ़ बरस पहले। उसी वक़्त मुझ पर अच्छा असर हुआ था। मैं तो उससे दो चार महीने पहले जेल से छूटा था।¹²² फिर वहाँ के हिन्दुस्तानियों ने मेरी दावत की। मैंने सोचा कि जाऊँ, लेकिन जभी जा सकता था कि वहाँ की अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत से इजाज़त मिले। याद रखिए कि लड़ाई के बाद का ज़माना था। इण्डियन नेशनल आर्मी और न जाने क्या-क्या था। कोई मामूली अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत इजाज़त नहीं देती और न ही इरादा था देने का। लेकिन लॉर्ड माउण्टबैटन ने कहा कि नहीं, दूँगा इजाज़त। और अपने सारे सलाहकारों के खिलाफ़ दी। मुझे वो जानते नहीं थे। मुझे इजाज़त दी और उनका जो ढंग था बहुत अक्ल का ढंग था कि बजाय एक आदमी को खिलाफ़ करके, अपना दोस्त बनायें। वो उन्होंने चलाया। मैं जैसे पहुँचा सिंगापुर के एयर पोर्ट में, तो उनका ए.डी.सी. मौजूद था मेरा स्वागत करने और यह कहने कि आप चन्द मिनट उनसे मिल लें। तो शुरू में ही, पहुँचते ही..

रामनारायण चौधरी: ख़ूब।

121. In March 1946.

122. Nehru was released from Ahmednagar jail in June 1945.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने कहा, अच्छा, मैं आ गया। चाय-वाय पी। उन्होंने कहा कि अगर तुम चाहो तो यहाँ एक हिन्दुस्तानी सिपाहियों का सेंटर है उनकी देख-भाल के लिए। वो लेडी माउण्टबैटन चलाती थीं। वो वहाँ थीं नहीं उस वक़्त। उन्होंने कहा वो नहीं होंगी। उसको देख लो चल के। बहुत खूब, चलिए। अब एक और बात उनकी देखिए आप। ऐसे मौके पर उन्होंने कह दिया कि कोई पुलिस या फ़ौज वाला सड़क पर न हो। हिम्मत की बात है। और खालिस आई.एन. ए. के लोग या वॉलण्टियर इन्तज़ाम करें सड़क पर मोड़ का। अब तक हिन्दुस्तान में यह करने की हमारी हिम्मत नहीं। उन्होंने इतनी मामूली पुलिस रखी जो रहती है, लेकिन बढ़ायी नहीं। कोई और नहीं था, लाइनिंग आप जैसे कराते हैं, खालिस वॉलण्टियर, हिन्दुस्तानी वॉलण्टियर। खैर, कोई धक्कम-धक्का नहीं हुई और वो खुली गाड़ी पर बैठकर मेरे साथ गये। अब ये बातें बहुत ग़ैर-मामूली हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: इसमें कोई शक नहीं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यानी अभी जेल से मैं कुछ महीने हुए छूटा था। तो इन बातों का मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ। और सारे जितने लोग उनके सलाहकार थे उनके खिलाफ़ उन्होंने किया। ज़ोरदार आदमी थे। इन बातों का असर मेरे ऊपर हुआ उस वक़्त फिर और भी उन्होंने मेरी खातिर तक्ज्जो की। लोग मेरे साथ कर दिये, अफ़सर साथ कर दिये कि साथ रहो, कुछ ज़रूरत उनको हो। हालांकि मैं गया था दूसरी नीयत से, वहाँ के कांग्रेस वालों से मिलने। वस, उसके बाद तो खैर, उनका यहाँ आना हुआ एक साल भर बाद।¹²³ आते ही फिर उनका ढंग एक खुला तर्ज़ था, फ़्रैंक ओपन तर्ज़ था, जिससे असर होता था कि चालबाज़ी इस शख्स में नहीं है। माफ़िक हो, खिलाफ़ हो, दूसरी बात है, लेकिन एक सफ़ाई से बात करता है, सफ़ाई से काम करता है। तो इन बातों का असर हल्के-हल्के होता गया और यह भी मुझे शुरू से ख़याल उनके आने से हुआ कि यह हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी चाहते हैं, या कहिए कि इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे हैं कि इसका टालना ग़लत है, जो कुछ भी हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हमारा दावा है कि राजाओं को हमने अधिकार छोड़ने के लिए राजी-खुशी से तैयार किया। लेकिन किदवई साहब ने मुझे एक बार वी.पी. मेनन की एक चिट्ठी की फ़ोटो स्टेट कापी दिखायी थी, जिसमें उड़ीसा के एक राजा को यह लिखा गया था कि उन्होंने अच्छा किया कि सरदार पटेल की सलाह मान ली, वरना वही बात दूसरी तरह से करानी पड़ती। क्या यह ज़ब्र नहीं कहा जा सकता?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, मेरा खयाल है—मैं इस खत को नहीं जानता—लेकिन मेरा खयाल है कि इस तरह की बातचीत का दबाव वी.पी. मेनन ने अक्सर किया। मुझे उसकी तफ़सील नहीं मालूम, लेकिन मेरे सामने कई बातें आयीं। असल में वो वाक़यात का दबाव था, वी.पी. मेनन क्या दबायें। वाक़यात का दबाव था कि एक तरफ़ से उनकी जनता उनको हटाना चाहती थी, या कम-से-कम चाहती थी आगे बढ़ना। दूसरी तरफ़ से नयी गवर्नमेण्ट यहाँ आने वाली थी। तो इन दो पत्थरों के बीच में तो उनके लिए नामुमकिन हो गया था कुछ करना। दबाव वो था। और जहाँ-जहाँ किसी ने हूँ-हाँ किया तो उसमें दो-एक लफ़्ज़ वी.पी. मेनन ज़रूर कह देते थे।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जब जनवरी 1942 में वर्धा की ए.आई.सी.सी. की बैठक में गाँधीजी ने आपको अपना राजनीतिक वारिस घोषित किया तो मैंने उनसे पूछा था कि उन्होंने अपने जैसे विचार रखने वाले और ज़्यादा नज़दीकी साथियों के बजाय आपको ज़्यादा पसन्द क्यों किया, तो उन्होंने मुझसे ये शब्द कहे थे, “जवाहरलाल एक विशुद्ध आत्मा है। उसका हृदय स्फटिक-मणि की भाँति स्वच्छ है। वह भूल कर सकता है, लेकिन भारत के ग़रीबों के हित सदा उसके पास सुरक्षित रहेंगे।” क्या आप महसूस करते हैं कि आप उनके इस विश्वास के अनुसार काम कर रहे हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: क्या जवाब दूँ? मैंने तो कुछ अहमियत इस बात को नहीं दी थी कि गाँधीजी ने जो कुछ मेरी निस्वत कहा, यानी कोई उसको लम्बी-चौड़ी बात नहीं समझे थे, सिवा इसके कि उनकी उस वक़्त की भावना थी, उन्होंने प्रेम से कह दी बात। कुछ माने नहीं थे उसके। न उनको या किसी को अधिकार है मुक़र्रर करने का कि कौन बाद में काम करे। कोई बाक़ायदा बात तो नहीं

रामनारायण चौधरी: नहीं मैं

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: यह आपको बात कि मैं...

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, ग़रीबों वाली।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: गाँधीजी की मर्ज़ी के माफ़िक।

रामनारायण चौधरी: ग़रीबों के हित आपके पास सुरक्षित रहेंगे—इस बात पर ज़ोर है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मेरा खयाल है कि जो कुछ हम कोशिश करते हैं करने की, प्लानिंग वगैरा-वगैरा, वह इसी नीयत से है कि ग़रीबों के हित कैसे सुरक्षित रहें? एक आदमी हो, कोई

महाजन हो, वो गरीबों को सुबह दस-बीस-पचास रुपया बाँट दिया करे और कहे कि मैं गरीबों की सेवा करता हूँ, वो तो नहीं। वो तो तरीके होते हैं बहुत सारे कि बुनियादी तरीके से किसी तरह से गरीबी हटे। मैंने तो इस बात पर भी एतराज किया था और किताब में भी लिखा, वो अपने को दरिद्र नारायण वगैरा कहते थे। मैंने कहा था कि दरिद्रता को नारायण नहीं बनाना है, उससे नफरत करनी है, उसको पास नहीं फटकने देना है। वो ग़लत चीज़ है। अब जाने किस माने में वो कहते थे। वो दूसरे माने में...

रामनारायण चौधरी: वो अलग माने में...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: लेकिन मुझे गरीबी से बड़ी घृणा है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मुझे मोतबर ज़रिये से मालूम हुआ है कि आपके सबसे बड़े विरोधी सर विंस्टन चर्चिल ने आपके बारे में यह राय ज़ाहिर की है कि : “दिस मैंन हैज़ ओवरकम टू ऑफ़ द ग्रेटेस्ट फ़ेलिंग्स इन ह्यूमन नेचर; ही हैज़ नाइदर फ़ियर नॉर हेट्रेड।” —इस आदमी ने मानव-स्वभाव को दो बड़ी-से-बड़ी कमज़ोरियों को जीत लिया है; उसमें न तो भय है, न द्वेष है।—क्या आपको भी मालूम है कि चर्चिल साहब ने ऐसा कहा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी हाँ, कहा है, मेरे सामने कहा है।¹²⁴ मुझसे कहा और वो कई दफ़ा उन्होंने कहा। और दस-बीस आदमी और थे, वहाँ भी उन्होंने कहा। मैं मौजूद था। और लोगों से भी कहा हो तो मैं नहीं जानता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या आप भी ऐसा महसूस करते हैं कि आपमें डर और द्वेष नहीं है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी नहीं। मैं नहीं महसूस करता हूँ। लेकिन शायद बहुत ज़्यादा न हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: मुकदमेबाज़ी और आपस के झगड़े-टण्टे से तो आप बहुत डरते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: डरना तो ख़ैर ...

रामनारायण चौधरी: आपने प्रधानमन्त्री बनने के बाद क्यों तो कांग्रेस का अध्यक्ष-पद लिया और क्यों छोड़ा? और उसके बाद क्यों ऐसे आदमियों को बनाया, जिनका आप पर असर नहीं हो सकता, जिन पर आपका ही असर हो सकता है?

124. See Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, *The Scope of Happiness: A Personal Memoir* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1979), pp. 282-283.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मैंने किसको बनाया है? देबर भाई को?

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ। क्रायदे की बात तो दूसरी है कि लोगों ने चुना उनको, लेकिन...

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह बात ज़रूर है कि उसमें हाथ था मेरा। बहुतों का हाथ था, मेरा खास नहीं था। हम सब चाहते थे किसी माकूल आदमी को, हैसियतदार आदमी को और जो ज़ोरों से काम करे। और देबर भाई मुझे बहुत पसन्द थे। जो कि मेरा रिश्ता तो उनका था वो एक चीफ़ मिनिस्टर सौराष्ट्र के नाते। उनके काम से, उनके विचारों से, मुझे बहुत सुलझे हुए मालूम हुए वो। मुझे यह भी याद नहीं कि पहले मैंने उनका नाम तजवीज़ किया आपस में या किसी और ने। बहरसूरत मैंने पसन्द किया, औरों ने भी, हम सभी ने पसन्द किया, फिर उनसे कहा गया। मैं क्यों हुआ? वाक्यात की मजबूरी थी, शुरू में भी मैं उचित नहीं समझता था अपना होना उस समय, लेकिन ऐसी कुछ गाँठ पड़ गयी कि हो गई। जब मैं निकल सका उससे, मैं निकल गया।

रामनारायण चौधरी: आप जहाँ कहीं जाते हैं वहाँ बहुत भारी इन्तज़ाम और खर्चा होता है। इसमें कमी करने के बारे में आपने कभी गम्भीरता से सोचा है और कोई उपाय निकाला है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: हाँ, इसमें तो मैंने सोचा क्या, पचासों नोट लिखे, स्टेट के शासनों को, होम मिनिस्ट्री को, वगैरह। और उनके जवाब हमेशा यह आते हैं—और अब तक यह सिलसिला जारी है—कि हमें इन्तज़ाम करना पड़ता है, जैसे हमें किसी बड़े मेले में करना पड़ता है, ऐक्सीडेण्ट न हो। यह न हो, वो न हो। अलावा इसके तुम्हारी रक्षा के लिए हम कुछ करते हैं। इस पर मैं बहुत नाखुश हूँ उनसे कि आप इतना क्यों करते हैं? वे कहते हैं कि रक्षा के अलावा इतनी भीड़ होती है कि हमें इन्तज़ामात करने पड़ते हैं भीड़ के लिए।

रामनारायण चौधरी: भीड़ के लिए?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: भीड़ की वजह से। ज़बरदस्त मजमे होते हैं और उसमें यह भी है कि तुम्हारी रक्षा का भी सवाल है। यह नहीं कि लोग तुम्हारे विरोधी हैं, लेकिन हम नहीं कोई इस बात का खतरा लिया चाहते हैं कि एक पागल आदमी कुछ करे। लेकिन हमेशा भीड़ पर ज़ोर देते हैं कि भीड़ इतनी होती है कि हम क्या करें?

[Translation begins:

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Maulana Azad has written that in 1937, you did not accept two members of the Muslim League in the Ministry in Uttar Pradesh, and a permanent agreement with the Muslim League could not be arrived at, and Mr. Jinnah's strength grew. Similarly, before partition, when there were high level talks going on, you were supposed to have said on some occasion that no compromise with the Muslim League was possible. And so, Mr Jinnah increased his pressure for a separate Pakistan and the country was divided. How far are these two statements true?¹²⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as the second statement is concerned, I do not remember, but I must have said it many times. What I meant by saying that a compromise with the Muslim League was not possible was that it could not be done on the basis on which they functioned and presented the issues. It did not mean that it could not be worked out in any way. But it is true that I had opposed the Muslim League in those days. As far as the first statement is concerned, I think Maulana Azad may not have had access to all the facts of the case. What I mean is that I did not have a great responsibility in the matter. There were others in the government of Uttar Pradesh. The question was who should be included in the Ministry and I had nothing to do with it. Yes, I was consulted once or twice and Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-zaman¹²⁶ had written to me once or twice. There were others like Pantji, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Tandonji,¹²⁷ and others. Everyone was consulted in those days. I do not even remember exactly now.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But you must have expressed your opinion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember. I may have. It was not a question of one or two issues. There were many complications. Uttar Pradesh was in Maulana Azad's special charge on behalf of the Congress Working Committee. I do not remember in great detail as to what occurred. I do not know. But it is true that I did not like the manner in which the Muslim League went about doing things. There was nothing basically wrong with the Muslim League. The reason was that while the biggest programme of the Congress was to abolish zamindari in UP, the UP Muslim League had its stronghold among the zamindars. So I

125. See fn 116 in this section.

126. See fn 117 in this section.

127. See fn 118 in this section.

was apprehensive, lest they should try to prevent us from doing what we had planned to.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Right, right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had nothing against the Muslim League. I was worried about the principle behind the reforms, that we wish to bring about and did not want any obstacles or opposition to it. This was at the back of my mind. But even then we were prepared to take them.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Of the two ministers that I have mentioned, I think you were willing to accept one.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You are right in saying that the question arose of taking in two and I do not remember just now in what context I said what I did and why it fell through. Many issues were linked. But it is true that he had written that it was a question of two. One was acceptable in every way. What I mean is that many others had an influence on the decision and I think Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's most of all, who did not care much for the Muslim League.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It is seen from the statements of Maulana Azad, V.P. Menon, Dr. Lohia and Pyare Lal¹²⁸ that you and Sardar Patel accepted the Partition of the country against Gandhiji's advice and without seriously discussing the matter with him. What is the truth in this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is also difficult for me to say, because it was a very difficult period when there were new developments all the time. Difficulties arose; there were new disputes and times when something had to be said quickly. We always had consultations. Whenever Gandhiji was with us, we always consulted him. But when he went to Noakhali, it became impossible to consult him. We went once to meet him. But thereafter we had to use our own heads.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: There were new developments every day. There were disputes within the Interim Government. Punjab was burning. Even before the Partition, in Lahore and other cities, there were murders and loot and arson every day. All these things were there. So it is true, that at the last moment—

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we had had consultations earlier—we did not have the opportunity of meeting Gandhiji. We met him once. I went to Noakhali.¹²⁹ But he was far away and we had to take decisions on the spot. So, due to the force of circumstance or whatever you may call it, we accepted the proposal mooted by Lord Mountbatten. There were many factors behind that. For one thing, we had become fed up with internal quarrels and it was felt that the British government was encouraging them. So, we were helpless as long as they continued here. Secondly, we began to feel that if the country was not partitioned, we would have to pay a very heavy price for it, in the sense that the real unity of the country would be weakened. That is, partition could be avoided, but each region would be so powerful that nationalism would be destroyed. This is the price we would have had to pay. We would not have had a strong centre and the different parts of the country would pull in different directions. We would have had to draw up a Constitution accordingly. Therefore, we were afraid to pay such a heavy price, which would have led to the weakening and disintegration of the country. It seemed better to opt for stability and strength.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Quite right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We were fed up with all the quarrels and felt that when the rift had widened so much with bitterness and fighting, people killing one another, burning down houses, there was no sense in keeping the country united by force. Moreover, the feeling was that the sentiment in favour of partition was very strong. Though I did not think that it was anything fundamental at the time, it was very strong among a majority of the Muslims. We felt that once they got what they want and freedom came, this fever which gripped the mind would cool down and we could gradually come together again. I do not mean that the partition could have been revoked, but we could have lived in friendship as two close neighbours. Our relations date back to a long time. That has not been possible. For one thing, the riots that took place after the Partition, in which rivers of blood were shed, rent the hearts asunder. But it can still be done gradually in the future. That is a different matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a feeling among people that Gandhiji was, in a sense, ignored in this matter.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a matter of peoples' private opinion, whether Gandhiji was ignored or not. The fact of the matter was that we had to take a decision

129. See fn 120 in this section.

quickly and he was so far away that it was difficult even to send messages to him. So, it became very difficult.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You are generally opposed to fasts. But in 1947, when the Hindus were perpetuating atrocities on the Muslims, did you not observe a fast and broke it only at Gandhiji's bidding? How this was fast justified?

Jawaharlal Nehru: To call what I did a fast, is an exaggeration. It is true that Gandhiji had gone on a fast those days, and I think ten days had passed, when out of sentiment, I too observed a fast for a day or two. I do not know how the matter reached his ears. There was no talk about it, no fuss. I just did not eat anything for a day. But he heard about it and wrote a letter to me. It had however nothing to do with the Hindu-Muslim riots. It was merely a sympathetic fast which I observed for a day.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What do you find wrong, on principle, about fasts?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that a small fast is beneficial to a human being, physically, mentally and spiritually. It is because he observes it out of his own free will. But political fasts are undertaken to influence a decision. Now it depends on the individual who undertakes it and the manner of doing it, but in my opinion there is a shade of violence in this. Even otherwise, generally speaking, it is a form of pressure and compulsion. But when a man of Gandhiji's stature did it, for one thing his personality was such that he could not be measured by an ordinary yardstick, he could carry through whatever he undertook. But when greater men do something, smaller ones tend to copy them and since they do not know the proper way of doing it, it could cause harm.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But I want to ask you something. Suppose you are an elder and I feel that you are not paying heed to some justifiable demand of mine out of prejudice or whatever it may be. Suppose I try to influence you into agreeing by undergoing some suffering myself, what objection could there be to that? It is something of a very high category which titillates love.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said, it is all right in a small way. But I was talking about it in a political sense and it could become a dangerous weapon if people start emulating him.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I asked you this question, because many people think that you are totally opposed to fasts and do not consider it right under any circumstances. Anyhow, it is said that Lord Mountbatten and his family had a great influence over you. Was the reason for this, his intelligence, gentlemanliness or good advice?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are many things which influence people. I had met Lord Mountbatten for the first time in Singapore,¹³⁰ a year and a half before he came here. Even then I was favourably impressed. I had been released from jail a few months before that.¹³¹ The Indians of Singapore had invited me. But I could go only with the permission of the British government. Remember that it was war time with the Indian National Army being active and what not. Ordinarily, no British Government would have given the permission. But Lord Mountbatten did, against the advice of all his advisers. He did not even know me. I liked his manner of doing this, which showed intelligence and of befriending a person instead of turning him against himself. When I landed at the Singapore airport, his ADC was there to receive me and to request me to meet him for a few minutes. So, right from the beginning ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Very good.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So, I agreed and went. We had tea. He said that, if I liked, I could visit the Welfare Centre run by Lady Mountbatten for the Indian soldiers. She was not at the house then. I agreed and we went. There was another great quality about him. At a critical time like that, he had dispensed with all armed security. It was a courageous thing to do. Only the INA and other volunteers were asked to control the crowds. We have not dared to do this till now in India. There was no one except Indian volunteers on the roads. Anyhow, there was no incident and we rode in an open car. This was quite an extraordinary thing.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is no doubt about that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had just then been released from jail. So these things made an impact on me. He did this against the advice of all his advisers. He was a pretty strong personality. I was impressed by all this. Then he looked after me

130. See fn 121 in this section.

131. See fn 122 in this section.

very well and assigned officers to take care of my needs, though I had gone there with quite a different intention, that of meeting the Congress people. That is all. After that, a year later he came here.¹³² From the beginning, his manner was frank and open, which created an impression of a guileless individual. It is a different matter that he was in the opposite camp, but he talked and worked in an open and clear cut manner. These things gradually had an impact on me and right from the beginning, I somehow got the impression that he was in favour of freedom for India, or at any rate, he thought that postponing it would be wrong.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It is our claim that we had persuaded the princes to give up their rights willingly. But Kidwai Sahib once told me that he had been shown a photostat of a letter written by V.P. Menon, to the ruler of Orissa, in which he had written that it was a good thing that he had agreed to Sardar Patel's advice, otherwise the same result would have had to be obtained by other methods. Can this not be construed as using coercion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I do not know about this letter, but it is my impression that V.P. Menon often used coercive language of this type. I do not know the details but many facts have come to my notice. As a matter of fact, it was the force of circumstance, and not V.P. Menon who tried to use pressure. The state's people themselves wanted to remove him or at least, wanted to progress. On the other hand, a new government was about to be formed. So it had become impossible for them to choose any other course, squeezed as they were between two stones. That was the real pressure. The moment anyone demanded even a little, V.P. Menon would always use strong words like this.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In January 1942, Gandhiji announced that you would be his political heir, at the AICC session, at Wardha. I had asked him why he had chosen you, instead of others who were closer to him, and thought more like him. To that, his reply was: "Jawaharlal is a pure soul. His heart is clear as crystal. He can make mistakes but the interests of India's poor will always be safe with him." Do you feel that you are justifying his belief by what you are doing?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What should I say to that? I had not attached any significance to what Gandhiji had said about me. I did not think it was anything out of the

132. See fn 123 in this section.

way, except that those were his feelings at that time and he had said it out of his love for me. He did not mean anything particular. Nor did he or anyone else have the right to appoint anyone as his heir. So there was nothing formal about it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, I...

Jawaharlal Nehru: What you said...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, about the poor.

Jawaharlal Nehru: According to Gandhiji's wishes ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The emphasis was on the fact that the interest of the poor would be safe in your hands.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think whatever we have been trying to do, planning, and so on, has been with the intention of looking after the interests of the poor. Service to the poor is not done by distributing a few rupees here and there among the poor. There are basic methods by which poverty can be eradicated. I have even objected and written in my book, to his calling them *daridra narayan*. I had said that poverty should not be worshipped as *daridra narayan*, but despised. We should not allow it to come anywhere near us. It is a bad thing. Now I do not know in what sense he used to say it. But in another sense ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: He meant in a different sense ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: But I have a hatred of poverty.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I have learnt from reliable sources that your arch enemy, Sir Winston Churchill once said about you that "this man has overcome two of the greatest failings in human nature, he has neither fear nor hatred", are you aware that Churchill said this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I know, he has said it to my face¹³³ and not once, but many times. There were twenty other people present when he said it. I do not know to whom else he may have said this.

133. See fn 124 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you also feel that there is no fear or hatred in you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh, me. I don't feel that. They may not be very strong perhaps.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You have always been wary of legal tangles and internal squabbles.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I don't know...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Why did you accept the position of the Congress President, after you became the Prime Minister and then leave it? After that, why did you make men who could have had no influence on you but could only be influenced by you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whom did I make the President? Dhebar Bhai?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Formally of course he was elected by the others but...

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is true that I had a hand in it but then so did many others, not specially I alone. All of us wanted a good person, who had a stature in the party and would be capable of doing good work. I like Dhebar Bhai very much. I came into contact with him when he was the Chief Minister of Saurashtra. I found him to be a man of very clear cut, enlightened thoughts and actions. I do not even remember if his name was suggested by me initially or by someone else. Anyhow I liked the idea and so did the others and then he was told. Why did I become the President? It was due to exigencies of the situation. Right from the beginning it did not seem quite proper to me. But at that time there were some knotty problems and so I agreed. But I got out of it as soon as I could.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a great deal of expenditure involved in making arrangements for your stay wherever you go. Have you ever thought seriously of reducing it and found any way of doing so?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I have not only thought but written innumerable notes to the State Governments and the Home Ministry, and others, and their reply invariably is—and this process still continues—that we have to make

arrangements, as for a very large fair, so that there are no accidents. Apart from that, they say, there is the question of my security. I am very unhappy about it. They say that, normally there are such large crowds that they have to take precautions.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: For the crowds?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because of them. There are large crowds and then there is the question of my security, they say. It is not that I have any enemies. But they do not want to take any chances of some mad man doing something. Their emphasis is always on the crowds and they say that they are helpless.

Translation ends]

II. POLITICS

(a) Parties

(i) Indian National Congress

9. At the CPP¹

[Nehru first spoke in Hindi.]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अभी एक हफ्ता भर हुआ, सप्ताह, एक हमारे सदस्य गुज़र गये, श्री पी.सी. बोस,² धनबाद के, धनबाद, बिहार के एक लेबर लीडर थे, वगैरह। तो 25 जुलाई को उनका देहान्त हो गया। तो मैं आपसे आग्रह करूँगा कि आप खड़े हो जायें थोड़ी देर के लिए।

बैठिए। ये हुआ।

कुछ अरसे बाद हमारी पार्टी यहाँ मिल रही है और इस ज़माने में अक्सर बातें हुई हैं देश में, देश के बाहर की जो कि एक वज़न रखती हैं, अहमियत रखती हैं। मैं किसी क्रदर मुख्तसर उनका कुछ ज़िक्र करूँगा। मेरी ख्वाहिश नहीं है कि मैं ज़्यादा वक्त्र आपका इस सिलसिले में लूँ, या लम्बा बयान दूँ, लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ उस बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ मैं। और उसके बाद आप लोगों को दावत है कि आप इस बारे में या किसी और बारे में जो कोई सवाल उठाना चाहें वो उठायें, क्योंकि एक बात मैंने आपसे पिछली बार भी कही थी पिछले सेशन में, वो ये कि मुल्क की जो हालत है उसमें ये इन्तिहा दर्जे ज़रूरी हो गया है कि हम एक-दूसरे को अच्छी तरह से समझें। सफ़ाई से, जो कुछ हमारे मन में बातें हैं, वो कहें। बहस करें उसमें या जो कुछ; क्योंकि अगर नहीं करते तो वो बातें साफ़ नहीं होतीं, न हमारे दिल में, न औरों के दिल में; और मेरे लिए एक बड़ी मुश्किल हो जाती है, क्योंकि मुझे कुछ खयाल होता है और लोग कहते भी हैं ये कि मेरी वजह से बाज़ हमारे साथी पूरी तौर से कहते नहीं जो उनके दिल में है। अब ये बड़ी मुश्किल है मेरे लिए; मैं कैसे आपसे कहूँ कि आप, जो कुछ आप कहना चाहते हैं, कहें, पार्टी में हमारी, बाहर में जो कुछ हो वो और बात है। तो इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ आज और जो आने वाले दिन हैं, उनमें कोई, जो-जो हमारे बड़े सवाल हैं हम ले के ज़रा इत्मीनान से पार्टी में उन पर बातचीत हो।

अब इस ज़माने में कई बातें, मैंने कहा आपसे, हुई। बातें तो बहुत हुई हैं और बड़े-बड़े सैलाब आये, बाढ़ आयी, वगैरह, उसका मैं खास चर्चा नहीं करता, वो तो आपके सामने है। लेकिन तीन

1. Speech, 2 August 1959. Tape No. M-44/c (ii), NMML.

2. Prabhat Chandra Bose (1899-1959): Congress MP, 1952-62, from Dhanbad, Bihar; workers' delegate to ILO Geneva, 1928; Indian delegate to British Commonwealth Labour Conference, 1928; General Secretary, Indian Miners' Association, 1932-46; MLA, Bihar, 1946-52; Member, Congress Legislative Party, Bihar, 1946-52; Member, General Council, INTUC, 1950-52.

बातों का मैं ज़िक्र करूँगा। एक तो ये जो अभी केरल में हुआ, उसके बारे में; कुछ दूसरा ये जो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी बनी है और तीसरा जो कि असल में मैं चाहूँ आपके सामने अच्छी तरह से बात आये, वो कि हमारे प्लानिंग के सिलसिले में क्या हो रहा है। आपको मालूम होगा कि कांग्रेस ने एक उटकमण्ड में एक सेमिनार किया था, प्लानिंग के बारे में और उसमें कांग्रेस के लोग तो कुछ थे ही, लेकिन और दो बुजुर्ग बुलाये गये थे बाहर से और पाँच-सात दिन तक काफ़ी विचार हुआ। ये सिलसिला तो पहले से शुरू है। ए.आई.सी.सी. की एक प्लानिंग कमेटी है वो विचार कर रही है और वो एक हफ़्ते भर में शायद यहाँ फिर मिल रही है, दिल्ली में।³ सब तैयार कर रही है वो सामान ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी में पेश करने का, क्योंकि वो ही उस पे गौर करेगी। तो ये तीन बातें हैं, मैं आपसे कुछ कहना चाहता था। पहले तो केरल का मामला। अब, अंग्रेज़ी में बोलूँ कि हिन्दी में...

अन्य : आवाज़ नहीं आयी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: नहीं, मैं सोच रहा था कि मैं अंग्रेज़ी में बोलूँ या हिन्दी में।

अन्य : हिन्दी में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: अच्छा। या दोनों में बोलूँ, कहिए तो। खैर, मैं पहले हिन्दी में कुछ कह देता हूँ फिर अंग्रेज़ी में।

केरल के मामले में आप लोगों ने, सभी ही ने काफ़ी दिलचस्पी ली, कोई शक नहीं, लेनी थी, क्योंकि गैरमामूली बात थी, पेचीदा बात थी, और भी कुछ वहाँ हो, उसका नतीजा सामने आने वाला है, भुगतना है। तो सिर्फ़ मैं दो-तीन मोटी बातों की तरफ़ आपकी तवज्जो दिलाऊँगा। जो सवाल वहाँ उठे, वो एक माने में परदे के पीछे [के] तो सवाल थे ही अरसे से, और हो सकता था कि वो सिलसिला चलता जाय, चाहे किसी को पसन्द हो या नापसन्द हो। लेकिन फिर वो इतना बढ़ गया सवाल कि उसका अन्दाज़ा करना किसी के लिए मुश्किल है जब तक कि उसने खुद आँखों से न देखा हो। ये एक बात है गौरतलब। मुश्किल हो जाता है उसका महसूस करना कि कहाँ तक वो बात पहुँच गयी थी। किसका क्रसूर, किसका नहीं, मैं उसमें नहीं जाता, लेकिन एक हालत वहाँ पैदा हो गयी थी कि जबकि सारे वहाँ के रहने वाले, शायद ही कोई उसमें वहाँ ऐसा रह गया हो जो कि इधर या उधर कम्पर कस के नहीं खड़ा हो। ये, और इतने एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ ज़ब्बे, खिलाफ़, ख़राब, कि इन्तिहा नहीं। कोई बिलकुल एक अच्छा नहीं लगता

3. The Planning Sub-Committee headed by U.N. Dhebar appointed a committee consisting of Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning, and Sadiq Ali, General Secretary, AICC, on 11 August, to finalize a draft report on the Plan for consideration by the AICC. *The Statesman*, 12 August 1959.

कहना, लेकिन दो दुश्मन क्रौमें गोया कि एक-दूसरे का सामना कर रही हैं और उसमें कोई रहम नहीं है एक-दूसरे के ऊपर। अब ज़ाहिर है, जब एक ऐसी बात हो जाय तब आसान नहीं होता कोई भी बात करनी मिलकर कोई डेमोक्रेटिक काम में; डेमोक्रेसी के माने कुछ समझौते के हैं एक-दूसरे से, कुछ एक-दूसरे का लिहाज़ है। चाहे मेजॉरिटी हो, चाहे माइनॉरिटी हो, चाहे मुखालिफ़ पार्टी हो, ऑपोज़िशन हो, कुछ-न-कुछ लिहाज़ होता है एक-दूसरे का। लेकिन जब बिलकुल लिहाज़ का नामो-निशान न रहे तो फिर बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाता है। मैं फिर कहूँगा आपसे, मैं ये नहीं कह रहा हूँ इस वक़्त, किसका क्रसूर है, किसका नहीं, क्योंकि क्रसूर कुछ-न-कुछ, मेरा ख़याल है, हरेक का वहाँ था। जो वहाँ मेजॉरिटी बनी उसने लिहाज़ कम किया, बहुत कम किया माइनॉरिटी का और जो माइनॉरिटी ऑपोज़िशन थी, वो काफ़ी बड़ी थी, उसने भी लिहाज़ बिलकुल नहीं किया मेजॉरिटी का। तो दोनों की तरफ़ लिहाज़ शुरू ही से बहुत कम था। कम था, और कम होते-होते बिलकुल ग़ायब हो गया। किसी-किसी में कुछ रहा। तो ये एक अजीब तस्वीर वहाँ थी और इसका मुख़ालिफ़ वजूहात से ये बात इतनी बढ़ गयी कि जो वहाँ की गवर्नमेण्ट थी, ये मेरा ख़याल है और अन्दाज़े की बात है, लेकिन मेरा पक्का ख़याल है कि उसके ख़िलाफ़ जज़्बात बहुत उठायें। पहले कुछ तो थे ही, लेकिन और जो बीच के लोग हुआ करते हैं, वे भी मुख़ालिफ़ वजूहात से ख़िलाफ़ हो गये।

तो जब मैं वहाँ केरल गया तो मैंने एक नेक सलाह दी कि भाई, जो तुम्हारी झगड़े की बात है, मिल के बातें करो, मैं नहीं कहता कि तस्फ़िया हो जायेगा, लेकिन बातें कुछ तो करो उस पर। किसी को भायी नहीं वो सलाह, क्योंकि वो इस दर्जे से, बात करने के इस दर्जे से दूर पहुँच गये थे वो। अब मैं बड़े पेंच में और मेरी राय में अब भी है कि बात करना हमेशा अच्छा होता है। सो, मैंने उसी वक़्त उनसे कहा था जब मेरे सामने बात आयी कि किस तरह से एक ऐसी हवा पैदा की जाये कि इस वक़्त की कुश्ती अलग हो जाये। ये जो एक जंग हो रही है जिसमें न कोई इनका दिमाग़ किसी का साफ़ है, न कोई बात कर सकता है, न कुछ, एक जज़्बा है, एक हिस्तीरिया है, हर तरफ़ से, किस तरह से ये चीज़ टूटे, ताकि कुछ और ग़ौर हो सके। और मेरे कोई भी समझ में नहीं आया सब बातें देख के और ये देख के कि ये बात बढ़ती जायेगी। सिवा इसके कि इलेक्शन का फ़ैसला हो। और ये ख़याल मेरा कि इलेक्शन के फ़ैसले से, ये कम-से-कम डिसएनगेजमेंट हो जाये, फिर जो कुछ हो, ज़रा ठण्डे दिल से सोचा जाये, क्या हो, इलेक्शन हो, फिर से शुरू किया जाय। सवाल हल तो उससे नहीं होता, लेकिन एक मौक़ा मिलता है कुछ-न-कुछ हल करने की कोशिश करने का। क्योंकि और मुझे कोई ज़रिया नहीं नज़र आया, क्योंकि ज़ाहिर था कि इतने बड़े-बड़े गिरोह जब होते हैं तो जो कोई गिरोह समझे कि दूसरे को वो बिलकुल दबा देंगे, कुचल देंगे, ये बात सही नहीं है। यानी जो विरोधी दल वहाँ थे मिलकर ताकि उनकी ताक़त, जैसे मेरा ख़याल है, कि उनके साथ बहुत सारे बीच के लोग भी हो गये थे, जो कि आमतौर से सियासी बातों में नहीं पड़ते तो उनको दबाना नामुमकिन हो गया था।

नामुमकिन इस माने में, यों तो आप गोली चला के, जो भी कुछ मालूम नहीं, उसका नतीजा हो, लेकिन जितना वो दबाये जाते थे, उतना ही वो और ऊँचे हमदर्दी उनके साथ। ये हो जाता है अक्सर। एक तरफ तो ये। दूसरी तरफ ये कि वो लोग गवर्नमेंट को बिलकुल ही दबा दें, गवर्नमेंट की फ़ौज और पुलिस, सबको, ये भी एक आसान बात नहीं होती है। चुनांचे ये बात बढ़ती जाय और बढ़ के ऐसी नौबत पे पहुँचा दे कि एक गृहयुद्ध हो, सिविल वॉर हर जगह हो रही है। ये बात, मैंने खुद महसूस करके मुझे ये ताज्जुब हुआ कि वहाँ यानी खासकर द्रावनकोर, कोचीन के हिस्से में, एक मामूली आदत है, एक बड़ा-सा चाकू हरेक रखता है अपने पास। क्यों रखते हैं, कब से रखते हैं मुझे नहीं मालूम। लेकिन आदत है और बग़ैर बहुत ज़्यादा इसरार के वो चल जाता है। और जगहों से ज़्यादा चल जाता है और निकाला और भोंक दिया दूसरे को। अजीब हालत है। और जब इतनी ज़ब्बात बढ़ते जायें तो वो एक सियासी मामले से बातें बढ़ जाती हैं।

ख़ैर। ये तो एक पहला मेरे ऊपर असर था, जब मैंने ये कहा कि चुनाव हो और मेरा खयाल था उस वक़्त, ये कोशिश थी कि रज़ामन्दी से चुनाव हो। यानी जो इस वक़्त गवर्नमेंट है, वो इसको मंज़ूर कर ले कि चुनाव हो तो फिर सोचा जाय। ये तो शुरू में, आख़ीर में हालत ये हो गयी थी, बात इतनी बढ़ गयी कि ऊपर से जो कोई कुछ कहे, लेकिन कोई शख्स नहीं था जिसके दिल में ख्वाहिश नहीं थी कि अब ये सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट उसमें दखल दे। हरेक चाहता था। क्योंकि क्रावू के बाहर हो गयी थी बात हरेक के, अगर न करती सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट तो यक्रीनन वो बात इस तेज़ी से और ख़राब होती, लड़ाई-झगड़े के मामले में, अक्सर लड़ाई-झगड़े होते, गोलियाँ बहुत ज़ोरों से चलतीं, इससे घबराहट थी हरेक को कि ये करने से, फिर उसका नतीजा बुरा हो और हम बदनाम और हों। चुनांचे एक वाक़यात की मजबूरी से चाहे जो कुछ पब्लिक में जो कोई कहे, नतीजा ये हरेक के दिल में आ गया था कि अच्छा है छुटकारा इससे करना। ये पोज़िशन हो गयी थी। वो ख़ैर, उसमें तो कोई चारा ही नहीं था, वो तो करना ही था उस वक़्त। ये बहस हो सकती है कि साहब, पहले ये क्यों नहीं किया और वो क्यों नहीं किया, इससे ये हो जाता, हो सकती है, बहस की बात है और ग़लतियाँ होती हैं, हुई हैं, चाहे सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को आप कहिए कि पहले से कुछ क्यों नहीं किया या वहाँ की कांग्रेस को कहें, या ख़ैर वहाँ की गवर्नमेण्ट को कहें, जो कुछ है, वो तो एक लम्बी बहस है। लेकिन मोटी बात जो मैं आपके सामने रखता हूँ, वो मेरे सामने शुरू से ये ही थी कि एक अजीब ये पेंच पैदा हो गया है, एक हिस्टीरिया-सा है, इसमें कैसे हम इसको अलग करें, डिसएनगेजमेंट करें, डिसएनगेजमेंट एक शब्द है आप जानते हैं आजकल उसका इस्तेमाल होता है जैसे यूरोप में डिसएनगेजमेंट हो, वहाँ जो दो मिलिट्री ब्लॉक्स का है। जैसे जर्मनी में, वो ज़रा उधर हट जायें, वो उधर हट जाय। तो उस एवज़, ख़ैर, इतना ही मैं कहूँगा उस बारे में। ज़ाहिर है कि उसमें काफ़ी पेंच केरल में, और एक बड़ा पेंच इस बात का है कि एक अजीब, अजीब गिरोह मिल गये थे जिनसे आमतौर से कांग्रेस से कोई ताल्लुक न हो, मिले थे, कोई कम्यूनल गिरोह, साम्प्रदायिक गिरोह, कोई कुछ, जो मिल के, और इन सब बातों का आइन्दा क्या नतीजा हो, ये भी एक पेचीदा है और ग़ौरतलब है। ख़ैर तो इस बारे में इतना ही कहा चाहता हूँ।

दूसरी बात मैंने स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की आपसे कही। मैं समझता हूँ अब मैं अंग्रेज़ी में कहने लगूँ।⁵

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: A week ago, one of our members, Shri P.C Bose,⁶ from Dhanbad, Bihar, passed away. He was a labour leader. He passed away on the 25th of July. I request you to stand up for a few moments as a mark of respect.

Let us sit down.

We are meeting here after quite some time and in the meanwhile many things have happened in the country and outside which are of importance to us. I shall mention them briefly. I do not want to take up too much of your time or to make a long statement. But I want to say a few words about the situation. After that you are invited to pose any question you like about this or any other matter. As I said during the last Session, too, the situation in the country makes it imperative that we should understand one another well. We should speak out our minds openly and discuss things, because if we do not do so, our thoughts and opinions are not clearly expressed. This is a difficult matter for me, as I feel, and people often accuse me of it, that because of me, people do not express themselves openly. Now, this becomes very difficult for me. In the Party you should say openly whatever you feel. What happens outside is a different matter. So I want that today and in the following days, we should take up all the big issues and have discussions about them in a relaxed way.

Now, as I said, a great deal has happened recently. There have been droughts and floods etc., but I do not want to go into all that. Still, I will mention three things. The first, is the situation in Kerala; secondly, the formation of the Swatantra Party, and third, what is happening on our Planning front, which I would like all of you to understand fully. You may know that the Congress held a seminar on the Third Plan at Ootacamund. Apart from members of the Congress, many well known figures also were invited from outside. The seminar lasted for nearly seven days. The Planning Committee of the AICC has been considering the Plan for some time and is going to, I think, meet again

5. After this the proceedings are in English. They are printed after the English translation.

6. See fn 2 in this section.

here in Delhi in a week's time.⁷ It is collecting all the material to put before the AICC which will thoroughly go into it. So, these are the three things I would like to talk to you about.

Now, about Kerala. Shall I speak in English or Hindi?

Someone: Can't hear you.

Jawaharlal Nehru : No, I was wondering if I should speak in Hindi or English,

Someone: In Hindi.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Alright, or I will speak in both, if you like. Anyhow, I will first say something in Hindi, then in English.

There is no doubt that all of you have taken a great deal of interest in the Kerala affair, because it was a specially complicated affair and we will have to bear the consequences, whatever they may be. I would like to draw your attention to two or three broad aspects. In a sense, the questions that came to the fore in Kerala have been present there behind the scenes for a long time and may have continued to drag on, whether one liked it or not. But then matters grew to such proportions they had to be seen to be believed. This is worth considering. It is difficult to realize how grave the situation had become. I will not go into who was guilty and who was not, but a situation had arisen where there was perhaps hardly anyone who was not up in arms on either side. And there was no end to the feeling of hostility on both sides. It does not seem nice to say this, but it was almost as if two hostile countries faced each other in merciless combat. Now, it is obvious that in such a situation it becomes impossible to do anything amicably. Democracy implies working together, respecting one another, whether it is the majority party or the minority party, or the opposition. There has to be mutual consideration for one another. But when there is absolutely no indication of that, then the situation becomes very difficult. I repeat, I am not going into the question of whose fault it was, etc., because I think that to some extent it was everybody's fault. The majority party showed hardly any consideration for the minority party and the minority party in opposition which was fairly large, also failed to do so. So lack of consideration was apparent on both sides from the beginning. There was very little of it to begin with and gradually disappeared altogether. So this was the strange situation there and due to various reasons, though it is a mere guess,

7. See fn 3 in this section.

but my strong feeling is that the opposition against the government grew. Even those who were neutral began to join the opposition, because of various reasons.

When I went to Kerala,⁸ I gave them good advice and told them that whatever their differences may be, they should get together and talk things over. I told them that I did not say that matters will be solved immediately, but at least discuss and talk about the matter. Nobody liked that advice, because they had gone beyond the point of talks. I was in a quandary because I feel even now that talking over matters always helps. As soon as the matter was put before me, I had said that somehow an atmosphere should be created whereby the present confrontation might end. The problem was how to end this warlike situation where no clear thinking was possible, no talks were possible and a kind of hysteria prevailed all around. I could not think of a way out after taking everything into consideration, especially the fact that the situation showed every sign of deteriorating, except to have fresh polls. I felt that with fresh elections, at least there would be disengagements and a chance to think things out coolly. Elections would certainly not solve the problem, but at least they would provide an opportunity to make a fresh bid to disentangle the situation. I could not see any other way. It is obvious that when there are such large groups, none of them could really hope to stamp out the others. It had become impossible to suppress the opposition groups there, because many people, who would normally not take part in politics, had joined hands with them. We could suppress them by resorting to firings, etc. but these methods would have led to greater sympathy for them. That often happens. This was on one side. On the other hand, it was not possible for the opposition to bring down the government with its police force, etc. So the result would have been an escalation of hostilities which could have led to a civil war. I was amazed when I learnt that practically everyone there, especially in Travancore-Cochin, carries a knife with him. Why they do so, I do not know. But it is more common there than anywhere else. It is a strange situation. And when the situation is tense, political issues aggravate it.

Anyhow, my first instinct was to see that elections should be held with the consent of the present government. But later on, the situation became so bad that there was practically no one—whatever they may say to the contrary—who did not wish the centre to take a hand in the matter. Everybody wanted it, because the situation had got out of control. If the centre had not interfered, things would have rapidly become worse, there would have been riots, firing, and the state would have got a bad name. So everyone felt that somehow a

8. See item 3, fn 21.

solution should be found quickly. This was the position. It may be argued as to why it was not done earlier. Mistakes have been made by the Central government and the State Congress, etc. That would be a long debate. But the main issue that I wished to put before you was that a strange situation arose there - a hysterical situation. The question was of disengagement, as it is used in Europe between two military blocs. But this is all I shall say just now. It is obvious that the situation in Kerala had become more complicated because of various groups joining in which normally do not have anything to do with the Congress. It has to be considered as to what the result of all this will be in future. Well, this is all that I wish to say about this matter.

Secondly, I mentioned the Swatantra Party. Now I think I should speak in English.⁹

Translation ends]

I shall repeat a little what I said about Kerala, and that is, all of us and most of you, I suppose, have not been at all happy about developments in Kerala culminating in the Presidential Proclamation.¹⁰ But there are two, three facts which I want to tell you regardless of our views. It is rather easy to be wise after an event - what we should have done last year or six months ago or what not; what others should have done - and I am quite sure, in fact I have been told so, that the Government there, that is, the Communist Government itself is much wiser after the events than before. And they told me frankly that "we made mistakes: If we had done this, it would have been better." It is no good being wise after the event. But you will remember that last year or rather last session this Kerala matter came before the Lok Sabha several times. It was really brought there by some members of the Praja Socialist Party, long complaints, and the Speaker dealt with them.

Our attitude, the Congress Party's attitude generally which was usually expressed by the Home Minister - I said very little I think - was to discourage any kind of action being taken by Parliament in this matter. We did not ourselves at all try to encourage; we could have, of course, encouraged it and asked for this or that. Now, whether we were right or wrong, I am not going into that but our whole attitude then was to discourage Parliament going into a state enquiry and appointing this and that because we felt that would lead to all kinds of difficulties and consequences. So my point is that in a sense, if I may use the word - it is not a right word - we to some extent protected the Kerala

9. After this Nehru spoke in English.

10. For details, see SWJN/SS/50/items 43 and 44.

Government by our attitude in Parliament. Anyhow, we did not wish to attack it or to encourage it; not that we agreed with it, not that, but taking it all in all we thought that that would be better policy.

Now, therefore, when all these questions arose recently in the last two months or so, we were rather taken aback and when I went there later I got a personal impression, and I do not think anyone who has not been there can quite understand, quite appreciate the feelings there. I am sure I could not have done so although I get plenty of information. The impression I got there then, that is, about six weeks ago, when I went there, was two solid walls, sort of, facing each other, with nothing connecting them, that is, the governmental side and the opposition, no link at all, just facing each other with anger, hatred and all that, and a good bit, at any rate, a spirit of violence. That is the position. I was stunned to see – after all I have seen many developments in India, rival parties' demonstrations. But I have never quite realised this extreme conflict in the minds of people which had arisen there. Secondly, that the opposition, which was a very curious opposition, a mixed opposition of various groups, political, non-political, communal and the rest, certainly, whatever the reason, had managed to catch the minds of vast sections of the public, people who are not normally political, and so the question had become something much more than the issues before them, whether it was Education Act, this, that, and there was this, a solid body of opinion.

Now, one of the first questions I put to the Government there – when I went there I said: What have you done, how have you managed to antagonise all these people and so much? They did some mistakes somewhere; to do this – you are a well-organised party, well-knit party, with contacts with the public and all that and still you have succeeded in antagonising this great body of opinion to this extent. That itself, I said, is, at any rate to that extent, failure on your part as a party, apart from my views. That was what I found. Now, I suggested that they should have talks about Education Act, this, that, other, but my suggestions were not taken up in this matter. Some of the opposition people, the main opposition people, were responsible; they did not take them up. They said: "In this atmosphere how can we talk?" There was some truth in it because the atmosphere was such that they could not talk, having arrived at that stage. So my mind was working how possibly – I saw this thing getting worse, worse and worse because I was quite sure that the Government could not just crush such a tremendous upheaval with the public against them, because the more one crushes the more the reaction against it, when it is so big and women are in it and children are in it and all that.

So it got worse and worse, more fear, more shouting, more this, more that, more anger, more violence. And, I am sorry to say, in a sense people

there, in Travancore-Cochin, are rather more apt to individual violence than perhaps elsewhere, that is, using a knife – they all carry a knife and use it when they get angry. So I did not like the prospect. That is why I thought, the one thing that has to be done is to get disengagement somehow; these – all the bouts, wrestlers, etc., bent on crushing each other, to disengage them, separate them so that one can think a little, and the only way to disengage them was, I thought, this idea of election. That is why I suggested it and the whole idea was an election with the consent of the Government. That is the idea – not an imposed election – because I thought the moment this was agreed to and arrangements were made later for a fair and impartial election, it would not solve the problem of Kerala certainly but it would open, at any rate, give again room to think and talk, to remove this constant tussle.

Ultimately, the position was this that everybody – and I say, I repeat, everybody, every group – wanted the Centre to intervene, whatever they may say in public, because it became an intolerable situation for everyone including the Government there. Government were faced not by a lessening agitation but a bigger one and more use of force, more firing; the other people getting angrier and angrier that nothing happens. They came here; they got angry with us. The opposition leaders got angry with us: “Why does not the Centre intervene? We will create more trouble.” That is a wrong attitude completely, but I am merely telling you they were all hysterical; you could not talk to anybody. So on the one side they were doing things many of which we thoroughly disapproved, the opposition, that is, the picketing and all that and threatening to do it on a bigger scale which would have involved big-scale conflicts, firing, which again would have made matters worse. So that, in the final analysis, there was absolutely no choice left to anybody, to any group concerned there or the Central Government; it simply had to come.

You may say, and you will be right, that the decision to do this was only partly a decision taken. It was hurled upon us by circumstances; it was not so much a voluntary decision. Circumstances compelled a certain process which resulted in this decision. We may have changed the circumstances long ago; that is a different matter. But I mean to say then that I tried to explain certain facts. I am not for a moment criticising, blaming this, that and other; that is a different story. Many things, though I will say one thing, that all this episode has brought up one aspect, that parliamentary or democratic government can only be carried on if there is a measure of acceptance of certain conventions by the majority and by the minority. If both of them reject those conventions it is frightfully difficult to carry on parliamentary government. A majority must pay due regard to a minority; a minority must necessarily pay regard to the majority. This kind of merely a majority riding roughshod over everybody is

Lives Of Great Men All Remind Us....



At the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting the Prime Minister dwelt at length on the mistakes of the Communist Government in Kerala.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 AUGUST 1959)

not right, that is, I mean to say it is no spirit of accommodation. It has to be a spirit of [accommodation]. Naturally the majority views must prevail finally, that is a different matter, but after a full spirit of accommodation has been shown on both sides. That has come up, and that was lacking in Kerala completely on both sides. So?

Now I will say a few words about the Swatantra Party. Some people thought and said that I was making fun of it or that I thought it was not worth troubling about and all that but certainly I was not making fun of it. If anything, under the leadership of one of our most eminent statesmen like Rajaji, it cannot be made fun of. I had said at one time that this is the political projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise;¹¹ that too I had not said either in the organisational sense. I did not mean it was connected with this organisation, nor did I use the word as a kind of condemnation. It was merely as an analysis; it is that. Whether it is connected with that, it is another matter. Anyhow, while some of the members of the Swatantra Party have objected to this statement, Rajaji himself approved of it and accepted it. He said: "Why shouldn't we be the political projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise?"

Well, I am a little embarrassed in dealing with this Swatantra Party, because the leaders of that party have created a kind of impression that they are, well, particularly opposed to me personally and want, therefore, to remove this encumbrance, that is, me, from the Indian political scene. Well, it becomes difficult for me, when they put me in the dock, for me to talk about these matters and to, well, but this development is an interesting development, an understandable development. We may disagree, as I take it we do, that is, it is a development which brings together people holding what might broadly be called, well, conservative views and some of us may even call them reactionary views, spread out in different groups, whether they are, maybe, let us say, some of the old ex-Indian princes or some of the big capitalists or the old big zamindars or other big groups who did not quite like what was happening in the country and so naturally they come together or try to come got together under the noted leadership of Rajaji. [...] It was a windfall for them that such a prominent person should give them a lead in this direction. Otherwise they had nobody; it is quite understandable.

Now, all this has been made a – I mean to say, the whole party apparently has come into existence, people say, because of the Nagpur resolution of the Congress, great deal of talk about the Nagpur resolution, more particularly

11. At a press conference in New Delhi on 2 July 1959. See SWJN/SS/50/item 2, here p. 33

Freedom To Ignore



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 AUGUST 1959)

about cooperatives and especially cooperative farming. Now, this has surprised me greatly because the Nagpur resolutions have nothing in them which has not been repeated by the Congress again and again. I will just – more especially, I would not go into everything, I shall just draw your attention to one or two matters. Really, Swatantra Party is a going back, a throwback to I do not know what period, but even you might say to the pre-Karachi resolution of the Congress in 1931.¹² In 1931, a resolution was passed at Karachi, some fundamental rights and principles and policies, and since then that has grown by Congress thinking till we have adopted socialism, socialist pattern of society,¹³ and we have planned and all that; step by step it has grown. Now this challenges basic things in the Karachi Resolution. But this is a large subject – I am not going to discuss it now.

I would like to draw your attention to this specific question of cooperatives, because the Congress, first of all, has essentially been in the past a party representing the peasantry of India much more than any other group and, therefore, it has thought more about agricultural problems. We have thought, since we became a government, and all that, but before that we had to think, all our provincial Congress Committees and others, and [were] constantly thinking about agricultural problems. Now, it may interest you to know that, I would like to remind you that in 1948, that is, before independence – before or after...after '47, yes. Yes.

May I say, something that distresses me is the way some of the leaders of the Swatantra Party are constantly dragging in the name of our President, trying to exploit it? It is most embarrassing for the President; he is much distressed. We cannot go about arguing in public, in the market place, what the President said to me privately and what he has not said.¹⁴ I have to remain silent; he has to remain silent; and all kinds of things are attributed which are not true. Also, of course, apart from the President, Gandhiji has also been brought into the picture by the Swatantra Party as their patron saint; they are working now for Gandhism. Well, all I can say is that our conception of what Gandhiji stood for – conceptions apparently differ greatly.

Now, in 1947 December, Dr Rajendra Prasad, as the then Congress President, appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee, Congress Agrarian

12. On the Karachi resolution, see item 6, fn 89.

13. In January 1955, at the Avadi session of the Congress which passed the resolution on "the socialistic pattern of society." See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 255 and 279-291.

14. The reference is to Rajendra Prasad's letter to Nehru, 7 June 1959; see Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. XIX (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), pp. 112-122.

Reforms Committee.¹⁵ The Chairman was J.C. Kumarappa. A fat book is produced, the report of the Committee, in 1949, and members of that committee were, apart from Kumarappa, Professor Dantwala,¹⁶ Reader and agricultural economist, Bombay University; S. Das Gupta, Secretary, Board of Revenue, West Bengal; T.V. Raghavulu, representative, agricultural labour; O.P. Ramaswamy Reddiar,¹⁷ ex-Premier, Madras Government, N.G. Ranga,¹⁸ President, All-India Kisan Congress; Ameer Raza, Secretary, Zamindari Abolition Committee,¹⁹ UP; Phulan Prasad Verma,²⁰ Member, Damodar Valley Corporation; and K. Mitra, Secretary, Economic and Political Research Department, AICC. Now, this report, interesting report [...].

Now, in this meeting – the inaugural meeting of this committee took place with Rajendra Babu presiding over it.²¹ The report was presented in 1949, I think about a year, a year and a half later. There was a great deal about agriculture – a very interesting report but it has laid a great stress which starts by quoting – there was a Royal Commission on Indian agriculture in 1928,²² the report starts by quoting it. It says that if cooperation fails in agriculture in India, there fails the hope of the Indian agriculturists. That is, cooperation generally – I am not talking about cooperative farming – cooperation generally. They attached so much importance to multi-purpose cooperatives, they developed that. Then, having laid stress on cooperation, they say there are two types of cooperation: one, cooperative, better farming through multi-purpose cooperatives in each village; and two, cooperative joint farming which they say becomes essential for holdings below a certain big [...].

15. See also item 3, here p. 35.

16. Mohanlal Lalloobhai Dantwala (1909-1998); taught in College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, 1936-45; joined Bombay University, in 1945, where he later became Director of the Department of Economics; President, Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1963-85; served on several government committees; author of books on agricultural and rural development.

17. Premier, Madras Presidency, March 1947-April 1949.

18. N.G. Ranga was General Secretary of the All-India Kisan Congress, founded in 1936 and precursor of the All-India Kisan Sabha; in 1957 he was elected to the Lok Sabha from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh, on Congress ticket, but had assumed leadership of the Swatantra Party which was formed in June 1959.

19. Ameer Raza was one of the two Secretaries of the Zamindari Abolition Committee appointed by the UP Legislative Assembly on 8 March 1946 under the chairmanship of G.B. Pant.

20. Member, Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1946-50, and Damodar Valley Corporation, 1948-57.

21. On 23 February 1948.

22. Appointed in 1926, reported in 1928.

[...] the Congress policy was clearly laid down in the Congress election manifesto of 1945 which I shall read out – the extracts from it. 1945 or '46 – the election – '45 or '46? '45, yes – [interruption] – elections in '46.

“The reform of the land system which is so urgently needed in India involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the state. The rights of such intermediaries should therefore be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualistic farming or peasant proprietorship should continue progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of cooperative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can however be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable therefore that experimental cooperative farms should be organised with state help in various parts of India. There should also be large state farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.”

First major election we laid it down in our election manifesto. In 1951, again, for the election manifesto:

“Increased agricultural production is absolutely essential for putting our national economy on a firm basis. Small and uneconomic holdings stand in the way of rapid advance in the way of agricultural production. The line of advance should therefore be cooperative farming with the objective of making the whole or a substantial part of a village, a unit of cooperative management.”

We come to the last elections, 1957:

“On the land all intermediaries must progressively be removed so that land is owned by this cultivator himself. The principle of sealing the land has been accepted and should be progressively introduced, so as to bring about a better distribution of land. Mechanised agriculture may be useful in some areas. But, in view of the manpower available and often not fully used, it is desirable to encourage intensified methods of cultivation on a cooperative basis. It is of the highest importance from every point of view that production should increase. This is the surest way of adding to the country's resources and combating inflation.”²³

Why I have put this out? I will tell you that for almost a generation past Congress has been speaking on these lines. We have gone to election after election on this basis, for anyone to say that we have suddenly thrust something on the public surprises me. Now, that of course does not necessarily mean that what we say is correct or somebody else is wrong. I am not saying that. But,

23. Nehru referred to these extracts a number of times during July 1959. See also SWJN/SS/50/Appendix 1.

that something has been said by committee after committee, election manifesto after election manifesto for the last, as I have shown you, fourteen years, and before that in a different form.

May I make one correction? I read to you the report of the Congress Agrarian Committee of which Professor Ranga was a member. Now, Professor Ranga gave a minute of dissent to it. In this, in fact, he wholly agreed that every possible encouragement should be given to the development of cooperative organisations among our peasants. The only thing that he objected to was compulsion being used for joint cultivation. That is all he objected to. [...] [Interruption] Now, that has only a historical importance. I am stating [this] before you to show that this kind of outcries that has been encouraged about the Nagpur resolutions really has absolutely no justification in fact. That is [as if] something new had happened. The [general] elections on this very basis again and again and our committees have considered it repeatedly, and there it is.

But, now that the Swatantra Party has been formed, it is a good thing as I have said because it helps in thinking; it helps in ridding our minds of confusion. Problems are brought up in a specific way. Now, I think that the Swatantra Party – you can read its principles and all that. [...] in the course of his speech – not today, some days ago – said we make more spectacular promises of ultimate prosperity for unborn generations. But, we leave it to others to plan for today – we adhere to eternal verities. Now, it is really, really if our politics are to be conducted in this language as they adhere to eternal verities not caring for unborn generation; or the future, the eternal verity in India being the eternal poverty of India, though some people may; perhaps well, a handful. That is the eternal, not eternal I hope but certainly the verity of India. And, however, I want to solve that problem and he is not even interested in solving it. But, other parties worry about unborn generations, what is going to happen to them. So it does bring problems in a concrete form for us to discuss and I want these to be discussed. In what they go on saying as to a Congress policy has no relation to what the policy is. For instance we say as you know we have not even laid stress on cooperative farming. We have said for three years multi-purpose service cooperatives. We are going cautiously, slowly, no they refer as if we are rushing ahead with cooperative farming. Next step, cooperative farming must necessarily mean collective farming which is an absurd proposition it is quite a different thing. Most of us do not at all want collective farming, we are opposed to it. But, they go on saying the same thing. And collective farming means Stalinism, therefore we have Stalinism in India. Now, this is a very odd argument that is put forward just to confuse people and frighten people. Therefore, let us think about these things, point them carefully and be clear in

our own mind as to what we have to and do. Well, I have taken so much time. Last year I made a suggestion that a really big thing about our policy is our planning. Not these vague resolutions that we pass or Swatantra Party may pass. It is the actual plan that we may evolve, the Third Plan, the Second Plan which is a logical, organised, thoughtful approach to the problems we have. We may make mistakes, anybody can make mistakes; that is a different matter. But, it is an organised approach to the problem of raising whatever it is four hundred million people. Now, by the end of the third plan it is estimated that the population of India will be 460 million, big figure – seven years from now. And in this 400 we have to, by the end of that, leave out every big thing, we have to provide food, clothing, housing, education, health services and work for them. How do we do it? We have to think-planning comes in it, becomes essential to plan. How to begin your first, second and you make mistakes you correct them. Now, all this planning of course is anathema to the Swatantra Party. It thinks planning is an intrusion into individuals' liberty, freedom, the freedom to make as much money as he can; it does not matter what the cost to others may be. So you attach great importance to this and, I said, in about eight, ten or nine days the AICC Planning Committee is meeting here to consider the Ooty Seminar's discussions and thereafter I think about the middle of September they are having a meeting of the All India Congress Committee where we should consider this, I hope, with a good deal of thoroughness. And it is right that we should approach the Planning Commission and the official machinery to consider these things and advise, as a broad policy should be considered by the AICC not in that rigid way that we make them rigid but we have to prepare our own minds for discussion, all of us. We can only have a good Plan with the widest possible measure of discussion.

Thank you.²⁴

[...] उसमें कुछ मेम्बरों ने और खासकर महावीर त्यागीजी ने ज़्यादा बसी बातों का भी ज़िक्र किया।²⁵ उनको शिकायत थी कि सारी पार्टी का काम करने का तरीका मैं समझा नहीं। पार्टी का मतलब उनका इस पार्टी का है या कांग्रेस ऑर्गनाइज़ेशन का है, मैं समझा नहीं। बहरसूरत से, यह कहा उन्होंने ग़लत है। और इसका या तो आप इसको ऑर्गनाइज़ ठीक तरह से कीजिए

24. After this Nehru seems to have reverted to Hindi, according to the recordings of his speeches at the CPP meetings held in August 1959.

25. For Nehru's notes on Mahavir Tyagi's speech at the CPP meeting on 2 August, see item 10.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 AUGUST 1959)

You Said It

By LAXMAN



*I'm sitting like this because every time I open my mouth to say something
I'm kicked in the leg under the table!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 8 AUGUST 1959)

या किसी को और करने दीजिए। ये तो बहुत माकूल बात है। जो ग़लती है, उसको हटाना है। और ज़ाहिर है, आपको इस पर ग़ौर करना चाहिए। और भी उन्होंने कहा (interruption) आप ग़ौर करेंगे नहीं, वो तो ठीक है। मैं तो नहीं गुस्से में कह रहा हूँ। और लेकिन कभी-कभी गुस्से में एक दिल की बात निकल आती है। (interruption) उन्होंने कहा कि आजकल, वाजिद अली शाह की तरह हुकूमत चलायी जा रही है। मैंने वाजिद अली सुना था। (interruption) खैर, और अब एक शेर भी उन्होंने पढ़ा कि किसी पे एतबार नहीं रहा।²⁶ तो ये बातें चाहे इत्फ़ाक़ से या नाराज़गी में निकल आयी हों, ये बातें, इन विचारों पे ग़ौर करना है सामने ला के, इसको दबाने-छिपाने से क्या फ़ायदा। क्योंकि वो चीज़ फिर हमारे और ख़यालों पे रंग लाती है।²⁷

इसलिए ये आज की बहस जो कल जारी रहेगी, वो तो रहेगी। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ, अलावा उस बहस के, जब ख़तम हो जाये तो कोई हम ख़ास दिन मुक़र्रर करें इस ख़ास मजमून पे बातें करने का और बेहतर ये होगा अगर उस दिन मैं सदारत न करूँ, बल्कि मैं यहाँ न रहूँ, ताकि आप इत्मीनान से बहस करें उस पर खुले दिल से। नहीं-नहीं, आप देखिये, मैं बहुत आपसे एक सफ़ाई की बात कह रहा हूँ जिसमें कोई लाग और लपेट नहीं है, न कोई नाराज़गी है, आप देखते हैं, बल्कि ये तरीक़ा है अच्छे काम करने का। खैर, तो उसका कुछ दिन मुक़र्रर करेंगे, बिलफ़्रेल कल पाँच बजे हम मिलेंगे। जो वो नाम भेजे गये हैं सब वो फ़ेयर लिस्ट मौजूद है और कल नाम उनके पुकारे जायेंगे, एक के बाद एक।

[Translation begins:

Some members, especially Shri Mahavir Tyagi, have mentioned quite wide-ranging matters.²⁸ His complaint was that I had not understood the manner in which the entire party works. Now I can't understand whether by party he means this party or the Congress organization. I have not understood, however what he has said is wrong. And this...either this should be organised properly

26. On 9 July 1959, Mahavir Tyagi had sent probably the same couplet to Nehru; see SWJN/SS/50/Appendix 21.

27. Mahavir Tyagi wrote to Nehru on 8 August saying he wanted to retire from politics and to resign from the Congress and Parliament. He added, "I assure you that I have no intentions to cause any damage to the Organisation which I have tailed for 40 years ... I also beg to be excused for my unpolished and uncouth manners, but I could not help them as I am convinced that polish is always deceptive.... May I here assure you that I was not dishonest."

Nehru replied the same day that he did not see why Tyagi should resign: "Certainly not because of any particular incident or what you said. Neither are you so thin-skinned, I hope, as to get excited about small incidents or because of some momentary feeling."

28. See fn 25 in this section.

or someone else should be allowed to do it. Now it is very seemly and fitting. Whatsoever is not right should be rectified. And it is obvious that you should think over it. He also said (Interruption) I know you won't consider it. No, I am not speaking in anger and...but sometimes in anger, we say what is in our minds. (Interruption) He says that these days the administration is being run like Wajid Ali Shah. I heard Wajid Ali (Interruption) Anyhow; and today he has read yet another couplet, "there is no faith on anyone."²⁹ So, whether these things have been said casually or in anger, they have to be considered by bringing them to the forefront. What is the use of hiding it? That would colour our thinking in other matters, too.³⁰

So, apart from today's debate which will continue tomorrow, I want you to fix some particular day to discuss this matter and it would be best if I were not present at all, so that you can say what you want, openly. No, no, I am speaking very plainly and there is no anger behind it. It is a good method of dealing with problems. Anyhow, we shall fix a date for it. We will meet tomorrow at five o'clock. All the names which were sent up are in the fair list and will be called out one by one tomorrow.

Translation ends]

29. See fn 26 in this section.

30. See fn 27 in this section.

10. CPP Meeting, 2 August 1959³¹

CPP Meeting 2 August 1959

1. Jeyarajin - 4.53 p.m.

Kerala

Congress mis-approach to C.A., communal & religious
 Press. Change - a communal one.

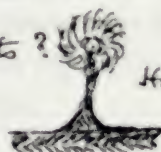
Foreign money - ?

Madras League

Who is the next victim?

Clarification of facts?

Why?



How was Congress involved?
 step by step.

Resolving memorandum to President - Nandhanam
 president.

? of electoral alliances in Kerala - Party must be
 consulted.

Is Congress going to be dictated to by religious caste leaders
 Mamtha Padmanabhan



2. Mahesh Tyagi 5.17

यह नैतिक है और अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध यह फाक्ट है
 यह है नैतिक

ଦଳିଲ ଥିବୁ ୧୧୫ ଆ ଦଳ
 ଶୁଭର ଥିବୁ ୧୧୫ =
 ଶୁଭର ଥିବୁ ୧୧୫ !



3. George Thomas 5.30 p.m.

4. Ketan Ch. Sharma 5.52

5. N. B. Maite 6.2

1. Sansi Congress Party delegate
 to Kerala

6. Sankar John

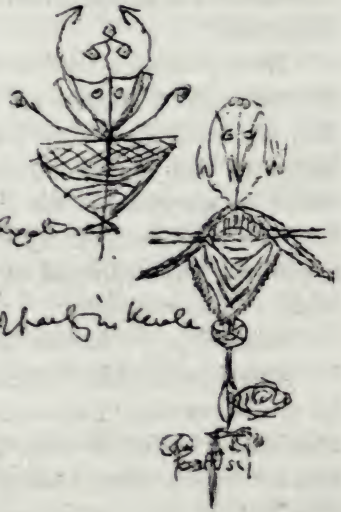
2. have study group change in Kerala

3. ?

6. Sankar John 6.28.

7. Sushila Nayyar - 6.38

8. Shree Khadra Yajur 6.50



11. At the CPP³²

[...] Let us adjourn now; we will meet tomorrow at five.

Now, wait a minute. I should just like to say, as our friend has pointed out, that we have been discussing almost entirely the Kerala affair which is right because that is important. But, nevertheless, this, not so much the formation of the Swatantra Party, that is by the way, but, rather our own policy and programme is at least as important if not more important. Now, the only member who has referred to it is Keshava Deva Malaviya³³ to some extent. And I think we have to do that.

Now, yesterday I referred to some remarks of Shri Mahavir Tyagi.³⁴ I did not really refer to them in any spirit of irritation. But, I did refer to them because they represented a certain feeling, I thought, of frustration or irritation and I suggested that you should meet one day, not to consider these remarks, but, rather the questions or the doubts lying behind those remarks. I still hold to that and I am, not for a moment, please do not imagine I am suggesting something which affected me, not at all. You consider, consider this question. Now, ... [Interruption]

Pardon? [...] I am not. No, no, I am not raising that particular point.

[Interruption] Maybe therefore I said. I say that it is desirable and necessary for you to consider these various matters: how to reorganise, what to do and what manner to do it. Now, the odd thing is that, I should imagine that at no time in Congress history has more thought been given to policies and programmes than the last year, two-three years – never since the Congress was founded seventy-five years ago – and people seem to imagine that we are in a kind of vacuum; that is not so. All this to which I referred – about planning or AICC Planning Sub-Committee or Seminar: what is that but concentrated thought about programmes and policies? There is another aspect of it, a very important aspect, and that is the question of implementing it in so far as the average Congressman is concerned. Now, that is very important, I would say, and that does require a great deal of thought, explaining, understanding and actually working to that end.

You must always remember that the days that you have in mind, the days of, our agitational days, were a peculiar mixture of jail going and intensive agitation outside. Intensive agitation – we go to jail for a year, two years, three

32. Speech, 3 August 1959. Tape No. M-45/c Part I, NMML.

33. Lok Sabha MP from Basti-SC, Uttar Pradesh, and Minister of Mines & Oil.

34. See Nehru's speech at the CPP, 2 August 1959, item 9, here pp. 155 and 158-159.

years; we come out; we rest awhile or something happens, intensive agitation, with more or less one objective in view, which normally did not require too much thought. It did require thinking of process, how to organise to work up. But the thought was on the strictly practical plan, not on the theoretical; practical plan and that too limited to the moment, to what is going to happen tomorrow, the day after, and we meet and we decide to do this or that and then, or possibly we were busy.

Now, conditions are obviously different; they have been different; and the only kind of real policy that you can draw up in a great organisation like this is so intimately connected with what is called planning now that you really cannot separate it. And the part that the Congress has taken in this recently, more than before, – before too, of course, but more so recently – has been a very important and intensive part: this kind of thinking, discussing with committees, sub-committees, whatnot, seminars. At no time has the Congress given so much thought to this or, if I may say so, any party in India except, in a different sense, the Communist Party may have thought about it. But there too there is not so much thinking as rather the application of somebody else's thinking to a certain set of circumstances – not really so much thinking. And, again, all the other parties here being Opposition parties are largely naturally concerned with opposition, with opposing, with agitation; that is not so much constructive thinking.

Now, to come back to Kerala, the Kerala Government necessarily, because it was a government, had to do constructive thinking for its own state. It has been a remarkable failure in its constructive thinking in regard to its own state. Really quite astonishing failure, I should say. Now, I do not blame them so much because conditions were difficult. But still the fact is that the thinking is so much governed by conditions that whether you are a Communist or a Congressman or anybody, you cannot ignore conditions, actual objective conditions, of the place. What has the Kerala Government done during all this period? I am not, please do not think that I am criticising it; I am merely pointing out and it has nothing to do really with your Constitution or anything, very little any way. I would say, you may say they could not just expropriate everybody and take charge of this and that. Certainly they could not do under our Constitution. But, broadly speaking, they could do a great deal. They were limited by circumstances and not so much by the Constitution.

So I give you this instance that, you see, they, having come in, a new government, a new party, with a certain fervour, with a certain enthusiasm and with a certain expectation from many members of the public, are here; something new they will do, something. It is almost exactly like the Congress coming in, to begin with, and here is something new. People think they have come now;

they will do this and that and that; and gradually, while there is some satisfaction that something is done, there is also dissatisfaction or frustration: Oh, they have not done very much after all. You see the same process at work, whether it is a Communist government there or the Congress government here, only there a short run and even in the short run they have got into bad odour with their own people; there is no doubt about it. And if I may say so, regardless of what we have said about communal this and that, the major fact is that there is a bad odour of the people, of the great majority of the people, of Kerala. At least there is no doubt about it – I have no doubt about it – about the measure that the people of Kerala have been misled, if you like. But, well, the people are not misled to that degree unless there is something to be misled about. [...]

Now, I have to come back really to the question [...] The most important question for us to consider is not the superficial political steps that we may take here and there – that we have to consider naturally because we are a political body – but the steps which are connected ultimately with planning, planning including everything, really including all the agriculture, industry, this, that, other, including what we may do in community development, including what we may do in the Congress Mandal, what the average Congressmen should be asked to do, how they should do it. That is the basic question which will justify our existence in the mind – in our own minds and in the minds of the people; or will not, that is the basic thing?

Now, as I said, the theory of it, [...] of this Plan we have done a good deal, and please remember that it was not an easy thing for Congressmen to do, the average Congressmen. They are not used, they were not used to that, they were not trained for that type of concentrated economic thinking, and economic thinking in a new field, because India is a new field not only for the Indians but for everybody outside India too. India was a new field, the problems of India were rather novel. It is no good [if] you are importing the economic treatises and text books of either America or England or Russia. You could profit by them no doubt as you can profit by anything. But it was a new field requiring new thinking in these circumstances not only because of the political but the economic circumstances, but limited by political matters, democracy and all that. So that for anybody it was a new field. But for Congressmen it was even more a new field, for average Congressmen. I am not talking about expert economists in the Congress ranks; that is a different matter. The average Congressman was used to thinking and speaking in a different milieu, an agitational milieu; and to make the Congress, to gradually turn the Congress mind to this new type of problem which India has to face, no easy matter, the great organisation. In fact, you might say, to turn the mind of India to this, Congress being a great organiser, everybody.

There is no doubt that to a large extent in India today there is what is called Plan consciousness; people discuss; [it] does not matter if they agree or disagree, but they discuss. They are getting the measure of, roughly, the idea of the problems that face us. Because obviously you can never find an answer, you can never decide what to do; you can never find an answer to the question till the question is framed – the question is not a good enough question. If you say: How to make Congress popular? I mean, yes, it is a good question, you can put it. But ultimately the Congress, if it is an opposition body, that is easy because you can make it popular by cursing perhaps, though even then you have to do something constructive. But, if it is a body, governing body, then it must relate to its constructive activities, its popularity, its plans, the measure you succeed in plans, the measure you take the plans to the people and so on and so forth.

So you come back to planning; you come back to thinking in the big way as well as the small way. Now, I think that, as I said, the country and the Congress has definitely become plan conscious. That by itself is not enough, but it is a very big step. Other organizations – take the PSP, well, there are some individuals there who are deeply interested in planning, but I find that the rank and file of the PSP is so much interested in opposition for opposition's sake that it does not trouble to think much about the other matters, apart from individuals. As for the Communist Party, really again individuals are always apart, but, broadly speaking I really do not think it thinks; it applies others' thinking; it tries to apply others' thinking in so far as it can or repeat the same slogans. Of course, there are individuals who think, but I am talking about the party as a whole.

Now, that has been, and I think it has really been, a rather remarkable development for the Congress, in the last couple of years more especially, when it has led this thinking first of the organisation, of the country, in this direction. It is quite a feat I think. Now, how far it can translate it into work for the average Congressman is the real problem and the difficult problem; how far. The organisation of the Mandals was a very good and excellent idea. Again you got a kind of something which can function in that way. I can't say offhand how far the Mandals are successful, how far not, but the organisation in itself was a good idea. You see, necessarily we have to deal with an organisation which is neither a close-knit organisation like the Communist Party or a strictly ideological party nor indeed close-knit in other ways either. It is wide, big, which is its virtue as well as its weakness.

Broadly speaking, the Congress has been considerably ahead of general public opinion of India. Not ahead in the sense of a sectarian group; the sectarian group can be far ahead and a lot of intellectuals can be far ahead, true. But you have to do two things: you have to carry the people with you, you have to have

links with the masses of people, and at the same time go ahead. If it is all links and nothing else then you don't go ahead and if it is all going ahead and no links then you remain where you are as a small group somewhere with no great force on the people. Or you have to have both and both pull in a slightly different direction. Take – I shall be quite frank with you; take something which I think is very creditable for the Congress, the legislation we have passed, our social legislation about Hindu Law, etc. I think it is a very good legislation. But I am not at all sure if you went for a referendum of all the people of India, if they would have accepted it, I am not at all sure. But by virtue of your influence and your pleading and all that, you got the people in, you rushed them into it. That is a very good example of how you can push in progressive legislation although the mass may be inert. Of course, if the mass opposes, you could not do it. But if the mass is inert, your popularity, and the broad faith in you, makes you carry this inertness.

You are not a strict body like the Communist Party in which more or less each individual is pledged to a strict definite programme; you are not that and you cannot easily be that. But you can be and you should be a broad-based body nevertheless with an ever clearer outline of where you are going to and try to carry the people there as far as you can. You cannot carry them always to the extent you and I would like them. I would say there are limitations and you cannot; nobody can; the Communist Party can't. The Communist Party failed in Kerala because, apart from the general dissatisfaction, because they just ignored people; let us leave out parties. You cannot ignore the Catholic Church in Kerala; that is a fact. No good talking about communal bodies and this and that. You cannot ignore a powerful Church like this. If they had been a little more cooperative about the Education Bill, I mean [...] here and there, they could have got through the Education Bill without difficulty. But they ignored all that and the Catholic Church, Mr Padmanabhan and others came down like a heavy hammer on their heads. You cannot – these are factual things – you cannot ignore everything that people feel; you can just push it as far as you can and you should. In pushing it you have to have a core to push, a clear thinking core and a clear working core. [...] But, problems are – we are proceeding ahead, I think, with some success, considerable success, in the thinking part; more and more is being done; should be done. But we are not proceeding ahead in translating that thinking into actual work for the individual Congressman; that is a difficult matter.

So I do want you to meet and consider the proposals, consider these matters, discuss them; let us discuss them. It may not be our function to advise the All India Congress Committee as such except as individuals. But there is ... No, I should not do so. If we have a proposal we can put it before

the Working Committee, and certainly before ourselves. If we can work in that way it would be good for us and for our party.

So, now we meet tomorrow at 5 o'clock.

One thing; you know about these flood disasters in Assam and Kashmir. The various funds have been started. In Delhi, there is supposed to have been a house-to-house collection. But if you so choose, our Party may make collections which you would like to give and we can forward them to those who are controlling the funds.

So 5 o'clock tomorrow. May I say I may be ten minutes late tomorrow? I have got an engagement at five; I will come at ten minutes past five.

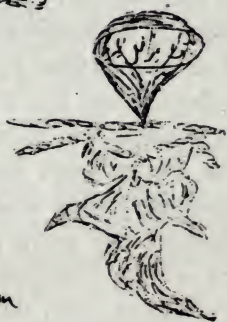
12. CPP Meeting, 3 August 1959³⁵



(2)

Current of meeting - 2nd day - Aug 3, 1959

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|------------|
| 9. A. M. Thomas | = 5.10 | _____ 33 m |
| 10. Manli Hify - ur Rahman | 5.43 | _____ 15 m |
| 11. Sukota Kripalani | - 6.1 | _____ 27 m |
| 12. Keshav Dev Melariga | - 6.28 | _____ 11 m |
| 13. H. M. Samuel | - 6.39 | _____ 23 m |
| 14. Dr. Satharayan | - 7.2 | |



13. At the CPP³⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like your advice as to how we should proceed. I have got, apart from those who have spoken, twenty-seven further names, twenty-seven, yes. And they may be added to for what I know. So, now remember the two things: One is, we can limit the time, say, ten minutes each; we have had several long speeches here; that is one thing. The second is this that all the discussion, as I said yesterday, except in the case of Shri K.D. Malaviya, was concerned with Kerala, not with the other matters referred to, and perhaps some of you now might like to refer to the other matters.

Yes. Well, as you were breaking up yesterday, I called upon Shri Vijayavargiya.³⁷ Is he here? Not here. Well, Shri Viswanath Reddy.³⁸

Someone: Mr. Leader, Sir. Every Congressman [...] will now have to support the action taken.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I even hinted that the Communist Party also had come to believe the Central intervention was inevitable. I did not mean and I did not say that they officially asked us to intervene; of course, not, because this has been denied by Mr Namboodiripad and others; of course, not. They did not officially ask us to intervene because that would have been a very embarrassing thing for them to say. But it is, I think, perfectly correct to say that they had arrived at a situation which they could not control then or a little later and, therefore, there was no other way out [but] to realise that. So when I am asked by Mr Viswanath Reddy what was the secret thing that led to this intervention, there is nothing very secret about it. It was a situation which—not from the point of view of the Congress or the Communist Party or anybody—the Central Government under the Constitution, acting in terms of the Constitution, could not tolerate, that situation ... to create widespread civil war there. Please remember, people talk about the Constitution being set aside. The Constitution is not set aside. Every action taken is within the four corners of the Constitution. The Constitution has provided under certain sections that if certain circumstances arise, certain actions may be taken.

Now, you may argue legally as to what the circumstances were, whether they were justified or not under that. The second has been a legal matter. The Constitution made the duty on the President to be satisfied and, so far as I

36. Speech, 4 August 1959. Tape No. M 45/C Part I, NMML.

37. Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

38. T.N. Viswanath Reddy, Lok Sabha MP from Rajampet, Andhra Pradesh.

know, nobody legally can challenge that – I would say the courts. You may hold the view that by some previous action of the Central Government such a situation ought to have been avoided. I do not mean by personal [...] you can look at the Constitution. The President acts on advice of the cabinet and [...]. But don't you see these are not only constitutional remedies but conventions. Normally speaking, our President is supposed to be in the position, let us say, of the King or Queen of England. You have followed that analogy. If the President can, suppose he issues an order dismissing the cabinet, it is a legal order. It is absolutely a legal order. But then the whole matter comes up presumably in some form before Parliament. And Parliament may be annoyed with the President or not, you see. That is a different matter. But the normal course of the affairs is that the President consults his Cabinet or the Cabinet advises him. The President naturally discusses the matter, whatever it is, and a certain decision is arrived at.

So that Mr Reddy may be right in what he said. In fact, he himself gave the answer to his question. He said that a week ago the Communist Party or the Government were in a quandary what to do and they were afraid of what might happen a week later or nine days later.³⁹ It is perfectly true, he just did not know. And it was because of that quandary that for all practical purposes they wanted Central intervention to get out of this difficulty. Now, if we had played purely a party game you might well have allowed them to get into greater difficulties but at the cost of large numbers of people of Kerala. It is not a fair thing for the people of Kerala to be made to suffer because of the party advantages and disadvantages. And, therefore, we felt that this action had to be taken; compelled to take it. We avoided taking it; we were reluctant to take it; but circumstances arose which could not be avoided so far as we are concerned. Now, [...] yes, read the Constitution. The President's declaration, notification, what it is called, Proclamation, you will see reference to the report. I can say quite clearly and emphatically that the Governor strongly recommended action to be taken by the President. It was on that basis that the President proceeded. In fact, yes; there is no doubt about it. Come on Mr. Alva.⁴⁰

Shri K.R. Achar.⁴¹ [...]

Mr Kasliwal⁴² referred to the fact that no money was spent by the Kerala

39. See SWJN/SS/50/item 40, fn 113.

40. Joachim Alva, Lok Sabha MP from Kanara, Mysore.

41. K.R. Achar, Lok Sabha MP from Mangalore, Mysore.

42. Nemi Chandra Kasliwal, Lok Sabha MP from Kota, Rajasthan.

government in handicrafts and there was plenty of money there. Now, I do not know the exact facts; I do not know. But broadly it is correct, I think, that much money was not spent. It may not be correct as they expect. But one thing may interest you that the Board, the Village Industries Board of which the Chairman and the principal person next to him were Sarvodaya workers, not formally, not politicians, not in the Congress anything, but owing to difficulties they experienced they resigned; a little before this agitation they resigned. They said, "We cannot carry on; we cannot do our work properly here."

Maniyangadan,⁴³ do you want to carry on or to [...]. All right, today, yes. But do you want this debate to be carried on another day? No? Well, then we must fix a day when we can discuss other matters, more especially internal organisation, working, etc. [...] I am just coming to that; no, no, I am coming to that. No, that is true. Now, I suggest if it is convenient to you that you might meet day after tomorrow, not tomorrow. You can meet tomorrow if you like, but I suggest [...] Yes?

Someone: Friday or Saturday.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : नहीं भाई, आप उनसे फिर मिल सकते हैं, ज्यादा मजमा होगा, मुश्किल हो जायेगी। नहीं जो बात मैं

[Translation : Jawaharlal Nehru : No, you can meet him another time; if there is too much of a crowd there will be a problem. No, the thing which I...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I am suggesting is what I have said the other day that you might meet day after tomorrow. Let it be, call it what you like, an informal meeting and I shall not be present. [...] No, no, no; please listen to me. I shall come the next day. I want you to treat it as an informal meeting when you can discuss amongst yourselves and I can ask someone – who shall I ask? Dr Melkote⁴⁴ to preside. [...] If you like I will come day after tomorrow, the 6th, at five... — 6 तारीख पाँच बजे अच्छा। [Translation:...On the sixth at five o'clock, alright...]

Now, I shall just say a few words in regard to this debate that we had [...]. I have not quite understood. क्या कह रहे हैं। [Translation: ...what is he saying? ...] Now can I [...]when you are discussing organisational problems? You may refer to Kerala or Punjab or Bengal in connection with organisation; that is a

43. Mathew Maniyangadan, Lok Sabha MP from Kottayam, Kerala.

44. G.S. Melkote, Lok Sabha MP from Raichur, Mysore.

different matter; that is a different matter entirely; but not otherwise.⁴⁵

हाँ, अरे भई, यानी एक मज़मून के लिए उन्होंने नाम दिये थे। कोई भी मज़मून हो उनको उनसे कहा जाये बोलो, हाँ। भाई साहब, आप बहुत मुनासिब बात कहते हैं। मैं तो चाहता हूँ मेरे पास अभी तक जहाँ तक मेरा खयाल है, अट्ठारह नाम बाकी हैं फ़ेयर लिस्ट पर, जिसमें आपका भी है। (Interruption) मैं समझा भाई, लेकिन मैं तो कह रहा हूँ कि इस आज आप चाहें इस मज़मून पे और बहस हो, वो दूसरी बात है (Interruption) ख़ैर, आपने एक किसी क्रदर आइन्दा के किसी मीटिंग में अपने बोलने का हक जमा लिया है। (Interruption) हाँ, हाँ। ख़ैर, मुझे तो मालूम नहीं कौन पहले दिया गया, कौन बाद में, लेकिन मैं आपको बता दूँ कि आमतौर से बोलने के मौक़े कुछ तो पहले-बाद का होता है, लेकिन और बातें ज़्यादा ज़रूरी समझी जाती हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग हिस्सों से लोग बोलें। अगर एक ही सिलसिले, एक ही सूबे के बोलते गये पहले नाम ये भी तो होता है ना। विजयवर्गीय का नाम मैंने लिया था, वो यहाँ थे ही नहीं उस वक़्त (Interruption) सीधी-सी बात है, इस वक़्त तो आप ज़्यादा बैठ नहीं रहे हैं। अच्छा, या तो आप चाहते हैं कि इस मसले पर और बातें हों, मैं खुशी से, मैं तैयार हूँ हों। आप बोलिए, औरों को भी मौक़ा मिले। मैं तो नहीं कहता या किसी और मज़मून के सिलसिले में आप बोले हों। ये साहब देखिए तय हो गया है कि परसों उसको जारी रखिए, उसको या फिर और इसपे, इस मज़मून पर स्पीचेज़ दीजिए, चलिए, परसों भी मत टालिये। इस समय मैं आपका ज़्यादा वक़्त नहीं लिया चाहता। ये साल का लेकिन दो-तीन बातें आप से अज़्र कर दूँ।⁴⁶

[Translation begins:

Yes, that is he had sent in the names for a particular matter. But whatever the issue, he should be asked to speak. My friend, what you say is perfectly true. I would like...I think there are 18 names on the fair list with me in which your name is also there (Interruption) Yes, I understand. What I am saying is that if necessary, this issue can be taken up separately for discussion (Interruption) Anyhow, you have somehow established your right to speak at any future meeting. (Interruption) Yes, yes. Any-how, I don't know whose name was given in first and whose later. But I would like to tell you that though generally the order of speakers is according to who gives in the name first, other considerations are equally important. For instance, people from different parts of India ought to get a chance to speak. It is not right that people from our State should keep speaking because their names are first on the list. I called out

45. After this Nehru spoke in Hindi.

46. After this the proceedings are in English. They are printed after the English translation.

Vijayavargiya's name and he was not present here at that time. (Interruption) It is a simple matter; you will not be sitting for very long just now. Or, if you want to have further discussion on this subject, I am ready. Everyone should be given a chance to speak. I am not saying that you should speak on something else. So, friends, please note that there will be a meeting day after tomorrow on organizational matters. If you like, you can continue it the day after that. Alright, don't postpone it to the day after tomorrow. I do not wish to take up more of your time just now. But I would like to mention two or three things.⁴⁷

Translation ends]

First of all I think it may well be said that during these three days' discussions mostly on the Kerala issue we have listened to a variety of approaches, standpoints, in regard to this issue. And I think it may also be said that members who have spoken have spoken quite frankly as they felt about it as indeed they should. And I should like to express my gratification at this. Because the question was important and was complicated not only in regard to what had happened but in regard to the future and it is right that we should consider all aspects of it. And indeed I think this is one of the best discussions we had and I hope that when we consider any matter all of us will speak quite frankly because if you do not speak frankly in party meetings then it is not a good thing for the party.

Now, about Kerala I am not intimate with those matters. A lot has been said about communalism and much of it has great force from our point of view because whatever we may feel or say, the fact is this that communalism is still a danger in India, not so much in the sense of parties; there is no Muslim League party in India except in Kerala; there is a Jan Sangh and there is RSS, and this and that. But the fact of the matter is that apart from a party the sentiment is there and it comes up, it comes up suddenly, people get excited, people can be misled, a man will go and say that a cow has been slaughtered and without any enquiry, whether it has happened or not happened, there will be a riot. How easy it is you see. All these things are suppressed; things come out through fear, apprehensions; the devil in him comes out. So it is that. And still it is not a new thing; it is a deep-seated thing. I can never forget, as I have often said, the shocks, the terrible shocks I had here in Delhi and in Punjab, both Pakistan and Indian Punjab, after the partition. And for matter of that even before that I went to Bihar a year before when there were riots in Bihar; before that in Noakhali. You see it is quite extraordinary how people who are normally

47. After this Nehru spoke in English.

completely sane, gentlemanly and gentle. Because, I do believe firmly that as a race I do not think any race is quite so gentle as the Indians, broadly speaking. And they try to avoid stepping on a little insect or something, they will avoid, although they are callous about animals; I would say they are not friendly to animals. But they do not want to injure life and all that and they are a gentle people – a gentle Hindu as he has been called is quite true. And yet these very gentle and gentlemanly people become demons when occasion arises. It is quite – whether they are Hindu or Muslim or anybody it is quite true, extraordinary how each one of us is a mixture of the devil and the angel. And circumstances, conventions etc., have to be created to keep the angel in the top and the devil below as far as one can. All democracy and systems and your rules are meant to create an environment, right environment, and there it is. So this communal spirit is deep down in many of us even though we may talk against it. We think in terms of communal bodies. Then, of course, they represent it to some extent and they have represented more for political reasons than any other.

Take Kerala. Do you remember – how many of you I wonder if you know it – that Swami Vivekanand, sixty years or seventy years ago, described Kerala as a lunatic asylum of castes,⁴⁸ not in the modern communal sense. But he said, I would say it is the caste there and how they function, though a 60 or 70 years ago, and things have much changed. Who was that I forget – somebody was talking about Ezhavas and he said, Mr Kasliwal, and he specially told us how to pronounce the word. I do not think he is correct at all in his pronunciation. However, Elawa is nearer. Now, take the Ezhavas who are the depressed classes there. For generations they have been sat upon, suppressed in Kerala. In the old days, they dared not stand up straight before the others. They had to bend down; they would hardly be seen, hardly approached. The Nairs were the rulers there. So that, the idea of an old styled Nair, for an Ezhava to come to

48. His words were: "Was there ever a sillier thing before in the world than what I saw in Malabar country? The poor Pariah is not allowed to pass through the same street as the high-caste man, but if he changes his name to a hodge-podge English name, it is all right; or to a Mohammedan name, it is all right. What inference would you draw except that these Malabaris are all lunatics, their homes so many lunatic asylums, and that they are to be treated with derision by every race in India until they mend their manners and know better. Shame upon them that such wicked and diabolical customs are allowed; their own children are allowed to die of starvation, but as soon as they take up some other religion they are well fed. There ought to be no more fight between the castes." See his lecture "The Future of India" in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1989), pp. 294-295.

him, it makes him stand with anger, that is, an Ezhava should dare to come and stand up before me. But the Ezhavas do stand up today and rightly they do stand up. In fact, there has been an Ezhava Chief Justice of the Travancore High Court, Judges, the Chief Justices. So the things are changing rapidly and all these upsets in society create friction, anger and frustrations. The Nairs are very fine people but the fact is that, broadly speaking, Nairs are still not accustomed to the Ezhavas standing up before them and telling this and what they want – what the hell they mean by it, these people. You see these things are always changing.

Now, you have not got communalism in the normal sense in Kerala. You have got communities and conflicts which is a different thing, very different thing to say. And there are no political parties there, communal political parties; leaving out the Muslim League and Malabar, a little bit of Malabar, for the rest there are no political parties there on communal lines. If Mr Mannath Padmanabhan is there, he has never been a politician; he has retired; he has wound up his society; and he has been a social reformer and president of the Nair Education Society. He has built up dozens of colleges, dozens of schools there. His influence is as an educationist and a social reformer. A year ago, yes, just about a year ago, he invited me to go to Kerala to open a new wing of the great college he has, the Mahatma Gandhi College. Well, naturally, I wrote, as I always do, to the Chief Minister, Mr Namboodiripad. I said I do not know Mr Padmanabhan. I said he has invited me;⁴⁹ shall I come? If he has invited you, certainly you come. And Namboodiripad has also been inviting me. So I said I will come for two, three days and, among other things, I will go and open this college. So I went and opened the college. Mr Mannath Padmanabhan speaks no language that I know except Malayalam. So I could speak to – I could only through interpreter talk to him. And I went and I spoke at his college and all that and opened the wing of it⁵⁰ and came away. So that he has not been in politics [...].

The political parties there are the Congress, the Communist [Party], the PSP, the RSP – the Revolutionary Socialist Party. These are the main parties. Well, none of these four parties are communal, although, I will be quite frank with you, each one of them flirts with the communal parties in the sense all these community groups [do], each one of them, including the Communists – the Communists have flirted with the Muslim League there so long trying to get

49. Nehru wrote to Namboodiripad in this regard on 20 March 1958; see SWJN/SS/41/p. 493.

50. On 24 April 1958, in the course of his visit to Kerala; see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 20-26.

them, and got them during the last occasion and got some seats with the help of the Muslim League. So that naturally as a kind of election tactic they flirt with these people. But, communalism in the sense in which you have communal parties here, do not exist there politically except, as I said, the Muslim League in Malabar, in that corner. And I can, quite right, as Mr Bhattacharyyaji⁵¹ said, apart from everything else, the whole [...] of the Muslim League brings up such memories in our mind, disturbing, annoying, irritating memories.

Now, one thing. Yes, I must protest against my friend Raghunath Singh.⁵² It is part of hinting – why hinting? – saying so quite clearly that I showed disrespect to the shastras. What is this? [...] but I admire them. [...] Now, shastras are knowledge; one must always respect knowledge. One must not bow down blindly to anything, shastras or not; that is a different matter. But, where there is knowledge, wisdom, one accepts it – and there is plenty of wisdom in our own books; there is no doubt about it. It is the people who shut up the wisdom and simply mumble formally without understanding anything; that I object to. [...]

Now, it was very interesting to hear such historical account of Pataliputra and the things that went to make a nation secular and all that. Well, I do not quite know if he has used the word secular in the right sense there. He is completely right in saying that in a country like India, that is, where many religions and faiths are represented, the only way is to live and let live, that is, to tolerate each other. The moment you do not tolerate, you come into conflict; you break up the unity of India. That is the basic practical reason apart from wisdom; that is an obvious thing. And he is perfectly correct. He is referring to various ruling dynasties and referred to the Mughals; there is no doubt. I do not know about his example of Humayun; that I do not know. But there is no doubt that Akbar very deliberately set out – I won't use the word secular in that sense but to build up what in those days was – it was not described in this language. What did he build up? It was a joint rule of the Mughals and the Rajputs in India. The Rajputs were the representatives of the ruling people then. And he deliberately sought the alliances of the Rajputs not only by marrying them but by giving them big posts, this that and other. And that is why it was a strong rule which lasted till Aurangzeb put an end to that alliance. That is true. And the lesson is that a country like India, quite apart from modern ideas of secularism, a country like India can only subsist by tolerating each other on the religious plane and I would go further and say, on other planes too; that is true.

51. Probably C.K. Bhattacharyya, Lok Sabha MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.

52. Lok Sabha MP from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

One thing may interest you – just to show the intensity of this Kerala agitation – that even some of the closest relatives of the Ministers, like sisters, went to prison in the agitation. The Communist Minister's sister agitating against the government and going to jail. It shows how passions came up and even families were affected, were almost broken up, on this issue.

Just one word more because somebody said about the Agrarian Bill in Kerala and Mr Tyagi expressed his satisfaction and people have supported him. It is a fact that broadly speaking it was supported certainly by the Congress Party – it was the biggest; I do not know about the others but probably they too. They made various amendments; the real, as far as I remember, the only one point of difference that remained was about the disposal of the excess land which they got. The Congress Party said there should be cooperatives; it should be given to cooperatives. And I think that the Bill was passed and they said that it should be distributed to individuals – that was the sole real difference. But the major things were accepted by all. Now, that bill was passed; that was still, I suppose, lying there presumably for some kind of sanction. I do not know what the position is now.

So we meet day after tomorrow, five minutes past five, to consider more or less organisational and working matters.

Thank you.

14. CPP Meeting, 4 August 1959⁵³

Party meeting 3rd Day

5.10 p.m.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------|----|
| 15. | Vishwanath Rathi | 5.11 - 5.21 | |
| | Sh. = | | 10 |
| | | | 7 |
| 16. | Joschim Alva | 5.22 | 21 |
| 17. | N.C. Kaslinil | 5.44 | 15 |
| 18. | K.R. Asher | 6.4 | 14 |
| 19. | Mathur Maniyangadem | 6.15 | 20 |
| 20. | Renuka Ray | 6.35 | 12 |
| 21. | Raghuvelth Singh | 6.48 | 16 |
| 22. | C.K. Bhattacharya | 7.4 | 13 |
| 23. | M.K. Girachandran | 7.17 | |



संसदीय काँग्रेस दल
CONGRESS PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

July 30 1953

संदेश :

Ref. No. _____

74-75 PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI-1.

G. K. Gokhale 1953.

Keshe - Our Programme
Instantly Fact -

What should we do?

Planning -



Keshe's Finance - statement to House

CONGRESS PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

Constitution

1990

24-25, PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI-1.

Rajkumar Singh

Shakti
Chavakya

14/7/19

pateliputres

Nine riding group

Relatives of
ministers

Exhens - C-J K -

Hunter's Asylum & Cotes

Agrarian Bill

Concurrent Commission

PHONE 2127
2224

संसदीय काँग्रेस दल
CONGRESS PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

Ref. No. _____

24-25, PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI-1.

My statement about C. L. giving P. C. B. C.
interactions -

What is compelling reason

Constitutional

Aug 9 =
more open

Limiting system of cards

Handicrafts - 25 lakhs allotted
not utilized.

Village Industries - Responsibility of serving
people in charge

Sachin's party - no headway

Money

Nair - ruling group

Exchanges - C. L. B.



15. At the CPP⁵⁴

[Nehru first spoke in Hindi.]

आज की मीटिंग खास हुई थी कि एक तज़वीज़ महावीर त्यागी जी ने की थी कि हम गौर करें उसपे। बहुत ज्यादा लोगों ने पूछा कि क्या बहस होगी आज तो मैं बहुत सफाई से कह नहीं सका, Organisational बातें Organisation हमारी पार्टी का या सारे कांग्रेस का या दोनों साथ नहीं हैं। कोई खास line खेंचने की जरूरत नहीं है, लेकिन फिर भी अगर बिल्कुल ही दूर को दो एक बातें हों तो पकड़ लें हम। एक तज़वीज़ें खास हों तो उसपे ज़रा ज्यादा आसान होता है। तो अच्छा हो अगर त्यागीजी शुरू कर दें। (Interruption) अगर आप चाहते हैं मुलतवी किया जाय और कल हो।⁵⁵

[Translation begins:

Today we are meeting specially to discuss the issue raised by Shri Mahavir Tyagi. Many people asked me what we would discuss today. But I couldn't give a very clear answer. I do not know if by organizational matters he meant our [Parliamentary] Party or the whole Congress. We need not draw a line between the two. But we cannot stray too far away. It is easier to have a debate when a special issue is involved. So, it will be better if Shri Tyagi were to start the debate. (Interruption) If you like, it can be continued tomorrow.⁵⁶

Translation ends]

I do not mind tomorrow but it is possible that their discussion in the House will go on till after five tomorrow. (interruption) Monday will be the [...] Sabha. So let us have it on Monday. Now I have got a suggestion to make. This discussion, though in a sense rather pointless, is I think very helpful in many ways and we had really some remarkably good speeches today, which may not point a way out of the difficulty but still throw light on the situation. Now, let us have another meeting like this. But, really we shall never be able to have any

54. Speech, 6 August 1959. Tape No. M-45/C, Part II, NMML.

55. After this the proceedings are in English. They are printed after the English translation.

56. After this Nehru spoke in English.

constructive proposals in this way. They can only come out of some thinking by smaller groups. Now, instead of forming a committee – are we to form a committee to do that? – I am going to make a rather odd proposal. I am going to name three persons and ask them each to form a committee of say ten or so because they can separately consider these matters. We can then jointly consider them. I do not want a big committee because then it becomes too big. I think ten is the maximum number for more or less sitting round the table and discussing it.

I am going to name three persons and request each one of them to form his own committee not exceeding ten to consider constructive proposals which they may then put before us. The three persons I am going to name for this purpose are Shri Mahavir Tyagi, Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra,⁵⁷ Shri Ram Singhbhai Varma.⁵⁸ So if you are agreeable I hope you will form your committee yourself. (Interruption). Yes, general discussion will continue on Monday; meanwhile by Monday I hope you are ready with your committee. So then tell me so that I can inform the others about it.

Thank you.

57. Lok Sabha MP from Jai Nagar, Bihar, and Deputy Minister for Planning.

58. Lok Sabha MP from Nimad, Madhya Pradesh.

16. CPP Meeting, 6 August 1959⁵⁹Congress Party meeting

August 6, 1959

1. Mahesh Tyagi 5:9

Old Congressmen - joint comfortable life -
now isolated - in continued bond today -

Friendship - emotional community -

Therefore something should be done to reduce this overness.

No real organisation now -

No principle for which we stand together -

We must take one another into confidence -

Let go. invite one another and ask them to prepare a note on a subject.

Some missionary job to do - Some plan -

Congress influence waning - Bygo membership.

There should be strict adherence to Congress principles -

ministers collect money -

Indirect work - Communist work in them -

Even Congress ministers to not obliging themselves to work - but busy in party rotation - G.P.

2. Jayaprakash Rao 5:273. S. N. Mishra4. A. M. Tarig 5:425. M. Gulam Hussein - 5:536. Moolchand Jain 6:05

3 cont

Lodges - proposal for to meet some party members at his house - Didn't succeed as large numbers went -

Punjab - proposal to advance money to people without security - if to let, to recommend. But actually little done -

Corruption in Congress organisation - shameful - Bogus membership - wrong persons coming into Congress - Opportunists - to undermine it from within -

Present method of Congress elections - defective - There should be P.R. in Provincial elections.

Our officials - pro-rich - do not implement our progressive legislation properly - What action taken against them?

7. Ramesh Chandra Verma 6.25

8. T. Subramanyam - 6.48

9. Jwala Prasad Jyoti 6.59

17. At the CPP⁶⁰

Since the beginning of Parliament, this session, we have had four meetings. This is the fifth of the Party general body. But, the previous meetings were more or less confined to the Members of the Lok Sabha except some Rajya Sabha Members who happened to be present. Today no doubt we have a larger contingent of Rajya Sabha Members. I should like to welcome them.

Now, during the last four meetings the first three meetings were largely, chiefly dealt with the situation or the aftermath of developments in Kerala. Reference was made in the discussions to the Swatantra Party and one or two other matters too, but in the main Kerala was discussed. The fourth meeting dealt with our own organisational matters.⁶¹ We did not define it carefully but how the Party should become, I take it, a more living entity, how its work could be done better. And there was some, apparently, some idea that we might have some ideas about that – the general Congress organisation also. So we had a discussion on the last occasion. That discussion went on for about two and a half hours and some very interesting and informative speeches were delivered. At the end I made a suggestion. I said that while such discussions were good and we shall continue them as we are continuing it today, nevertheless, to discuss specific matters it is a little difficult to do so in a large body with speeches being made. Those speeches are a good background but not that type of committee discussions. Therefore, I thought this smaller committee or committees could consider these more effectively and they could put forward their suggestions or proposals for the full body to consider. Then I made a somewhat unusual proposal. Instead of appointing a committee straight off, I suggested to three members of our Party separately to form groups, small groups, not exceeding ten, and they might consider these matters separately later together. Because, I did not like – the larger the group the more it becomes diffused and then you have speeches rather than discussions. So I wanted to limit the group to ten but any member can have ideas and can discuss them. And I thought that it would be a good thing for an approach being made from two or three different points of view; then three groups could meet together. So you could have a joint one too. But originally I thought and I left it to them, to three individual members, to form those groups and the three persons whose names I have suggested were Shri Mahavir Tyagi, Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra, and Shri Ramsingh Bhair; that they could separately pick out, choose

60. Speech, 10 August 1959. Tape No. M-45/C Part II. NMML.

61. The CPP meeting on 6 August 1959; see items 15 and 16.

some other members, preferably not exceeding ten, and discuss these matters. Then the three groups could meet together and consider there jointly their suggestions and finally the Party could consider them. I thought in this way we could come to concise matters to be considered. Otherwise we can go on having speeches which are good but which do not lead to any conclusions. Now, I am told that those three groups have not been formed yet. I do not know; [it is] subject to correction. [Interruption]

Your group, हाँ [yes] so you have formed your group. Did you inform the Party of who there are in your group? [Interruption] You might just inform them. Now, Mr Thirumala Rao,⁶² what were you saying? [Interruption] Because, yes, [interruption] not at all. I am prepared to have a fourth group if Mr Thirumala Rao can gather round. [Interruption] But, really, no; the only point was a practical approach to this problem. Any member can send suggestions, of course. But, the suggestion would be better if a group had – if five or ten persons had discussed it; it would be probably a little more. Otherwise we get odd suggestions from large number of members and it is difficult to consider. It was – those three persons were mentioned because those three had in various ways spoken in this matter and obviously were interested in it, had ideas. I thought that. Those ideas they might put forward if that time we receive the Lok Sabha Members here naturally. So – but there is no difficulty about any one, two, three, four, five, six, or more persons. You can send individual [interruption]. Conveners?

Someone: Another group.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, my dear sir. Well, I say you can, without my appointing them, any of this small number; you can sit down and discuss this matter. What is the matter? It is not an ideological matter for different ideologies or different groups, not at all. It is a matter of our proper functioning and on this we want ideas and ideas thrown out. Suppose, it often happens, you suddenly have a bright idea; you come and deliver a speech. Well, it may be a good idea but it is far better for that very idea to be discussed amongst a few and thrashed out. Then it becomes a little more feasible of consideration, that is, the idea. There is no question of ideologies here. It is a question of how more effectively we can work. Mr Mahavir Tyagi originally put forward this idea that we should discuss this matter. We discussed it last time, that is, at the full meeting. But, then I felt I could have – the only other way was I could have picked out ten,

62. M. Thirumala Rao, Lok Sabha MP from Kakinada, Andhra Pradesh.

twenty persons and have said, "You form a committee and do that." But, I thought that would exclude others who have – so I said three. But, as I said, it is immaterial for me. You can have four, five, six groups considering this because all that will ultimately go through the sieve of a joint committee. That will be the time for the big committee to sit. But, if you have any other suggestion to make about procedure I shall gladly welcome it. [Interruption] What? Certainly you can come today. But, I should like your general approval, if I may say so. What I suggested last time [...] the variation of it. Because, that is not a rigid proposal; it was only a procedure to facilitate our considering these problems. It is not rigid at all; we can make it as flexible as you like. May I refer – Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra has said that he has already proceeded with a group. I do not know who they are in that group. Now, is Shri Mahavir Tyagi here? He is not here; I do not know. Mr Ramsingh Bhai. [...]

My dear friend, this is not a rigid rule. I do not know; this is a way of, convenient way of functioning. It is – the committees can meet together, if they like all of them. But, the idea was, of course, that there should be on the whole no duplication of the same person unless they meet together. But, it does not really matter how we proceed.

Well, come on Mr Thirumal Rao. Come, come, come, come. May I, because we have received a telegram, I will read it out. The Secretary [interruption] – no, it is the AICC who received it. This is from the Secretary of the Kananore District Congress Committee:

"Allegation by A.K. Gopalan in Parliament that several houses damaged and many persons injured following dynamite explosion in Mavilai, Kananore district,⁶³ wholly baseless."

My information is derived from official sources that some people, some crackers I think, no, small crackers, and no damage was done. They were celebrating their occasion, whatever it was. And this led to the first idea that dynamite was used and, secondly, if dynamite was used, there must have been damage. But there actually was no damage and there was no dynamite; there were a few crackers, yes.

63. On 3 August, A.K. Gopalan, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Kasargod, Kerala, had given notice of an adjournment motion in the Lok Sabha about the law and order situation in Kerala after President's Rule. As he was not given permission, he issued a press statement on 5 August in which he reproduced a telegram according to which "dynamite was used in Mavilai (North Malabar) my birth place. Many houses were damaged and many persons were injured. In Alleppey two women were raped, and the number of crimes perpetuated on Communists are daily on the increase." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, col. 108, and *New Age*, 9 August 1959.

I might mention that it is, I think, stated by my Deputy Minister, Lakshmi Menon, in the Lok Sabha today, just for your information.⁶⁴ I do not quite know what she said. I was not there. But, on two occasions at least [...] Mr Gopalan raised the question of Pondicherry. [Elections there] will begin tomorrow. And he said that the police are siding with some party and harassing the others because of this election and that one candidate, a Communist candidate, is in prison and he is not allowed bail and so on.⁶⁵ And immediately I got in touch with the Chief [Commissioner] in Pondicherry⁶⁶ and I have spoken on telephone, telegram and letters, [and received] a full report from him. He said that these allegations have no foundation. It is true that one man is in prison who is a candidate. He was involved in a criminal assault case some three months back, long before the elections were even mentioned. There was no question of elections then, and the administration has nothing to do with it. He asked for bail; bail was refused by the district court; he went up with an appeal to the High Court; High Court refused bail, local High Court. We have nothing to do with it, and it was while he was in prison that he became a candidate. In fact, facilities were given to him to become a candidate while he was in prison. And that, so far as we are concerned, the administration. Our instructions are that bail should not be opposed at all. We cannot order anything against the High Court's ruling. But if he makes an application, we shall – the administration will not oppose it; it is [for] the High Court to give bail [if] they want to.

And so, a number of other cases too where there was no real foundation, and my own information is, broadly speaking, that police is functioning without any partiality. We have sent there some additional police from round about, I forget, Andhra or Madras; I forget. They [came] from round about for the election period.

Now, Mr Thirumal Rao. [Interruption]

Someone: Tyagi has come. Yes, it is alright, confidential Party meeting; they are very deceptive.

Someone: I read that this discussion ...⁶⁷

64. See item 85, fn 350 for the statement of Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, on 10 August 1959 in the Lok Sabha.

65. See item 84.

66. L.R.S. Singh.

67. After this Nehru spoke in Hindi.

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : नाराज़ होने की बात नहीं है। अगर आपको हक़ है कहने का तो उन्हें भी हक़ है कहने का, जो कुछ दोनों का (Interruption) अरे भाई साहब, अरे साहब (Interruption) मैं क्या किस बात में किस बात की बरदाश्त कर रहा हूँ। भई, मैं आपको रोक दूँ, क्या कलैं, आप (Interruption) अरे भाई साहब, अरे साहब, किस सिलसिले में राम सिंह भाई ने कहा था आप कह रहे हैं। अब मैं आपको रोक दूँ कि इसका ज़िक्र ना करो। मेरी समझ में उसकी अहमियत नहीं मालूम होती है। आप सही कहते हैं (Interruption) हूँ, हॉल्स देखिए, उन्होंने तो ये शिकायत रखी जिसपे आपने शिकायत कि आप ने चन्द अलफ़ाज़ उनके निस्वत कहे जो मुनासिब नहीं थे। आपके निस्वत आपने कहा कि मैं आप की तरफ से चापलूसी नहीं करता (Interruption) ख़ैर, (कोई : अच्छा दोनों ही बराबर हो गये) मेरा मतलब ये है कि ज़ाहिर है जैसे मैंने बार-बार कहा है कि इस पार्टी में बिल्कुल आज़ादी से लोगों को बोलना चाहिए, कोई इसमें रुकावट नहीं होनी चाहिए, नहीं तो कोई माने नहीं हैं हमारे मिलने के। लेकिन जहाँ हम एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ ज़ाती इलज़ामात लगाने लगे तब पार्टी का चलना मुश्किल हो जाता है। कोई भी हो आपको हक़ है, मेरे खिलाफ़ आप कर लें जो भी आप। लेकिन एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ ना करें तो अच्छा है। इत्तला के लिए कि कई इलेक्शन हुए हैं। किसी को टिकट मेरी सलाह से अब तक नहीं मिला है, ना किसी को मेरी सलाह से रोका गया है। जो कुछ हो, मेरी सलाह उसमें बहुत कम आयी है लेने में या रोकने में (Interruption) श्री [...] भट्टाचार्यजी क्या करें अब (Interruption) तो फिर इसके बाद की मीटिंग अगर आप पसन्द करें तो तेरह तारीख को की जाये। कल और परसों ज़रा मैं एनगेज्ड हूँ, आप मीटिंग कर सकते हैं। (Interruption) अच्छा, नहीं, तेरह को कीजिए। [...] ख़ैर, एक मैं आपको ख़त सुना दूँ, एक मेम्बर का आया है।⁶⁸

[Translation begins:

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : There is no need to get angry. If you have the right to say things, so can he. [Interruption] Wait, wait. [Interruption] What am I tolerating? Should I stop him or what should I do? [Interruption] How can I stop him now from mentioning it? What are you saying? In my opinion, it does not seem right. You are perfectly right. [Interruption] He complains that you used certain words in connection with him which were not proper. Your contention is that you are not given to flattery. [Interruption] Anyhow. [Someone: Now both are equal.] What I mean to say is that it is obvious that, as I have

68. After this the proceedings are in English. They are printed after the English translation.

frequently mentioned, that there should be complete freedom in this Party for everyone to speak openly. Otherwise, there is no point in our meeting, but if we start accusing each other, then it becomes very difficult to run the Party. Criticize me if you like. But it will be better if you don't criticize one another. I would like to mention that in all the elections that we have had, nobody has ever got a ticket on my recommendation, nor has anybody been prevented by me from getting it. Whatever it was, my recommendations have hardly ever come into it. (Interruption) Shri [...] Bhattacharyyaji, what shall we do now? [Interruption]. So if you like we can have the next meeting on the thirteenth. I am busy tomorrow and day after. But you can hold the meeting. [Interruption]. Alright, no, have it on the thirteenth. [...] Well, I would like to read out a letter written by a member.⁶⁹

Translation ends]

A letter, I shall read out, from a member who could not be present today as he had to go to his Pradesh Congress Committee meeting in Bihar. Shri [...] said, he wrote:

"Dear Friend,

I have been hearing, in the last few days, of our shortcomings, whether organisational or otherwise. The root cause of all this seems to be our non-cooperating with the ideals which Gandhiji preached to us. There are, of course, men who adhered to his sayings and they have enlightened themselves and have created a circle around them. Others who could not find oneness in the Congress could not find it even outside the Congress. We Congressmen have deviated from what Gandhiji wanted us to practise in life. Though at the initial stage we tried to follow him but could not keep up to his vow, that is, truth speaking and non-violence or ahimsa. We are neither truthful nor non-violent. I leave aside the question of non-violence here and take truth for truth's sake. One complaint there is: loss of faith. And why? – Because we are not truthful in speech and action. Then why should we complain of the results of our actions. If we have not followed the advice of our political Guru, who else is to lead the consequences? The end justifies the rules. Friends, let there be heart-searching and see if we can [...] upon at least on truth speaking accompanied by prayers."

So we shall meet on the 13th, a little after five.

69. After this Nehru spoke in English.

18. CPP Meeting, 10 August 1959⁷⁰

संसदीय कांग्रेस दल
CONGRESS PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

24-25, PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI-1

Aug 10. 1959 5.10 p.m.

Mr. [Signature]

10. [Signature] [Signature] 5.25

11. [Signature] [Signature] 5.35

Naipun Rautan -
Congressmen should themselves act up to them -
joint farming -
Sub. selling houses.
No room for [Signature] etc in Congress.
Giving tickets to such persons who have opposed Congress.
[Signature] [Signature] [Signature]

12. H. K. Kalia 5.44.

13. C. K. Bhattacharya 5.55

Congress [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
new organisation.
Code of conduct & philosophy.
Gandhi in 1940-46 - ministers should be in their places rightly and
rightly.

14. [Signature] [Signature] 6.9

Baru members. Organisation now based on [Signature] =
Today people [Signature] Congress - they are [Signature] [Signature]
[Signature] [Signature] [Signature] No real membership of Congress.
Officials raising road ministers - [Signature] [Signature] - [Signature]
[Signature] [Signature] [Signature] [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
Charges against ministers - [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
Democracy - [Signature] [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
Country going down - [Signature] [Signature] [Signature] [Signature]

Paul. work
Congress work
[Signature] [Signature] [Signature]
[Signature] [Signature] [Signature]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



That shows the extent to which railway property is being pinched!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 5 AUGUST 1959)

19. At the CPP⁷¹

[Nehru first spoke in Hindi.]

(Interruption) चलिए, पाँच मिनट सही, अब आप की क्या राय है, इस वक़्त तो हम उठेंगे, लेकिन आइन्दा के लिए (Interruption) हाँ, हाँ, ख़ैर, लेकिन ये आप याद रखिए वो तीन कमेटीयाँ बनायी थीं, उनको अब तो फिर हम दिन मुक़र्रर करें उस पर अच्छी बात है। अच्छा एक मैं छोटी-सी बात मैं कहा चाहता था।⁷²

[Translation begins:

[Interruption]... Alright, take five minutes; now, what do you think, we will conclude right now, but for future... [Interruption] Yes, yes, well, but please keep in mind that those three committees were set up, we should fix a day for them; it will be good. Alright, I just wanted to mention a small point.⁷³

Translation ends]

Mr Neswi⁷⁴ said talking about corruption that he knew many cases of corruption which he could prove to the hilt but nothing was done. Now, I shall be grateful to him if any such case which he can prove to the hilt is brought to my notice. Because we have been anxious and I believe we have been remarkably successful in dealing with this matter. I am not talking at the present moment of the corruption in the petty ranks of the Railways and of post offices – I would not say the lower ranks; that is a thing which one should deal with. But it is not such an easy matter with petty things. But, so far as higher ranks are concerned of our services, I do not deny this corruption, but I think that they will compare with the finest service in any country in the world from the corruption point of view. And, as I have said, I do not see that individuals do not, but taking it all in all it is a service acknowledged in the wide world to be one of integrity, normally speaking.

The second matter I might say to you [is] that the steps we have taken to meet this corruption thing – I do not say they are perfect but they have produced

71. 13 August 1959. Tape No. M-46/C Part I, NMML.

72. After this the proceedings are in English. They are printed after the English translation.

73. After this Nehru spoke in English.

74. Thimmappa Rudrappa Neswi, Lok Sabha MP from Dharwad South, Mysore.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 23 AUGUST 1959)

very good results. I get a report every month of the actual steps taken. Naturally that applies to the central government, not to states; I am not speaking about the state governments, now, that is, but all central government services, whether in Delhi or elsewhere. I get a report of all the enquiries made, enquiries resulting in departmental action, enquiries resulting in legal action, in convictions, some times acquittals. That is a long report and it consists of people from all grades, from the topmost grade to [sic], you see. And, as I said, I do not say it is perfect; these things take time. But there is one difficulty often occurring with the matters we take to the law courts: it is difficult to get convictions, that kind of hundred per cent evidence which a law court requires. And sometimes it has come to this: we are convinced of a man and we have pushed him out, suspended him, even dismissed him; after three years of law courts he is reinstated and we have to pay him three years' salary. Now, what is [this]? Because, we could not perhaps – in the view of the court we could not hundred per cent prove something although we were convinced of it and we thought that there was quite enough evidence, but there it is.

[Interruption]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Pardon? That is a different matter [...] As present constituted our laws and our public services commissions which we have to, and ought to, follow do come in the way of what might be called a swift action. Now, swift action has its advantages; it also naturally has its disadvantages, because the person who indulges in swift action, well, may not be very impartial, maybe just functions in anger – you see it becomes risky from that point of view. However, the point I was mentioning was this, that if any of you, gentlemen, have any case which you think is a strong case I shall be grateful if my attention is drawn to it; we shall take steps in it.

One other small matter Mr Neswi talked about free Congress membership and all that. Nevertheless it's alright. He said there should be a percentage levy on incomes. Well, I should like to remind him that there is such a thing today. And there was such a thing in the twenties and in the thirties especially. I know I was General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee then. I used to try to realise this percentage levy from all over India. I do not think I am sorry to say that it was a great success. Some people paid large sums; some people paid small sums; most people did not pay anything at all. Only, I forget, last year the AICC passed a resolution – I am not quite sure what the figure was but it was a pretty heavy figure – 10 per cent they said. How is it 10 per cent?

Someone: Yes, ten.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There you are. And even now, well, some people tried to pay that. So there it is.

So I should like to thank all of you members for these several days' debates that we have had; this is our sixth meeting since the start of this session. I have got a letter from one member a little while ago here saying that these meetings were doing no good and that I should end them because they are reported outside. Our own criticisms are made much more in the newspapers: they talk about corruption, they talk about this, that, and other. [Interruption] Please, please. [...] Yes.

Now, I do not agree with that member who wrote to me, saying that these meetings are doing no good because newspapers report our failings and all that. I do not agree with that. Newspapers certainly get, as I said at a press conference, I think, I said it is almost a terror for me [...]. I said I do not mind being reported what I said, but bits taken out of a confidential meeting and reported out of context is a terror, because they have no relation to [...]. Somebody takes a sentence or half a sentence as I have said and it is made to mean something else. I cannot go about denying and contradicting newspapers, so I said.⁷⁵ I was especially referring to these meetings which are supposed to be private; if something goes out, however [...]. But I do not think, I do not like, this, of course, misreporting, but I do not think we need worry very much about some publicity being given to what is said here; we need not be so thin-skinned. Naturally it is better to keep these things private.

But, I think it is, it has been desirable, it is a good thing, that we should discuss these matters with the absolute frankness. That helps us to consider the nature of the question. In a sense we know the question, all of us. But in knowing it – we also know various aspects of it. It comes in a fuller shape when the different people put their different viewpoints. And it does help because after all it is very important for everything, whether political or economic, organisational or administrative, to know, to put the question properly before you give an answer. We all tend to give answers before we frame the question. That is the usual habit of the politicians everywhere in every country: they give an answer. If you ask them what the question is, they do not quite know, but the answer is ready. Therefore, it is a good thing.

Now, I really – at this hour I do not want to take up your time, that is, for the moment we are ending this discussion. It will come up again, I might tell my friends here, when we have some further suggestions – we do not wind it up. But I have a fairly long experience of the Congress organisation. I joined

75. See item 3, here p. 26.

the Congress as a delegate for the first time in 1912 and that is 45, 47 years ago, and I have functioned as some kind of office bearer, whether in the town, district, province or All India Congress Committee. Well, I think about 40 years; or not; or more? More than that I think. I have been rather out of touch naturally with the administrative sides and the organisational sides for the last several years, even though I was Congress President for a while in between. But during this period naturally I have seen not only the Congress but the growth of various movements, political and other. I should like to remind you that when the first things I saw was a group leaving the Congress and a good group, able group, the moderates. Well-known people, Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru, very able men, men highly respected and others, they left the Congress on grounds, not on personal grounds, because they did not agree with the more extreme policies of the Congress – I am not going to the old Tilak-Gokhale disputes of 1907 – 1905, '06, '07 – they are old ones. But, then Lokmanya Tilak came back at the Lucknow Congress. The moderates left; this was before Gandhiji came; remember, they left. The Congress was not the weaker for they were leaving; it was, in fact, spreading out. [Interruption]. Now, Congress responsive cooperators left; it was really more in Maharashtra group – Mr Kelkar⁷⁶ and others; they left it. And so on. And in the twenties, there was this dispute about no-change and pro-change and all that.

All that has happened; people have been leaving it; but the Congress really, oddly enough, always became stronger when some people left it on that ground. I am not saying that today if you become stronger [sic] because conditions are different today, and the type of things that are happening in the Congress and, if I may say so, not only in the Congress, that is, we are facing a disease of the body politic in India. It affects most parties in a greater or lesser degree. It affects the Congress more, partly because we are the biggest party, partly because we are the governmental party and we have to shoulder the burden of government. Therefore, it affects us more from the public point of view and from our own. But it is really a matter of very serious consideration, how the level of politics has gone down in India, partly our fault, partly other. Whatever faults may be, let us face that. I believe that there are large numbers of very, very fine sound workers in the Congress, and more and more so at the lower levels than in the higher levels. That is my belief; you know it better than I do. There are plenty, otherwise the Congress would have been dead and gone long ago. It is because of that solid worker who has kept it going – not so much, if

76. N.C. Kelkar, a lieutenant of Lokmanya Tilak; became a Member of the Viceroy's Council, 1924-29.

you would permit me to say so, the higher level people and the legislators and others. There are very good legislators; no, this is not the point. But it is the solid worker in the village who has been the back bone of the Congress.

But, really we are facing a very serious crisis. You may call it, as Mr Feroze Gandhi⁷⁷ called it, a crisis in thinking or crisis of whatever you like to call it. It is something even deeper than that. And, if I may again extend the parallel, it is slightly reflected the world over. I do not want to carry that argument further but it is almost a world crisis, but in different aspects. But, coming to India, it definitely is so and it affects almost every party, not so much the Communist Party at present because [...] much more tightly-knit party and all that. But, every other party is affected by it, Congress first of all. And we have to realise that.

And in the final analysis I would say we make rules. Some say change the constitution. I think we have got a pretty good constitution. I think in the last three or four years the Congress – All India Congress Committee – has done more work, the office, etc., than probably almost ever before, apart from the big movement and all that. It is, whether they have Mandal organisation they have started, whether planning, this, that and other; they are really. But, you see, it is not a question of office work ultimately; what counts is village work – it is the work down below. Your AICC office may be perfect or may not be. But it was not that real life coming up from work below – it is in the stratosphere – as though you have to face that problem. And, as I said, all that is good – we may think of these remedies; but, it is really, in the final analysis, it is not a crisis of thinking, as Mr Feroze Gandhi said. I say it is a crisis of character. [...] Of course, that reflects itself in thinking undoubtedly; well, it is.

Now, take this. We go on saying about Community Development Movement. The villager should be self-reliant; he should do things for himself; give him more authority to do this – we go on saying that. But the fact of the matter is that by and large the villager does not do it; he refuses to be self-reliant. He wants the government to do everything or somebody. It is a bad thing; it is a basically bad thing. It may be the fault of the government officer; it may be the fault of the government; whatever you like. But the fact is that there is, as our friend says, call it inertia, because it is just wanting somebody else to do the job and not having that vital spirit to do a job oneself; then the smallest things, the biggest things, it is really extraordinary how there is this inertia and a kind of disintegrating thing, mentally disintegrating. We are really facing not only

77. Feroze Gandhi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Rae Bareilly, UP, spoke at the CPP meeting on 13 August. For Nehru's notes on his speech, see item 20.

opposition from this party or that party or our own deficiencies, we are facing almost forces which we cannot quite characterise, substantial forces which weaken a group or a country. Well, we have to fight them and we would fight them, of course. But, oddly enough, many of our measures which we have adopted for the betterment of people, village, etc., have slightly helped their inertness, and to say "give us more." You see it is a very difficult thing to balance. We want to help them but more and more I am convinced that help without their doing something may be actually harmful to them ultimately, you see. So there it is.

Well, I do not take up any of your time. I am very grateful for this discussion, for this frank discussion, and I think we will have such more discussions.

20. CPP Meeting, 13 August 1959⁷⁸

Congress Party Meeting August 13, 1959

17. Ranbirsingh Chaudhary - 5:18
 Floor procedure of Constituent Assembly. Needs
 discussion in Party of all important matters.

18. Feroze Gandhi - 5:36
 ✓ Common feature of all speakers - minds disturbed.
 Congress passing through a crisis. Nothing new. Part of
 a historical process.
 Crisis in thinking - confusion - fear of future.
 Ability of organization to discharge its obligation.
 Thoughts along 4 general election -
 Democratization - our own fault.
 Congress in Central Hall of Parliament
 Congress has been a huge political reservoir - Out of this
 reservoir other parties have been formed.
 People going out of Congress. One back & one forward.
 Should be kept at for 7 years?
 500 seats left - Why not work actively to them -
 to me? AICC could utilize them - But we
 are ignored - I hope - -
 We should all be free to work.

T. H. Sonawane - 5:57
 Minister, go out case to visit areas where they should go
 and stay with people - Compare Gandhiji's practice.
 At least visit Kinner & Brij area.
 Our minister of Agriculture has miserably
 failed. He should go - Give him another
 portfolio. Remember Rabi Ahmed Ahmed
 How he renounced controls & etc.
 Minister should sometimes resigns.
 They are now chair politicians now

78. Notes. Last line should read: "They were arm chair politicians now."

We have god laws - But implementation not
god. Prohibition -

Improve character

✓ 11
Macharashtra - overvaluing feeling many people
of injustice having been done to them. How can we
do mass contact with them?

People ask why is Congress silent?

By-elections - 7 or 8 - Govt

Let Bombay Corporation do it.

with them we must take clear & firm stand -
Either that or we accept we shall change things

8. 11. 42 - delay dangerous -

No clerical appointments given to MLAs

One secretary in one building

Bikramt Mishra 6.17

T. R. Neer - 6.42

Cases of Corruption

Can prove it? Kill the rich

Congress membership - Free enrollment - no fee

to members should be paid above certain income.

Stop city growth

Federal Court should sit in Delhi

P. N. Rajagopal - 7.14

21. In the Rajya Sabha: Planning Commission Members at the Ooty Seminar⁷⁹

Shri S.C. Deb:⁸⁰ Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

(a) whether the members of the Planning Commission participated in the All India Congress Committee Planning Seminar held at Ootacamund recently;⁸¹ and

(b) whether Rs. 10,000 crores was proposed to be the target for the Third Five Year Plan?

The Deputy Minister of Planning (Shri S.N. Mishra): (a) Yes, some Members of the Planning Commission attended by special invitation.

(b) This was discussed at the Seminar. Attention is invited to the statement issued after the Seminar by the authorities concerned.

Shri S.C. Deb: May I know, Sir, if the decisions taken in that Seminar will be the basis on which the Third Five Year Plan will be drawn up?

Shri S.N. Mishra: No particular kind of decision was taken in the Seminar but the deliberations of this Seminar helped in clarifying many points. The deliberations were organised to assist the Planning Committee of the A.I.C.C. in coming to certain decisions.

Shri S.C. Deb: May I know, Sir, what are the salient points that were discussed there?

Shri S.N. Mishra: Four or five important subjects were discussed, namely:-

- (i) the approach to the Plan, or its grand strategy;
- (ii) implications of the socialist pattern of society;
- (iii) location and mobilisation of resources;
- (iv) wages, prices and profits; and
- (v) institutional changes.

79. Reply to Questions, 13 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos 1-13, cols 475-478.

80. Suresh Chandra Deb, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Assam.

81. See SWJN/SS/50/item 1, here p. 1.

Shri S.C. Deb: May I know, Sir, what is the meaning of institutional changes?

Shri S.N. Mishra: I could not follow.

Mr. Chairman:⁸² "what is the meaning of institutional changes?"

Shri S.N. Mishra: Apparently, it means changes in the institutions which can help in realising the objectives of the Plan in the particular context. Now, the institution might be in the economic, social or, to a certain extent, it might be in the political field also.

Shri S.C. Deb: May I know, Sir, whether 'institutional changes' means planning on economic matters and other things?

Shri S.N. Mishra: I did not get the question.

Shri S.C. Deb: I want to know whether 'institutional changes' also include matters like economic development and other things?

Shri S.N. Mishra: Economic development is the very objective of these institutional changes.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:⁸³ I only wanted to know here whether the Members of the Planning Commission were invited there as a part of the plan of the Planning Commission, and whether they would be available to any party in the country for formulating their party plans?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is the function of the Planning Commission to help everybody in getting a clear understanding as to what the issues before the country are. Whatever party seriously wants to understand them will be helped by the Planning Commission.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I am very glad over what the Prime Minister said. In that case, may I know, Sir

82. S. Radhakrishnan.

83. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

Shri Deokinandan Narayan:⁸⁴ May I know, Sir, if it is not a fact that experts of other parties and of other views were also invited besides the Members of the Planning Commission?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. There were quite a number of eminent persons – non-political people, economists and other experts.

Shri Rohit M. Dave:⁸⁵ May I know, Sir, if the papers read at the Seminar and the report of the Seminar will be made available to the Members of Parliament?

Shri S.N. Mishra: As the Planning Committee of the A.I.C.C. wants to publish the report of the Seminar, I think, it should be available to the Members from the market. It is not the business of the Planning Commission to make available the reports published by other bodies.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It is a strange answer. The Minister wants us to purchase the A.I.C.C. Bulletins. The hon. Prime Minister has said that it is the function of the Planning Commission to help others in understanding the problem if they are seriously interested. It is an ideal, I believe. May I know, Sir, why then the Planning Commission is not calling other parties – representatives of other parties – to discuss this matter in all its aspects when the Third Five Year Plan is being mooted, before actually coming to their conclusion, as to what should be the nature of the Third Five Year Plan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, Sir, the Planning Commission does endeavour to get in touch with the members of various parties, groups and professions, and numerous panels are formed where experts and various parties are represented. At the present moment, Sir, the Planning Commission is in a state of incubation in regard to the Third Plan. This effort was made by the All India Congress Committee of its own accord. It is not the Planning Commission which made it. Because they were thinking about these matters, they invited the Planning Commission, and the Planning Commission's representatives were glad to discuss these matters with them. But I can assure the hon. Member that so far as the Planning Commission is concerned, it wants to discuss these

84. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

85. Rohit Manushankar Dave, PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

matters with the representatives of all groups and parties and to have their advice and co-operation in them.

22. To B.C. Roy: Misuse of Official Resources during Nehru's Calcutta Visit⁸⁶

August 13, 1959

My dear Bidhan,⁸⁷

The following question has been put to me in the Rajya Sabha which will come up on the 25th August:

“Shri V. Prasad Rao:⁸⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state: (a) whether his attention has been drawn to a reference to an election meeting addressed by him in Calcutta at the time of the last general election, contained in the memorandum submitted to the President by the West Bengal State Council of the Communist Party of India; and (b) if so, whether the official resources were used, as alleged, for organising the election meeting with his knowledge?”

I propose to give the following answer:

“The Prime Minister has seen the passage referred to. He had gone to Calcutta on the 14th January 1957 to attend the Science Congress session there and for numerous other engagements, including some in connection with the visit of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama to Calcutta. On the 15th, he visited Santiniketan for the convocation of the Visva-Bharati University, returning the same afternoon to Calcutta for a State reception in honour of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. On the 16th January he had a number of engagements including a State luncheon party given to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. In the afternoon, he addressed a public meeting at the Parade Ground⁸⁹ under the auspices of the West Bengal Congress Committee. He has really no recollection of whether this meeting was an election meeting or one of the normal meetings that he addresses. In regard to Congress meetings, the practice is for the Congress Committee to pay the expenses incurred,

86. Letter.

87. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

88. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh.

89. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see SW/SS/36/pp. 25-43.

although some of the arrangements are made for security reasons by the State authorities.”⁹⁰

I should like to know if it is correct for me to say that the expenses of this meeting were met by the Congress Committee. Please let me know soon. When I went to Santiniketan at that time, did Chou En-lai also go there?⁹¹

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

23. To Rajendra Prasad: Nominating K.M. Panikkar to the Rajya Sabha⁹²

August 15, 1959

My dear Mr President,

Owing to the resignation of Professor S.N. Bose from the Rajya Sabha on his appointment as a National Professor,⁹³ a vacancy has been caused among those who are nominated by the President to the Rajya Sabha. I would recommend, for your consideration, that Shri Kavalam Madhava Panikkar might be appointed by you to fill this vacancy in the Rajya Sabha. Shri Panikkar is known to you. He is one of the most eminent literary men in the Malayalam language and is consequently a prominent member of our Sahitya Akademi. He is a writer and historian of note. He has filled important diplomatic posts abroad, in Peking, Cairo and Paris. He has only recently retired as our Ambassador in Paris.

I trust you will approve of this recommendation.⁹⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. On getting B.C. Roy's reply Nehru varied the answer; see item 26.

91. The Visva-Bharati University had conferred the honorary degree of "Desikottama" on Chou En-lai at a special convocation on 30 January 1957.

92. Letter. File No. 48(2)/59, President's Secretariat.

93. Satyendra Nath Bose, the physicist, was a Nominated Member of the Rajya Sabha since April 1952; he resigned on 2 July 1959.

94. Rajendra Prasad replied on 17 August from Hyderabad, agreeing.

24. To Munishwar Datt Upadhyaya: Allotment of Work to Party MPs⁹⁵

August 16, 1959

My dear Munishwar Dutt,⁹⁶

You will remember that Feroze Gandhi said in the course of his speech in the Party meeting that specific work should be entrusted to Congress Members of Parliament by the All India Congress Committee.⁹⁷ I am enclosing a draft letter.⁹⁸ I should like you to send this to all members of our Party in Parliament. The answers received should be collected and considered by the Executive Committee and later forwarded to the All India Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. To CPP Members: Allotment of Work to Party MPs⁹⁹

24-25, Parliament House
New Delhi
August 17, 1959

Dear Comrade,

In the course of one of the recent Congress Party meetings, a member of the party said that there were nearly five hundred Congress Members of Parliament. Why should not the All India Congress Committee utilise them? Why should not work be entrusted to them? All of them should be put to work. As it is, no particular work is allotted to them and they are largely ignored. This is bad for them and for the Congress and the country.

I think that it would indeed be a very good thing if Members of Parliament undertook specific work and I shall gladly draw the attention of the All India Congress Committee to this. I might mention, however, that the All India Congress Committee has previously called upon the Congress Members of

95. Letter.

96. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Pratapgarh, Uttar Pradesh, and Secretary, CPP.

97. At the CPP meeting on 13 August 1959.

98. See item 25.

99. Letter. File No. PG-59/1959, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. This letter was actually drafted on 16 August 1959, see item 24.

Parliament to carry out various kinds of work and quite a number of them have undertaken this work. A general direction from the All India Congress Committee has been that Members of Parliament should interest themselves especially in the formation and working of Congress Mandals in their constituencies. Other specific instructions have also been sent from time to time.

Nevertheless, it is true that there is much room for more definite instructions and precise work to be entrusted to members. I would, therefore, be grateful to you if you would be good enough to write to the Secretaries of the Congress Party in Parliament and indicate what particular type of work you can undertake and how much time you can give to it. In the main, most of this work will necessarily have to be done when Parliament is not sitting, but much could be done even when Parliament is in session.

Will you, therefore, be good enough to send this information to the Secretaries and I shall convey it to the All India Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. To Kesho Ram: Misuse of Official Resources during Nehru's Calcutta Visit¹⁰⁰

In view of Dr. B.C. Roy's reply, the answer to the question in the Rajya Sabha¹⁰¹ might be varied as follows:

"The Prime Minister has seen the passage referred to. He enquired from the Chief Minister of West Bengal and was informed that the allegations made in this passage were wholly untrue. The Prime Minister had gone to Calcutta on the 14th January 1957 to attend the Science Congress session there and for numerous other engagements, including some in connection with the visit of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama to Calcutta. On the 15th, he visited Santiniketan for the Convocation of the Visva-Bharati University, returning the same afternoon to Calcutta for a State Reception in honour of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. On the 16th January, he had a number of engagements, including a State luncheon party given to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. In the afternoon he addressed a public meeting at the Parade Ground under the auspices of the West Bengal

100. Note to PPS to PM, 19 August 1959.

101. See item 22.

Pradesh Congress Committee. The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, which made arrangements for this meeting, paid for all the structures etc. that had been put up for it. No payments were made in this connection by the West Bengal Government, nor were any invitations issued by the Publicity Department of the West Bengal Government for this meeting.”

27. To Rajendra Prasad: Resignation of A.P. Jain¹⁰²

August 21, 1959

My dear Mr. President,

I wrote to you this morning informing you that Shri Ajit Prasad Jain had submitted his resignation from his membership of the Council of Ministers.¹⁰³ He has carried a very heavy burden at a time when conditions were peculiarly difficult and I am very grateful for this. However, in the circumstances, I feel that I cannot press him any more to withdraw his resignation and to continue in office. I would, therefore, recommend to you the acceptance of his resignation.

In this morning's letter to you, I had suggested that any formal action in regard to this resignation might be postponed till your return to Delhi. I feel now, however, that this will involve too great a delay as there are already all kinds of rumours in the lobbies of Parliament and elsewhere. The sooner this announcement takes place, the better it will be.

I would, therefore, request you, if you are pleased to accept my recommendation, to pass an order under clause (2), Article 75 of the Constitution accepting the resignation of Shri Ajit Prasad Jain and to have this sent to me with a covering letter.

It is my intention to invite Shri S.K. Patil, at present Minister of Transport and Communications, to take charge of the Ministry of Food & Agriculture. This will involve his leaving the Ministry of Transport and Communications and the appointment of someone else to that portfolio. This matter I hope to

102. Letter. File No. 8/2/59, President's Secretariat.

103. Ajit Prasad Jain, Minister of Food and Agriculture, had been severely criticised in the Lok Sabha on 21 August on the food distribution policy and administrative deficiencies. Led by Ram Subhag Singh, the former General Secretary of the CPP, Congress members joined the Opposition in attacking the food policy. *The Hindu*, 22 August 1959.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Poor man! What did he do to them?

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 27 AUGUST 1959)

discuss with you on your return.

As soon as I receive your letter accepting the resignation of Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, I shall arrange for steps to be taken by the President's Secretariat and the Cabinet Secretariat to make the necessary announcements about the acceptance of the resignation and re-distribution of portfolios.¹⁰⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. To A.P. Jain: Resignation¹⁰⁵

August 21, 1959

My dear Ajit,

On the 14th August, you wrote to me a letter offering your resignation from the Cabinet and your Ministership.¹⁰⁶ I have given much thought to this matter. I feel that in the circumstances I cannot press you, as I have done previously, to withdraw your resignation. I am, therefore, writing to the President recommending that the resignation be accepted. As soon as I hear from him, which will be probably in two or three days' time, the necessary announcements will be made.

I think that it will be desirable for your letter of resignation as well as such reply as I may send to you to be published in the Press. I could use your previous letter for this purpose, but that letter was written in a particular context and you referred in it to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the sugar question that day, that is the 14th August.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps, it will be better if you send me a separate letter of resignation to which then I could send an appropriate reply.

104. Rajendra Prasad wrote from Hyderabad on 23 August accepting the resignation.

105. Letter. Ajit Prasad Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

106. On 14 August, Jain wrote to Nehru: "You will recollect that some time ago I had stated in the Cabinet that the Sugar Mill owners, wholesale merchants and retailers have made huge profits during the past few months. I have admitted the same thing in the House today. We in this Ministry have done our best to control the situation and have succeeded to some extent. Nevertheless, the situation is not fully under control. From the Debate in the House, I carry a feeling that what we have done has not carried conviction with Members of Parliament on either side. It is not good to stick too much to office and I hereby offer my resignation from Ministership."

107. Several MPs demanded an enquiry into the sugar price scandal. Braj Raj Singh called for Jain's resignation, failing which, that of the Government. See also item 95, fn 387.

Bitter Sweet



Replying to the debate on sugar supplies, Mr. A.P. Jain maintained that the Govt. acted in the best possible way.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 23 AUGUST 1959)

In this new letter of resignation, you might well refer to the fact that you had already written to me on the 14th August offering your resignation, now you are doing so more formally. Both these letters could then be published. Your letter need not be a long one.

I need not tell you how much I have appreciated your work during these past years. I have fully realised the great burden you have carried and the difficulties you have had to face, and I hope to give an expression to this appreciation in the other letter that I propose to write to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To Morarji Desai: Economy Committee Report¹⁰⁸

August 21, 1959

My dear Morarji,¹⁰⁹

Cabinet Secretariat have sent me some notes on the recommendations made by the Economy Committee appointed by the Congress Party.¹¹⁰

As you are dealing with this matter, I am sending you these notes. In fact, I am sending the entire file for reference.

I shall be grateful if you will let me know how matters stand in regard to this question. Have you had any talks with the writers of that report?¹¹¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. To A.P. Jain: Appreciation of Jain's Work¹¹²

August 22, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I have received your letter of August 22nd.¹¹³ A week ago, on the 14th August, you wrote to me and offered your resignation from your membership of the

108. Letter.

109. Union Finance Minister.

110. On the CPP's Economy Committee, see SWJN/SS/50/ items 3, 6, 9, and 11.

111. See Morarji Desai's reply, 29 August 1959, Appendix 45.

112. Letter. Ajit Prasad Jain Papers, NMML.

113. See Ajit Prasad Jain to Nehru, 22 August 1959, Appendix 36.

Council of Ministers. As you have pointed out in your letter, this was not the first time that you have offered to resign. Whenever you did so, however, I requested you not to press your resignation, and you were good enough to agree.

You have now written again on this subject and expressed your wish to be relieved of your portfolio. I have naturally given a good deal of thought to this matter. I feel that I must meet your wishes in this matter now and not press you again to continue in office. I have therefore, written to the President recommending that he should accept your resignation.

In your letter of today's date, you have referred to the very considerable difficulties that we have faced in regard to food during the past few years. Although this burden was shared by your colleagues in the Cabinet and every major decision of policy in regard to this matter was made by them, inevitably you had to carry the greatest burden. I know well from personal experience how earnestly you devoted yourself to this difficult task and how, by your careful management, you succeeded in overcoming many of our past difficulties. I should like to express my appreciation of your work. Many people not fully realising the difficulties that you had to face, have criticised you. I am sure that a full realisation of all the circumstances would have led to a greater appreciation of what you had done.

Even though you will soon be leaving the Government, you will of course have our good wishes for the future. Whether in Government or outside it, we have cooperated together and been comrades in many a high adventure for many decades. The memory of that will endure.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. To S.K. Patil: The Food & Agriculture Ministry for Patil¹¹⁴

August 22, 1959

My dear S.K.,

I have communicated to the President the resignation of Ajit Prasad Jain and recommended its acceptance. I have further informed the President that I have invited you to accept the portfolio of Food & Agriculture. I expect to have his

114. Letter.

reply some time on the 24th August. On receipt of it, an announcement will be made either on the 24th evening or the 25th morning.

As regards your present portfolio, I shall have to wait till the President's return before any further step is taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. To Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Sugar Cane Prices¹¹⁵

August 22, 1959

Dear Munishwardutt,

Your letter of August 22, sending me a notice of a resolution from eleven members of the Party. This relates to the price of sugar-cane being enhanced. I think we should consider this at an Executive Committee meeting before we put it up before the General Body. There is no immediate hurry for this.

It must be remembered that an increase in the price of sugar-cane will result in a considerable increase in the price of sugar. I hope this is realised.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. To G.B. Pant: Vacancies in the Rajya Sabha¹¹⁶

August 24, 1959

My dear Pantji,

At the beginning of this session of the Rajya Sabha,¹¹⁷ the Chairman announced that a vacancy had occurred in the Rajya Sabha by the resignation of Professor S.N. Bose who had been selected as National Professor. Professor Bose was one of the nominees of the President to the Rajya Sabha.

I spoke to you about this matter previously and there were two names before us, V.T. Krishnamachari¹¹⁸ and K.M. Panikkar. I had a talk with VT and

115. Letter.

116. Letter. File No. 37/11/59-Public I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

117. The Rajya Sabha session began on 10 August 1959.

118. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, February 1953-June 1960; nominated to the Rajya Sabha in June 1961.

he wants to remain in the Planning Commission till early next year so as to deal with the preliminary drafting stage of the Third Plan. I understand there will be another vacancy in the Rajya Sabha in December. Therefore, I recommended to the President the nomination of K.M. Panikkar to the Rajya Sabha. The President has written to me approving of this.

It is not quite clear to me who makes the announcement and how this is done. I thought that the President's Secretariat would do it. But thus far this has not been done. Will the Home Ministry please enquire and have the necessary steps taken?

I enclose the letter of the President agreeing to nominate K.M. Panikkar.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

34. To Cabinet Ministers: Changes in the Cabinet¹¹⁹

24th August, 1959

Our colleague, Ajit Prasad Jain wrote to me resigning from his post as Minister of Food and Agriculture. He pressed me to accept his resignation and after discussing the matter with him, I felt that I should accept his wish in this matter. Three days ago, I wrote to the President, recommending that this resignation be accepted. I have not heard yet from the President in reply.

I have invited our colleague, S.K. Patil, to take charge of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and he has kindly agreed.¹²⁰ This necessarily means that he will have to leave his present Ministry, that is, Transport & Communications. Arrangements for that Ministry will have to be made a little later.

I have been waiting for the reply of the President to my letter containing my recommendations.¹²¹ I find, however, that Ajit Prasad Jain has already broadly hinted in his speech in the Lok Sabha about his resignation and news to that effect has also appeared in the Press.

Jawaharlal Nehru

119. Letter, copied to Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, but not to Ajit Prasad Jain.

120. Patil assumed the charge of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture on the evening of 24 August. He continued to hold the additional portfolio of Transport and Communications until the nomination of his successor to take charge of that ministry; see items 39 and 40.

121. See item 27.

35. To S.K. Patil: Tips to the Minister of Food and Agriculture¹²²

August 25, 1959

My dear S.K.,

I enclose an interesting letter from an M.L.A. from Mysore.¹²³

One of these days I should like to have a talk with you about your new Ministry. As you know, Panjabrao Deshmukh¹²⁴ is still lying in hospital, but I understand he is much better. Somehow, he was not fitting in very satisfactorily with Ajit Prasad Jain. I should like you to think of how best to utilise his services in the Ministry. He himself is keen on being put in charge of Agriculture. He certainly has a certain push, though there was too much of a tendency at writing enormous long circular letters.

There is a man named Ganga Saran Kisan about whom I have asked for some particulars from your Ministry. This man lives in Meerut district and I think owns about twenty acres of land. He has won quite a number of prizes for good farming and he manages to earn quite a good sum of money from his twenty acres. During Rafi Ahmad Kidwai's time,¹²⁵ he was appointed an Honorary Adviser to the Food & Agriculture Ministry, and Rafi Ahmad encouraged him in many ways. Later, he ceased to be an Adviser; why, I do not quite know. I should have thought that a first class farmer who has succeeded eminently in his work, would be very helpful to your Ministry. The question is not of appointing him on a paid job, but of really utilising his services. I do not think he will agree just to sit and do nothing worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

122. Letter.

123. See S. Narsapaya to Nehru, 24 August 1959, Appendix 38.

124. Panjabrao Shamrao Deshmukh, Minister of State for Agriculture since December 1958.

125. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai was Minister for Food and Agriculture from May 1952 till his death in October 1954.

36. To H.C. Heda: Study Group on Kerala¹²⁶

August 29, 1959

My dear Heda,¹²⁷

Your letter of the 29th August, which I return. I am agreeable to the proposed study group on Kerala. It seems to me that there are too many people in it, and it is difficult to study any subject with such numbers. But that is a matter for them to consider. I have no objection. As for the conveners, it is best for the group itself to select its conveners.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. To Morarji Desai: Economy Committee Report¹²⁸

August 29, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th August about the Congress Party's Economy Committee.¹²⁹ I agree with you that it would be desirable to have a paper prepared for the Cabinet on this subject.

I have read the note on economy in expenditure which you have sent me. It is a good note. The real difficulty, of course, arises in giving effect to the various proposals and approaches suggested in this note.

I had a talk with the Comptroller & Auditor-General¹³⁰ the other day. Perhaps you know that two or three years ago he sent me notes on the subject of reorganisation of Governmental machinery. He had then suggested that appointment of a high levelled commission to go into this matter. He has also written a book on the subject of functioning of the Government of India¹³¹ and has a good deal of knowledge about foreign practices. He said to me that the recent changes that had been made in regard to devolution etc. had not produced any appreciable results. In fact, he actually said that some Ministries found these new rules rather cumbersome.

126. Letter.

127. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nizamabad, Andhra Pradesh, and Secretary, CPP.

128. Letter. File No. 37(92)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

129. See Morarji Desai to Nehru, 29 August 1959, Appendix 45.

130. Asok K. Chanda.

131. *Indian Administration* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958).

This evening I had a talk with Pantji about the proposal to appoint a committee go to into this question. He thought that while a committee would be necessary, this should come at a somewhat later stage. The first step should be to appoint one man, who is particularly suited for this kind of thing, to collect all the material and put forward proposals. If necessary, he can consult others. The two Ministries chiefly concerned would be Finance and Home. To ask functioning high officers of some Ministries to do this work straightaway would be to put an additional burden on them. Their minds would be full of other matters and they would only meet from time to time to give thought to this particular subject. But, if one man concentrated his mind on this, then an appropriate committee could be appointed.

Pantji thought that a good man for this purpose would be L.P. Singh¹³² who has been acting as Secretary of the Pay Commission.¹³³ He is certainly a very competent man. He has just got an invitation to go to Harvard for some kind of a study course. Pantji, however, thought, and I agree with him, that there is no particular purpose in his going to Harvard and he might well stay on here and undertake this work and produce some results in the course of the next two or three months. During this period, you will be away. By the time you come back, all this material would be collected and various precise recommendations made ready for our consideration. At that time, a committee could go into them. I think this is a good idea.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

132. Lallan Prasad Singh (1912-1998); joined ICS, 1935; worked in various positions in Bihar and Orissa; Chief Secretary, Government of Bihar, 1948-56; Home Secretary, GOI, 1964-70; Ambassador to Nepal, 1971-73; Governor, Assam and north-eastern states, 1973-81; was Fellow, International Affairs, Harvard University, and founder-member, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

133. The Pay Commission was appointed in April 1957; it reported to GOI on 24 August 1959.

38. To D.P. Karmarkar: Speaker's Criticism of Government¹³⁴

August 29, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,¹³⁵

At Question Hour in the Lok Sabha today there was rather an extraordinary scene when some Question about Tripura was asked. The Question was simple and the Answer could have been simple, but you seem to have gone out of your way to complain of the position and how you were not consulted. You went on saying that you were not complaining, but in effect you were complaining, and this caused some amusement to the House. The Speaker came down with a general criticism of Government and how work is done.¹³⁶ I do not think it was necessary for you to function in the way you did and give occasion to the House and the Speaker to criticise Government.

There are one or two matters I wish to discuss with you. Could you please see me at 3 P.M. on Monday, 31st August in Parliament House?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. Letter.

135. The Minister of Health.

136. When Karmarkar assured Dasaratha Deb, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Tripura East-ST, that the Agartala municipal elections would be held soon, the Speaker, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, asked whether the Health Ministry was in charge of elections. Karmarkar explained that by internal arrangement the Health Ministry fielded questions on behalf of the Home Ministry which was in fact the responsible ministry. The Speaker pointed to the anomaly and demanded that in future the responsible ministry should answer questions. What seems to have irritated Nehru however was Karmarkar's gratuitous clarification that the Home Ministry appointed the NDMC "without consulting us", and then repeating three times "I am not complaining." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 5018-5022.

39. To Rajendra Prasad: A New Minister of Transport & Communications¹³⁷

August 30, 1959

My dear Mr. President,

As Shri S.K. Patil has now become the Minister of Food & Agriculture, fresh arrangements have to be made for the Ministry of Transport & Communications which he has thus far held. I would recommend for your kind consideration that Dr. P. Subbarayan,¹³⁸ Member of Parliament, be made a member of the Council of Ministers and be allotted the portfolio of Transport & Communications.

As you were good enough to approve of this suggestion of mine when I mentioned this to you orally, I have spoken about it to Dr. Subbarayan. He has agreed to accept my invitation to join the Government provided of course, that you are good enough to approve of it.

In the event of your accepting this recommendation, I would suggest that an announcement to this effect might be made on September 1st morning. The Swearing-in Ceremony can be fixed for 9.00 a.m. on Wednesday, 2nd September, subject of course to your convenience. I am suggesting rather an early hour for the Swearing-in Ceremony because Parliament is meeting that day and it will be difficult to find time later on.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To Cabinet Ministers: Cabinet Changes¹³⁹

31st August, 1959

As you know, our colleague Shri S.K. Patil, has taken charge of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Consequently, a vacancy has occurred in the Ministry of Transport and Communications. I had recommended to the President to appoint Dr. P. Subbarayan as Cabinet Minister in charge of the Ministry of Transport and Communications and the President has been pleased to agree.

137. Letter. File No. 8/59, President's Secretariat.

138. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tiruchengode, Madras.

139. Letter.

Probably the swearing-in-ceremony will take place on the 2nd September at 9 a.m.¹⁴⁰

Jawaharlal Nehru

41. In the Rajya Sabha: The Economy Committee Report¹⁴¹

Shri V.K. Dhage:¹⁴² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he has recently received any report from the Economy Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party; and
- (b) if so, what action Government have taken on the recommendations made therein?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: (a) and (b). Yes. The Prime Minister has received an interim report from a Sub-Committee on Economy appointed by the Congress Parliamentary Party. The recommendations contained therein are under consideration of the Government.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know, Sir, what are the main recommendations of this Sub-Committee?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The report is an interim report and the main recommendation – speaking from memory – is that we should stop recruitment in any class of Government employees for a period. I think the best thing would be, I shall ask – this is not a Government matter; this is a Congress Party matter, but no doubt every Member of Parliament is interested in economy and therefore – I shall request the people concerned to have the report published so that everybody can read it in the newspapers.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, if the Government has considered the advisability of holding any discussions amongst the representatives of the various parties, say, on the basis of this particular report which has come from the Congress Party?

140. P. Subbarayan assumed charge of the Ministry on 2 September.

141. Reply, 31 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-28, cols 2260-2262.

142. Venkat Krishna Dhage, Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : No, Sir, we have not considered that; this was entirely an internal party matter and there was discussion. Because certain recommendations were made, naturally they were sent on to the Ministries concerned. If any recommendations are made by the hon. Member or any group of Members of Parliament, we have naturally to consider them. There is nothing difficult, and if hon. Members wish to discuss these very recommendations, of course we can talk to them; there is no difficulty, there is no formality about it. I think the best thing would be, as I said just now, that this report should be given publicity in the newspapers so that everybody can read them, and if someone wants to discuss them, we shall gladly do so.

42. At the CPP¹⁴³

[...]

Someone: I mean this Lok Sabha, Sir, because the motion is[...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: You may not accept the assumptions but the whole argument is based on some assumptions. I should just like to know what better deal you would have liked the officials to have. There are three officials concerned, Patel,¹⁴⁴ Kamat,¹⁴⁵ Vaidyanathan.¹⁴⁶ Now, what better deal would you like them to have in the final analysis?

Someone: I am not suggesting that Mr [...] I did not mention Mr Vaidyanathan any [...] or once...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then the two only Kamath and what better deal to Patel and Vaidyanathan and the other fellow Kamath.

Someone: As far as Mr Patel is concerned I think the Government resolution should have acted...

Jawaharlal Nehru: What do you mean what has happened to Mr H.M. Patel, he has resigned and his resignation has been accepted?

143. Speech, 31 August 1959. Tape No. M-46/C Part I & II, NMML.

144. H.M. Patel.

145. G.R. Kamat.

146. L.S. Vaidyanathan.

The Scapegoat



Mr. L.S. Vaidyanathan, former Managing Director of the Life Insurance Corporation has been "censured severely for his acts and conduct" in connexion with the "Mundhra affair."

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 2 AUGUST 1959)

Someone: that is true,

Jawaharlal Nehru: Do you want us to give him Padma Shri or Padma Bhushan or something? What more can Government do to these people? I just want to know because my mind reels at this statement that the officials have not had a fair deal. What more in God's name could have been done for these officials, I should like to know?

Someone: Sir, I have tried to point out.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not mind, no, no let them be, I accept your argument. I am merely wanting to know what more could one do for them. That is what I want to know.

Someone: I think, Sir, the resolution, the Government resolution ...

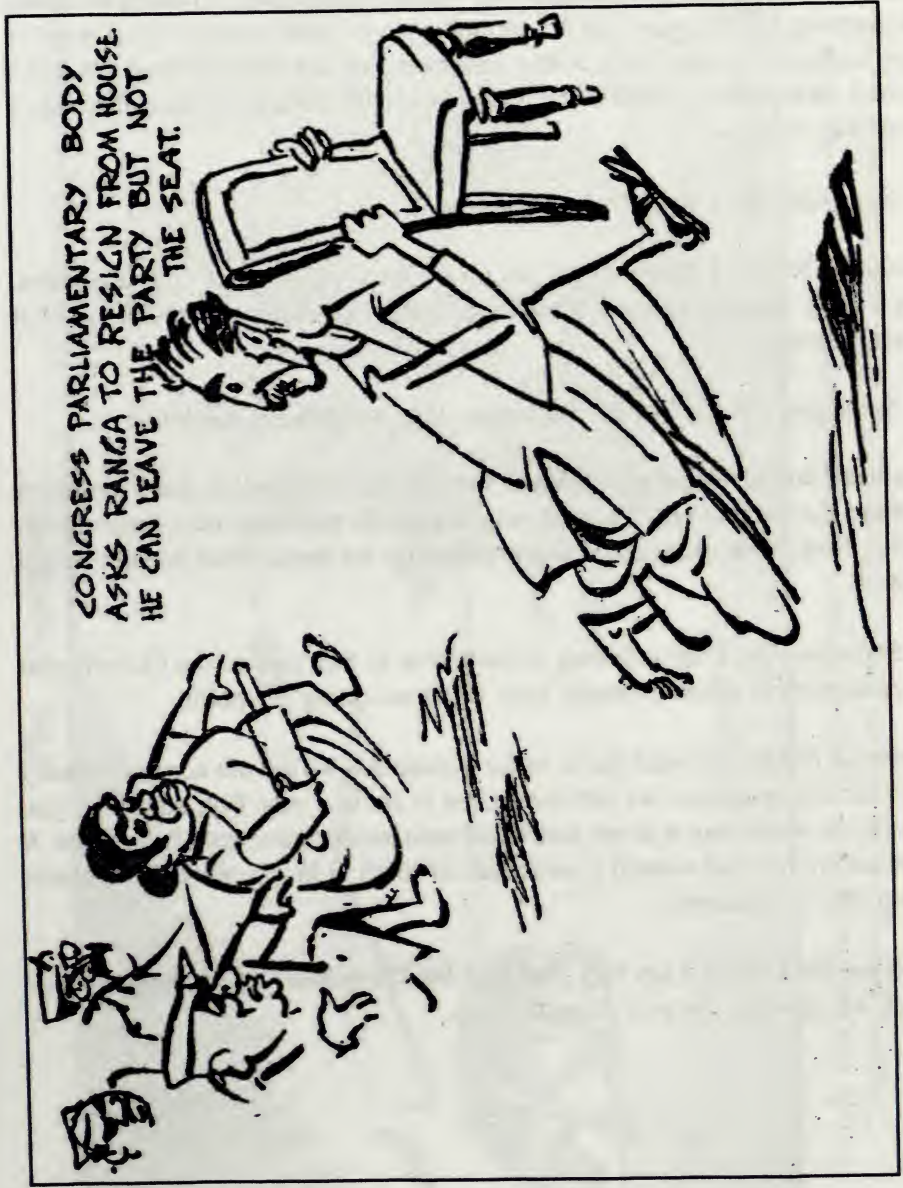
Jawaharlal Nehru: Some people think that the Government has done too much for them. Leave that out. I accept your argument that what they have said is correct. Now, what more could Government do for them? That is what I want to know.

Someone: Sir, I am referring in particular to that part of the Government resolution in which it merely says while accepting the point.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like to make it clear that we did not accept it wholly but in the circumstances we felt compelled to act in a way. But, therefore, you want [sic] I would say it is not action because people have got all scot free. It is not action; but you wanted a certificate of merit to be given by Government to everybody concerned.

Someone: Mr Leader, I am very glad that Mr Shiva Rao¹⁴⁷ in the course of his speech has pointed towards something.

147. B. Shiva Rao, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Mysore.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 9 AUGUST 1959)

(ii) Swatantra Party

43. To Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Demand for Ranga's Resignation from Lok Sabha¹⁴⁸

August 5, 1959

My dear Munishwardutt,

I have read your draft letter to Professor Ranga. You may send it as it is. Instead of the last sentence, you might add:

"This is the normal constitutional convention and the Executive Committee of our Party has asked me to draw your attention to it and to request you to resign your seat in the Lok Sabha.¹⁴⁹ I hope you will do so and, should you so wish, seek fresh election. This will be fair to the public and to all concerned."

You can send Professor Ranga's letter, my reply to him¹⁵⁰ and your present reply to the Press.

You may add in your letter to Professor Ranga that in view of the public importance of these subjects, you are sending this correspondence to the Press.¹⁵¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

148. Letter.

149. N.G. Ranga resigned from the Congress Party as well as the Congress organization on 4 June 1959 after his assumption of the leadership of the Swatantra Party; on 1 August, he became the President of the Swatantra Party.

150. Probably, the reference is to Nehru's letter of 6 June 1959 to Ranga. See SWJN/SS/49/ item 28.

151. Ranga wrote to C. Rajagopalachari on 14 July that he had not thought of giving any reply to Nehru "as I am confident that whatever reply you may think of giving will be more than enough." On 5 August, Ranga said in Ahmedabad that he did not propose to resign his seat in the Lok Sabha as demanded by the CPP, and challenged the CPP's right to ask for isolated resignation on the issue of the Nagpur resolution over which, according to him, the Congress Party itself had yet to face the electorate. C. Rajagopalachari Papers, NMML, and *The Hindustan Times*, 6 August 1959.

44. To N.V. Gadgil: Congress Members Attracted to Swatantra¹⁵²

9th August 1959

My dear Gadgil,¹⁵³

Thank you for your letter of the 6th August. I remember your telling me once before what the Sardar had said to you a little before his sad passing away.¹⁵⁴ It was very good of him to say that.

As for the Swatantra Party, this is something far removed from many things that the Congress has stood for. I realise that some people in the Congress may be attracted to it.

Munshi's¹⁵⁵ general political and economic outlook has long been rather far removed from that of the normal Congressmen. His association with the Swatantra Party now¹⁵⁶ is thus a natural development.

Thank you for your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

152. Letter.

153. The Governor of Punjab.

154. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel died on 15 December 1950.

155. K.M.Munshi, founder-president, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, 1938; his last official post was governorship of UP, 1952-57.

It was at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan in Bombay that M.R. Masani, the Chairman of the Organising Committee to establish the Swatantra Party in Greater Bombay, addressed a public meeting on 17 June 1959 to explain the aims and objectives of the new party. On 19 June, Munshi was invited by the Organising Committee to join the party; he, however, sought certain clarifications about the objectives of the party before deciding to join. During his visit to Ahmedabad from 24 July, Munshi was reported to have had "prolonged discussions" with Swatantra Party leaders. According to *The Statesman* of 25 July, he "confessed to Press correspondents that psychologically he was at a crisis and was waiting for a 'mandate from the inner voice'." *Free Press Journal*, 18 June 1959, and C. Rajagopalachari Papers, NMML.

156. He attended the inaugural meeting of the Swatantra Party in Bombay on 1 August 1959 as a founder-member.

(b) States
(i) Jammu and Kashmir

45. To G.M. Sadiq: On Sadiq's Account of the Situation¹⁵⁷

August 2, 1959

My dear Sadiq Sahib,¹⁵⁸

I have today received your letter of July 31st.¹⁵⁹ This deals with a variety of matters about which I am obviously not in a position to send any kind of reply or comment. All I can do is to send a copy of your letter to Bakhshi Sahib.¹⁶⁰

There is one matter, however, with which I am concerned, and that is what I said at a workers' meeting in Srinagar.¹⁶¹ I have not seen any reports of this and therefore I am unable to say whether those reports are correct or not correct. I spoke for about an hour at the workers' meeting, dealing with various all-India and Kashmir problems, chiefly related to planning and development. In the course of my address, I referred to the agitation about the increases in subsidized prices of foodgrains. I said that nobody likes these increases, more especially at a time like the present. But I had no doubt that the previous price was a very low one and some increase was desirable. In fact, I had been pressing this point of view on the Kashmir Government for the last year or more. I agreed that subsidy was necessary, but the actual subsidy in Kashmir had been an exceedingly heavy one and, far from solving any problem, would make the solution more and more difficult.

I further added that whatever the views might be about the raising of subsidised prices, it seemed to me improper that, at that particular juncture, an agitation should be led in this connection, when everyone should join together to meet the difficult situation that had arisen.

So far as I remember that is almost all that I said. I do not think I referred to any individual or any Party in this connection, though it is true that I had

157. Letter.

158. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq; leader of the Democratic National Conference, which he had formed in 1957 after resigning from the National Conference.

159. See G.M. Sadiq to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix II.

160. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

161. See SWJN/SS/50/item 24.

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Thank you for your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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159. See G.M. Sadiq to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix II.

160. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

161. See SWJN/SS/50/item 24.

your Party in mind at the time. I was under the impression that your Party had encouraged these demonstrations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: Correspondence with G.M. Sadiq¹⁶²

August 2, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I have received a long letter from G.M. Sadiq. I have replied to him rather briefly. I enclose copies of his letter¹⁶³ and my reply.¹⁶⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

47. In the Rajya Sabha: Shaikh Abdullah's Legal Defence by Pakistan¹⁶⁵

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:¹⁶⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:
(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news report published in the Delhi edition of the 'Times of India' of 22nd June, 1959, that the Government of Pakistan is making arrangements for engaging two British lawyers to defend the case of Sheikh Abdullah;¹⁶⁷ and
(b) whether Government have obtained any information in this connection?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs: (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). The Government have seen a report to this effect in the Press.

162. Letter. File No. KS-25/59, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

163. See G.M. Sadiq to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix 11.

164. See item 45.

165. Reply, 25 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1741-1742.

166. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

167. *The Times of India* reported from Srinagar that, following Begum Abdullah's appeal, the Pakistan Government had apparently decided to engage two Queen's Counsels, D.N. Pritt and Dingle Foot, to defend Shaikh Abdullah.

They have no other information. Authoritative sources in Karachi dismiss the report as "mischievous".

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान : इस न्यूज़ आइटम से ज़ाहिर होता है कि ऐसा ही समाचार लंदन से आया और अब जैसा कि पाकिस्तान से मालूम हुआ है, उसने इस रिपोर्ट को "शरारत" बताया है, तो यह शरारत हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा हुई या लंदन में पैदा हुई?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : कहाँ शरारत पैदा होती है, इसका जवाब देना बड़ा मुश्किल है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan : It is evident from this news item that a similar news came from London and now, as we have come to know from Pakistan, it has described this report as "mischievous;" so, this mischief was hatched in India or was it hatched in London?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very difficult to answer where mischief generates from.

Translation ends]

(ii) Kerala

48. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: The Education Act and the Agrarian Relations Bill¹⁶⁸

1st August, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,¹⁶⁹

Thank you for your letter of July 31¹⁷⁰ which I have just received.

On the whole, it appears that the change-over is passing off fairly peacefully. August 3rd has been fixed by the Communist Party for demonstrations all over

168. Letter, copied to Govind Ballabh Pant.

169. The Governor of Kerala.

170. See B. Ramakrishna Rao to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix 8. A copy of Ramakrishna Rao's letter was sent to Govind Ballabh Pant.

The Twain Shall Meet



Mr. Ajoy Ghosh reiterated at a press conference in Delhi that the Kerala Ministry will not resign.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 2 AUGUST 1959)

India.¹⁷¹ I think even this is not likely to be really troublesome. Whatever the original faults or errors might have been, ultimately it became clear to everybody that Central intervention had become essential. Ajoy Ghosh¹⁷² and A.K. Gopalan who saw me a few days ago practically admitted this.¹⁷³

I am receiving telegrams from Communist Party people complaining of attacks on their offices etc. I am forwarding the more important ones to you because I feel that this kind of thing has to be nipped in the bud. Otherwise one thing will lead to another and it will become more difficult to check these troubles.

I agree with you that some adequate permanent arrangement will have to be made for your assistance. Perhaps this can best be done when you come here and discuss matters.

There are two matters which are very much in my mind. These are the Education Act and the Agrarian Relations Bill. The Education Act was a principal item in the agitation; so far as the Agrarian Bill was concerned, I do not think this was mentioned much in the course of the agitation, although individuals or small groups may have criticised it. I have no clear recollection of this Agrarian Bill, but broadly speaking it is I think on the lines of other Agrarian Legislation promoted at our own instance in various States. Therefore, there can be no question of our interfering with or coming in the way of this Agrarian Bill. It should take its normal course.

Has this Agrarian Bill become an Act? My impression was that it was finally passed by the Kerala Assembly.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps all that is necessary is for our assent to be given to it. Anyhow, I hope you will write to me how matters stand in regard to this Agrarian Bill.

So far as the Education Act is concerned, I had suggested that its controversial clauses might not be implemented, and should be discussed further

171. On 31 July, the CPI called for "peaceful protest actions" all over the country on 3 August against "the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry and the attack on the Parliamentary system and democracy." See *The Statesman*, 1 August 1959.

172. General Secretary, CPI.

173. They met Nehru on 28 July 1959.

174. The Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill, 1957, was passed by the Kerala Legislative Assembly on 10 June 1959. On 30 July 1959, the Kerala State Government forwarded the Bill for the President's assent; it reached GOI on 1 August 1959. As President's Rule had been imposed on 31 July 1959, the President no longer had the power to assent. See replies given by G.B. Pant and B.N. Datar, Minister of State in the MHA, to questions in the Rajya Sabha on 28 August 1959, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-28, col. 2083.

by the people concerned. That did not mean that the whole Education Act was to be shelved. The act has been passed and should be treated as such. There are some very good clauses in it and certainly the teachers are benefited by it in many ways. It is neither possible nor desirable to take away these benefits.

The real, controversial part was about the selection and appointment of teachers. This itself could not be given effect to till some time next year. There may perhaps be one or two other controversial clauses.

For the present I think you need not touch these acts at all. Let things settle down a little. Later, it might be desirable for you to do what I had suggested previously, that is, to invite people concerned with the Education Act to discuss this question with you and try to separate controversial matters for separate consideration. The rest of the act would continue to take effect. I do not think it is possible to go back to the old system of the teachers salaries being paid through managers. In principle, that does not seem to be a good system and it has led in some cases to abuse and delay. But before Government agencies pay these teachers salaries, it might be worthwhile to consider the advisability of the headmaster or whoever is in charge passing the salary bill.

These are just vague suggestions which occurred to me. My main point at present is that no one should imagine that the Agrarian Bill lapses or is ended or that the whole Education Act is also going to be bypassed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Reports of Violence¹⁷⁵

August 1, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I have received the following telegram from the Secretary, Communist District Committee, Alleppey:

“Invite immediate attention violent acts forming part celebrations dismissal Communist Ministry Congress and others. Communist Party Office Haripad surrounded Party workers assaulted. Thiruvalla Kalloopra Kaviyoor and Agricultural workers attacked Kdappa Many Party workers brutally assaulted Alleppey Party Port Branch Office attacked. Red flag board files removed. Many assaulted. Stones pelted Prabhat Book House. Pray strong action culprits. – Secretary Communist Dist. Committee, Alleppey.”

175. Letter.

I am forwarding some of the messages I receive to you. It is possible that many of these messages are greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, I have thought it best to forward them to you for any enquiry or action that you may consider necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Release of Prisoners¹⁷⁶

No. Primin 21117.

Governor from Prime Minister.

Your telegram August 2nd.¹⁷⁷ We feel that this question of release of prisoners raises an important issue. It is not correct to say that we have taken action under the Constitution because of agitation, but rather because of certain situation that had arisen which compelled us to take action. Otherwise it would mean that we approve of all these various forms of agitation and in fact would justify complaint that we encouraged agitation. This matter may be raised in Parliament. In fact we were doubtful about release in a bunch of women and others. Any mass release of prisoners before their term is therefore not desirable, more especially when we continue to receive reports of numerous petty conflicts and violence going on. It is open for anyone to pay fine and be released. In case of persons having undergone part imprisonment in lieu of fine, balance of fine still due may be calculated and reduced accordingly, for that period to be undergone. You may release people who have only two or three days to serve even if rest of fine is not paid. Thus, gradual releases may take place of those who have largely served their term as well as those who pay part of fine due. This will spread out releases during some days. But any mass release together does not seem to us to be desirable. Government cannot act as if it approved of this agitation and deliberate breach of laws.

Thus, where remaining fines are paid, there will be immediate release. In other cases release may be gradual of those who have nearly finished their term.

176. Telegram, 3 August 1959.

177. See telegram from B. Ramakrishna Rao to Nehru, 2 August 1959, Appendix 14.

51. To B. Shiva Rao: Viability of Kerala and a Council of State¹⁷⁸

3rd August 1959

My dear Shiva Rao,

Your letter of August 2 about Kerala.¹⁷⁹ I am sending it to the Home Minister for his consideration.

Your main proposal is that Kerala should be absorbed in a larger State in the south. When this proposal was made at the time of the reorganisation of States, I was personally attracted to it but the States concerned did not agree, more especially Madras was opposed to it.¹⁸⁰ After all that has happened, I think that the opposition will be even greater.¹⁸¹

As for your suggestion that a "Council of State" be constituted, I feel that any attempt to have a major amendment of the Constitution now would probably raise difficulties. However, as I have said, I am referring this to the Home Minister for his opinion.¹⁸²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

178. Letter. B. Shiva Rao Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

179. See B. Shiva Rao to Nehru, 2 August 1959, Appendix 12.

180. See SWJN/SS/30/pp. 248-251, Nehru to V.K. Krishna Menon, 14 October 1955.

181. See also K. Kelappan to Nehru, 12 July 1959, Appendix 1; Nehru's reply, if any, to Kelappan has not been traced. However, he sent a copy of Kelappan's letter to G.B. Pant, who replied to Nehru on 18 July that Kelappan had also written to him on similar lines; Pant thought, "His [Kelappan's] suggestion for a multi-lingual southern State would hardly provide a solution of the present problems in Kerala." See B.R. Nanda, (ed.), *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant*, Vol. 18 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 177.

182. Pant replied on 4 August concurring with Nehru's views on Shiva Rao's suggestion on forming a larger state in south India with Kerala into it. As regards the "Council of State", Pant agreed with Nehru that a constitutional amendment would be fraught with difficulties. He added that a Council of the kind suggested "does not quite fit into the scheme of the Constitution, as it will derogate in certain spheres from the principle of Cabinet responsibility to Parliament." See B.R. Nanda, (ed.), *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant*, Vol. 18, p. 43.

52. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Attacks on CPI Members, the Agrarian Relations Bill¹⁸³

4th August, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I continue to get telegrams daily from various Communist Party members in Kerala complaining of attacks etc. on them. This is obviously an organised affair. In fact, yesterday A.K. Gopalan presented a bunch of these telegrams to the Speaker in the Lok Sabha.¹⁸⁴

However, I am enclosing some of these messages.¹⁸⁵

I enclose also a copy of a letter about the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill.¹⁸⁶ I think the point raised in it is important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Release of Prisoners¹⁸⁷

No. Primin-21120.

Governor from Prime Minister.

Your telegram August 4.¹⁸⁸ In my last message I gave you some reasons against general jail delivery.¹⁸⁹ While I can understand desire of Opposition leaders for immediate release of prisoners, we have to keep in mind criticisms and charges that may be brought against us. Passions have been roused. This morning, Communists in Parliament created a scene on ground that violent attacks were being made on them in various parts of Kerala.¹⁹⁰ They will use every pretext for such exhibitions. Opposition leaders should realise this situation.

183. Letter.

184. See also fn 190 in this section.

185. See three telegrams, one each from Alleppey, Calicut and Trichur, all of them dated 3 August 1959, Appendix 16.

186. See P.R. Madhavan Pillai to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix 9.

187. Telegram, 5 August 1959. Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

188. See telegram from B. Ramakrishna Rao to Nehru, 4 August 1959, Appendix 18.

189. See item 50.

190. CPI members in the Lok Sabha complained that the Speaker had not allowed A.K. Gopalan to speak on an adjournment motion on incidents in Kerala.

See also Nehru's adverse comments on the behaviour of CPI MPs, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 660-673.

2. When I suggested splitting sentences of fine this was not on basis of legal interpretation but on equity. You are certainly entitled to proceed on this basis remitting part of sentence where necessary. Further, I do not understand why petty fines should not be paid by individuals or by organisations. There is no question of prestige involved in this as reason for going to prison no longer applies.

3. I should like you to avoid general jail delivery at one time, but subject to this you can exercise your judgment in phasing releases. Cases involving violence should, of course, be kept apart for further consideration.

54. To Kurur Nambudiripad: About His Complaints¹⁹¹

7th August, 1959

My dear Kurur Nambudiripad,¹⁹²

I have had your telegrams¹⁹³ and have now received your letter in which you give some instances of improper behaviour. I see that you have passed this on to the Home Minister and the Governor of Kerala. We have also been in touch with the Governor of Kerala and advised him to take strong action against any breach of the peace or violence. I believe he has done so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

191. Letter.

192. President, District Congress Committee, Trichur.

193. One of Kurur Nambudiripad's telegrams is reproduced in Nehru's telegram to B. Ramakrishna Rao, 31 July 1959, see SWJN/SS/50/item 45.

55. To G. Ramachandran: Gandhi Peace Foundation Study on Kerala¹⁹⁴

10th August 1959

My dear Ramachandran,¹⁹⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 8th August, sending me the minutes of the Council for Study and Research of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.¹⁹⁶ I have no particular comments to make.

The idea that some kind of a study should be made of the situation in Kerala from the Gandhian point of view is good but it will be no easy matter. However, that should be undertaken. I think it is important that this should be done as quietly as possible without any fuss or publicity.¹⁹⁷ If the Chairman¹⁹⁸ goes there in this connection, that is likely to attract some publicity. A brief visit of a day or two would not probably help much.

I wonder if you have seen a study of Kerala just issued by the Diwan Chand Trust in Delhi.¹⁹⁹ I have not read it but it seems to me on the whole a scholarly attempt. Of course, it deals with the situation previous to recent developments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

194. Letter.

195. Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Trust).

196. The Gandhi Peace Foundation had been established recently. Its first meeting was held on 6 July 1959.

197. On 17 August, Rajendra Prasad, a founder-member of the Foundation, wrote to Ramakrishna Rao asking him to help one Dr Om Prakash Gupta, sent by the Foundation to Kerala to study the situation in the state from the point of view of non-violence. Rajendra Prasad assured Ramakrishna Rao that Gupta would work without publicity. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. 19 (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), p. 139.

198. R.R. Diwakar, Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, was the President of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

199. Jitendra Singh, *Communist Rule in Kerala* (New Delhi: Diwan Chand Indian Information Centre, 1959).

56. To R. Sankar: The "Save India" Movement²⁰⁰

August 10, 1959

My dear Shankar,²⁰¹

I am alarmed to see that you and perhaps other Congressmen are associating yourselves with the new movement started by the Vimochana Samara Samiti, called the Save India Movement.²⁰² I do not know what this "Save India" means and why Kerala which has not found it easy to save itself is going out now to save India from Communism. The Congress is opposed to the Communist Party in India and many of its policies. But we have never taken up an attitude of anti-Communism all over the world. In fact we have definitely said that we do not adopt it. Otherwise all our foreign policy would have no meaning.

A new chapter has begun in Kerala and we have to be very careful that we do not take wrong steps now or entangle ourselves in movements or agitations which are not in keeping with our Congress policy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

57. For the *Mathrubhumi*: Way for the Future²⁰³

The people of Kerala have recently passed through a nerve-racking experience. It has been a painful one for all of them. Charges and countercharges have been made and there has been an atmosphere in Kerala of acute tension and even conflict. A measure of normality has come now, but with it inevitably come problems. These problems deserve calm and dispassionate consideration.

200. Letter.

201. R. Sankar, President, Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.

202. On 25 July 1959, the Vimochana Samara Samiti passed a resolution at Changanacherry calling for a "Save India Struggle" for "the banishment of diabolical communism from Kerala and India." The "struggle" would be launched in the state on 9 August, the anniversary of the CPI's betrayal of the "Quit India" movement. The Joint Action Council of the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League also announced in Ernakulam on 25 July that they would sponsor demonstrations and agitational actions in Trivandrum and other places on 9 August. Mannath Padmanabhan announced on 7 August that the movement would be inaugurated at a convention to be held in Kottayam. See *The Times of India*, 26 July 1959, and *The Hindustan Times*, 8 August 1959.

203. Message, 10 August 1959, for the Independence Day Supplement of the *Mathrubhumi* daily. PIB release published in *The Hindu*, 15 August 1959. Also available in JN Collection.

We have to think of our tomorrow and not lose ourselves in the excitements of today.

On Independence Day especially, we have to direct our minds to the basic problems that face us, to our weaknesses which we must overcome and the ideals that we must adhere to. The last twelve years have not been easy ones for us in India although they have a large measure of achievement. Kerala especially has faced difficult times and I hope that the future will be more fruitful. That future can only be faced in a positive and constructive way. It is not right to approach it negatively and in a spirit of condemnation of others. It is we who have to make good by our right approach and our labour to realise the ideals we stand for.

I send all my good wishes to the people of Kerala for the future.

58. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Attack on Kurur Nambudiripad and Others²⁰⁴

No. Primin 21132.

Governor from Prime Minister.

I am distressed to learn of brutal attack on Kuroor Nambudiripad and others of Trichur. Please let me know of their condition.

Recent reports indicate repeated attacks on non-Communists by Communists, some ending fatally. Please let me know immediately how many such attacks have taken place, either by Communists or non-Communists since Proclamation. How many people killed or seriously wounded and what action taken.

59. In the Lok Sabha: Explanation of President's Rule²⁰⁵

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Deputy-Speaker,²⁰⁶ Sir, I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to avoid the present excitement and distemper that comes from Kerala and to adhere to certain basic considerations which we have to

204. Telegram, 16 August 1959.

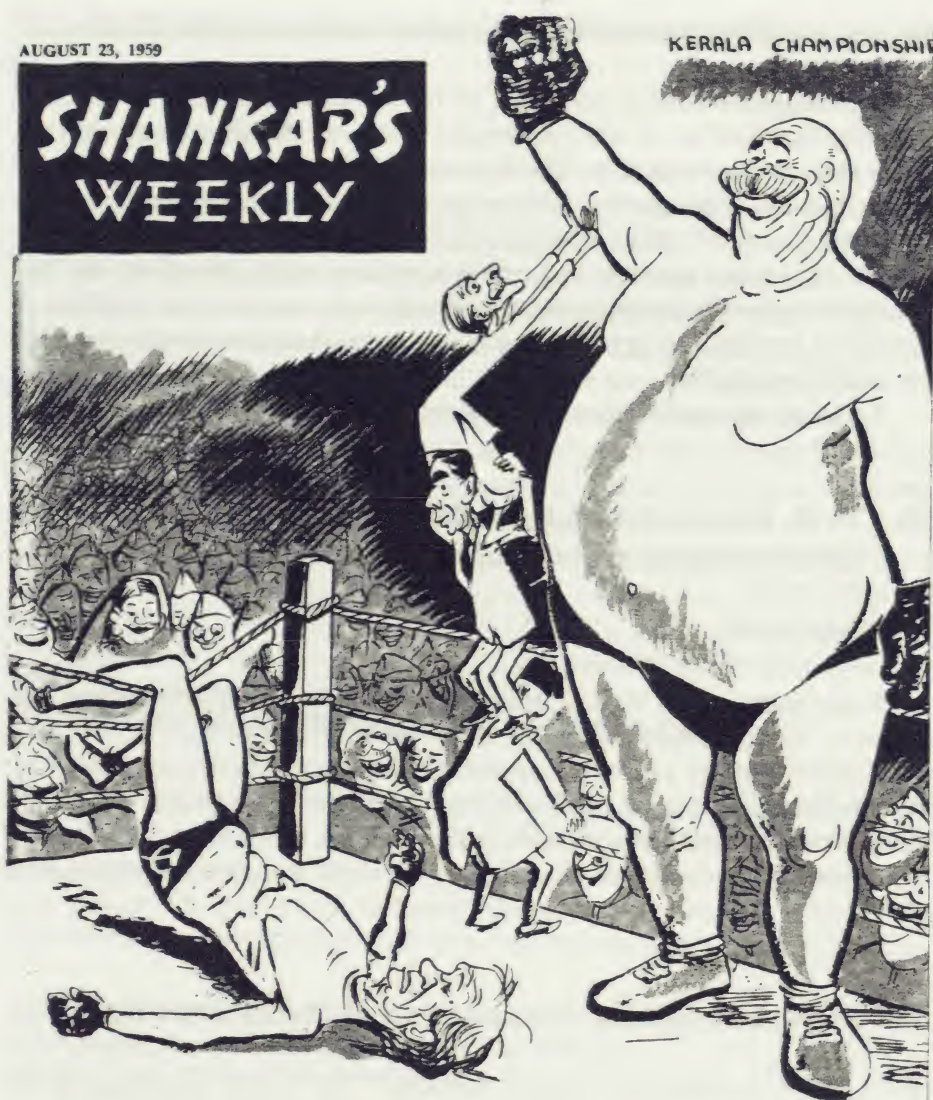
205. Speech, 19 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 3137-3165.

Nehru was speaking in the course of a debate on a resolution moved by Govind Ballabh Pant on 17 August seeking the approval of the House for the President's Proclamation of 31 July 1959 in relation to the state of Kerala.

206. Sardar Hukam Singh.

AUGUST 23, 1959

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 23 AUGUST 1959)

consider. Many things have been said here on both sides of the House which perhaps were not wholly relevant to this debate. It is difficult to draw hard and fast lines in such a debate. Nevertheless a great deal has been said.

Shri Dange,²⁰⁷ who spoke with his usual fluency and ability – and spoke for a fairly considerable time – said many things. But then I wondered and thought how much can be said with what little content. I tried to catch hold of what he had said. There were long disquisitions about democracy, about various other matters, about conspiracies but not too much about the points in issue. The whole argument is – and to some extent Shri Gopalan's has been – of a deep laid conspiracy to put an end to the Kerala Government.

The word democracy has been used a great deal here on every side of the House, more especially on the opposite side. Shri Dange accused us of being – I forget his words, but he said something to the effect of being – the murderers of democracy. A story comes to my mind of an unfortunate youngman, who went and killed his father and mother. When he was hauled up before the court he asked for clemency on the ground of being an orphan.

Shri Sadhan Gupta:²⁰⁸ Do you ask for the same clemency after killing democracy?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Shri Dange was good enough to say some very nice things about me and to condone [sic; probably "condole"] with me that I had been removed from the pedestal on which our people had put me.²⁰⁹ I do not personally believe in people being put on pedestals and if any persons had mistakenly put me on a pedestal it is a good thing that they have removed me. It is good for me and good for them.

Shri Dange referred also to the great deal of disquiet among various people in India including the members of the Congress Party about the step taken in Kerala. He was perfectly right in referring to it or rather in mentioning this fact. He probably knows because the newspapers have recorded it that the Congress

207. S.A. Dange, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Bombay City Central-SC, Bombay State.

208. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Calcutta-East, West Bengal.

209. Dange, speaking on 17 August, said that Nehru was the last hope for democracy in the country but because of his action of dismissing the Communist ministry he had "become as mortal as the others were or are," and likened him to Yudhishtar of the Mahabharata whose chariot started to ply on earth as soon as he vacillated in his remarks on the slaying of Ashwatthama. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 2879-2881.

Party of Parliament met for three long sessions confidentially to consider this matter and people spoke there frankly and fully without any inhibitions as they should.²¹⁰ Why? And what was the meaning of that? The meaning was because the Congress Party, being wedded to democracy and constitutional procedures, having been conditioned by them, was anxious to understand and know why something has been done which was criticised as being undemocratic. It shows the texture of the Congress Party. Even when its own Government had taken a step of this kind – a big step, an important step – it did not take it for granted. It wanted to argue. It wanted to criticise. It wanted to get out all the facts and then to decide in their individual or in their group minds. We found in those long discussions for three evenings that broadly speaking people who knew about what had happened in Kerala – and many of them had been there – were of one opinion. Immediately they had no doubts. Some people who had not been there perhaps did not know all the facts and were among the original doubters. But as the facts came out before them during these long talks there was no doubter left so far as I know. But what I was laying stress on was that this is the approach of the Congress rank and file as well as the important members of it. This is the critical approach now. If that was the approach of the rank and file of our Party, I would beg of you, Sir, to consider whether those who are honoured by the leadership of this Party could do something which was so radically opposed to that conditioning through which we had gone in the last generation or two specially. It was obvious that any such thing would give us the greatest disquiet and it was only when we were compelled by circumstances that we could take such a step. Now, I venture to say that in this matter not only we, but all of us, were compelled by circumstances. How did those circumstances arise is another matter which can be considered.

Shri Gopalan, towards the end of his address, laid some stress on repudiating a remark that has been made that even the leaders of the Communist Party at that juncture wanted intervention. He referred to a visit which he and Shri Ajoy Ghosh²¹¹ paid to me just about three or four days before this Proclamation of

210. For Nehru's speeches at the CPP meetings, see items 9, 11 and 13.

211. General Secretary, CPI.

the President.²¹² I would not normally like to refer to a private meeting, but it is he who referred to it and therefore you would permit me and I hope he will permit me...

Shri Punnoose:²¹³ The hon. Home Minister referred to it.²¹⁴

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru; I do not know about the hon. Home Minister. I am talking about a visit by Shri Ajoy Ghosh and Shri Gopalan. There are no secrets involved in it, but I would not have mentioned it if that particular incident had not been mentioned.

Now, I stated in public later, lest there might be any misapprehension, that the Chief Minister of Kerala had not asked us to intervene. Of course not, obviously not. Mr. Ajoy Ghosh and Mr. Gopalan did not in as many words ask us to intervene. But I say definitely that they left the impression upon me that nothing would be more welcome to them than intervention. (Interruptions).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Perhaps hon. Members did not follow what the Prime Minister said. He said that is the impression left upon him. It is on him that the impression has been left, not on the hon. Members.

Shri Tangamani:²¹⁵ How does he know our mind?

212. A.K. Gopalan said in his speech on 19 August that they had gone to tell Nehru "that even in spite of his warnings and other things, 9th August [the date set by the Vimochana Samara Samiti for the "siege" of Trivandrum] was there and what was he going to do. Was the hon. Prime Minister to condemn these actions at least now? What will happen if the people come there and do violent things? The Government will have to act. Today that is taken as the Kerala Government having sought Central intervention. As far as the Government are concerned, they were prepared to face it if it came to that. But as there were reports in the papers we wanted to ask the hon. Prime Minister, 'Have you taken a decision to intervene?' The hon. Prime Minister said, 'Some kind of intervention must be there but we have not taken a decision'." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 3135-3136.

213. P.T. Punnoose, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Ambalapuzha, Kerala.

214. Govind Ballabh Pant said on 17 August: "In fact, some hon. Members approached the hon. Prime Minister a few days before the Proclamation was issued with a suggestion—I would not call it a proposal—that if Central intervention is coming then better expedite and better intervene without delay. That, I think, has been accepted and has not been denied." He also attributed to Ajoy Ghosh the remark "that the situation was very bad and very grave [and] it called for action under Article 355." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 2831 and 2836.

215. K.T.K. Tangamani, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Madurai, Madras.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In fact, Mr. Ajoy Ghosh and Mr. Gopalan referred to that threat which had been made by that Samiti, there, the Vimochana Samara Samiti, that they would go on the 9th of August to the Secretariat with a large crowd and try to capture it.

Naturally, this was, I thought, a highly improper thing to do. But I was asked, in effect: you must stop not only that, but practically this movement, or else, the sooner you act the better. Now, it is quite beyond my capacity – one could express one's feelings and any [sic] that it was undesirable and all that – but it was quite beyond my capacity at this stage, or even earlier for the matter of that, to stop this tremendous movement. I could, if I was in charge and if our Government felt so inclined, of course, meet, if I may say so, that type of movement with the coercive apparatus of the Government. That is a different matter. But I knew that no word of mine would suddenly stop this movement where it had gone at that stage. And they knew it too very well.

So the impression left on my mind was that the sooner this is done the better, the sooner this proclamation is issued the better.

Shri Punnoose: The sooner you condemn the better.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I also say that when this proclamation came out – naturally I am referring to my own impressions – as I have said, there was a fair amount of disquiet in the minds of many of my colleagues in the Congress Party, but there was great relief in the Communist Party. And this is natural; this is quite natural. I do not mean to say.... (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not mean to say that they wanted Central intervention all along. I do not say that. But I do say that a situation had arisen which it was becoming exceedingly difficult for them to face.

I was told it meant, might have meant, well, very serious consequences, large-scale killing, something. And no government – communist, non-communist – likes doing that. It is obvious. Therefore, they were in a great difficulty. I can quite appreciate that difficulty, because any government would have been in that difficulty if it had arrived at that stage. And there was no way out of it, either this or to face it and those tremendous consequences, apart from the tremendous damage done, I mean to say lives lost, etc., the consequences and the ill-will raised among the people, ill-will that would last a long time, maybe till the elections and after, which obviously as reasonable politicians they did not like. Therefore, what were they to do about it? What could they do? There

was no relief for them except by Central Government action.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:²¹⁶ So it is being justified?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not justifying it. I am analysing as much as I can.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Analyse it yourself without bringing in others.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Shri Gopalan is all attention, but the other Members are going on interrupting. I should think that the Deputy Leader²¹⁷ should exercise his influence on the others.

Shri A.K. Gopalan: The Deputy Leader is not saying anything because he does not want to do it now. I wanted to repudiate and say it was not correct.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would like to know his repudiation, so that I may know what it is.

Shri A.K. Gopalan: The repudiation is that even now you are saying that we have said "please intervene to relieve us". That is what you are saying.

Several Hon. Members: No. (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has not said that.

Shri A.K. Gopalan: I was present with Mr. Ajoy Ghosh. What he said was not that....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Perhaps he has not understood the Prime Minister correctly. So far as I could understand he has not said that.

Shri A.K. Gopalan: I did not talk anything, because the situation was created and I wanted....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The actual words used, to my recollection, were: "If you cannot stop all this, the sooner you act the better". These were the words

216. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

217. A.K. Gopalan, the Deputy Leader of the CPI group in the Lok Sabha.

used: the sooner you act the better. I am not saying....

Shri A.K. Gopalan: The actual words used were: "Can you tell us what is the decision you have taken? Are you going to intervene"? That is the actual word that he said, "What is the decision that the Central Government has taken"? We wanted to know the decision taken by the Central Government. (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Now I will request hon. Members on both sides to have patience. Let us listen to the Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What the hon. Member said also were the words used: not exclusively. Of course, he used those words too. My reply, as he has already stated, was that we have not come to a final decision, but everything is driving us in that direction. (Interruptions).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not wish to enter into verbal exchanges, because the matter is beyond merely verbal cleverness. But, I do submit that round about the time when this Proclamation was issued, we had arrived at a stage when there was no other way out except disaster on a big scale in Kerala, a holocaust or something like that. I do say – this is my impression – that this was not only the view of a large number of other people, but by the compulsion of events, many of our Communist friends had arrived at the same conclusion, not willingly, but by the compulsion of events.

Coming to the stage when this Proclamation was issued, I may well say, it was issued not only because there was no other way out, but because there was almost unanimity that it should be issued.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: From your side.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am prepared to admit that the argument is, and it should be met, it is all very well to issue it at the stage it was done; what about the preceding stages? (Interruption from Shrimati Renu Chakravartty). I am putting the hon. Member's question. What about the preceding stages? It was a conspiracy and instead of stopping it, under article 352 or some such thing, you encouraged it in various ways?

Just a little while ago, Shri A.K. Gopalan was good enough to quote from numerous speeches of mine, which I said at Press conferences again and again

condemning the direct action that was going on in Kerala, condemning the picketing of schools, condemning the stopping of buses, condemning the so-called direct action in Government offices. I said that on three or four separate occasions. I may say, of course, this was not enough. I should have said so more often and more forcibly. (Interruptions).

Shri Asoka Mehta:²¹⁸ We are here to hear the Prime Minister; not to hear the communists. It is time they stop.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I will request the hon. Members. Majority of the House is anxious to hear the Prime Minister. They are not interrupting the Prime Minister alone, but the whole House. They want to listen. I will request them now. (Interruptions). Order, order. I should warn hon. Members now that I shall have to take severe action if this is not stopped. I will make an appeal to all others also.

Shri Jadhav:²¹⁹ (Malegaon): Shri A.K. Gopalan was not interrupted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would make an appeal to all.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I started by saying that I hope to avoid bringing in the present Kerala excitement and distemper here. In so far as I am concerned, I shall still endeavour to do so.

The cases may be isolated from the final act which had become inevitable and the preceding six weeks or six months or one year or two years or whatever you like.

We are accused of some kind of deep laid conspiracy to get others to do things which would bring about a situation which would enable us to act in this way. I hope that is a correct representation. The conspiracy goes back according to them to within 48 hours when the Kerala Government into power, when, according to S.A. Dange, Shri Shriman Narayan²²⁰ went there and gave out his opinion that there was insecurity and law and order was in danger.²²¹ Shri

218. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

219. Yadav Narain Jadhav, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Malegaon, Bombay State.

220. General Secretary of the Congress Party, 1952-58; Member of the Planning Commission, 1958-64.

221. Dange said, "Within 3 days of the communist ministry coming into power and within 3 hours of this gentleman going there, he found that law and order was collapsing, life was insecure and something must be done, And, there began the chain." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, col. 2859.

S.A. Dange is not quite correct about that. It is true that Shri Shriman Narayan went there because of a previous engagement to attend a meeting there of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee. He did not make these remarks then. He made some such remarks five or six months later.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: On the first occasion, what he referred to was – I have enquired from him and on the strength of what he said, I am saying – on the first occasion, just at that time, large-scale releases had taken place of people convicted of murder, etc. About that he said, this is causing a good deal of apprehension. Five or six months later, he went again and then he said that there was a widespread feeling of insecurity. As a matter of fact, I forget when, about a year ago, last year, some time, I also ventured to say that it had come to my knowledge that among the people in Kerala there was this feeling of insecurity.²²² There was no doubt about that. I am not saying about what the position was; but many people felt that way; that is what I say. I cannot say; I do not know. But, many people felt this way; this was a widespread and growing opinion.

Then, Shri Dhebar is brought into the picture as another villain in the piece who excited.²²³ I am sorry the way his name is repeatedly brought out, because I think that Shri Dhebar is a man of the highest integrity for whom I have the greatest honour.

An Hon. Member: Can't help. (Laughter) (Interruption).²²⁴

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Then, I shall have to take some action.

222. At a press conference in New Delhi on 7 August 1958; see SWJN/SS/43/pp. 607-627, here pp. 615-616.

223. Dange contended that the Congress Party was not prepared to confirm who sanctioned the plan to occupy the Secretariat in Trivandrum: "When the question came whether Mr. Sankar was given the sanction or not, suddenly it was found that Mr. Dhebar passed the resolution but Sankar got the uncorrected copy and the corrected copy was left in his pocket. Therefore, the 'uncorrected invasion' took place in Trivandrum." Dange also said, "If it is a question of the Congress President doing it, well, we do not know what relation she has to the Congress Party." He did not want to criticise her conduct "because she is just a child in politics." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 2871-2872.

224. *The Hindu* reported on 20 August that at this stage there were cheers from the Congress benches and laughter from the Communist side.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon. Members who laugh at this would do themselves no credit by laughing when I refer to an honoured person and a man of integrity. It is not a laughing matter. You may agree or disagree. There are certain conventions to be observed in decent society.

I cannot go into those details; but I will say this. The House knows, last year, the matters came up here on the motion of a Member from the opposition and, as has been pointed out, the Government's attitude, my hon. colleague, the Home Minister's attitude was not to encourage that matter here in the House, discussion, etc.²²⁵ Ultimately, I do not quite know – it has sort of faded out – what happened to it. Not that we were not getting disquieting reports about various happenings there. The Home Minister's personal file is full of letters from the Government and of letters to and from, not so many, but a number – to the Chief Minister he wrote friendly letters – who asked why was not a warning sent under some article of the Constitution before the Proclamation. As a matter of fact, many times friendly letters were sent pointing out something which could be done. Sometimes his suggestions were accepted by the Chief Minister, sometimes not. So things were going on.

So, we were disturbed. But, the idea, the whole conception of intervention never came into our mind. It was quite remote. We had not thought of it. The thing that we did consider when the matter came up here was, when so many charges are brought, would it be desirable or advisable to have an enquiry into this. But, the question of intervention never came into our mind.

To skip over a lengthy period, I do not wish to go into details, two months or three months ago, I forget, when we were at Ooty, I had been reading in the papers and got some broad reports about friction in Kerala. But, I had no real idea of how much the situation had developed. The first intimation I got about this new Kerala situation was from a Minister of the Kerala Government.²²⁶ It was then that I realised from his words how serious it was and how big it was. In fact, I remember some rather odd words he used. He said that 'We have been used, in the past years, to what we call the Nehru crowds, which attracted so many people, but now we see the opposition people bringing these crowds on us'. He said, 'This is amazing; this is surprising'. That remark and a lot of other things he told me impressed me that something unusual was happening there and I had not realised it. Later on, of course, other facts and impressions came to me from other sources, from Congress people and others.

225. See item 3, here p. 22.

226. V.R. Krishna Iyer met Nehru at Raj Bhavan in Ooty on 3 June 1959. See *The Tribune*, 5 June 1959.

But the first impression I got was from a Minister of the Kerala Government, first of all, a personal report. I had a vague idea that perhaps by visiting Kerala I might be able to do something at that stage.

Then, when the matter came up, the question then was, I think, that this gentleman, Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan had announced or threatened to have picketing of schools or rather to stop the opening of schools by picketing and other ways. This was the sole matter which came up before us; some Congressmen had brought it. We said this was utterly wrong and absolutely wrong, and 'on no account can you participate in it'. That was the advice that we gave. There was no other issue before us.

We began to realise, however, that whatever advice we may or may not give, events that were happening in Kerala were gradually getting beyond any reasonable advice. It was just then that I issued, I believe, a statement, coming down from Ooty or from Coimbatore, in which what I said was – I think Shri A.K. Gopalan has already read out a part of that statement – (and this was the first time that I used that word) that this was a big upsurge.²²⁷ There it was. I came back.

Later, we found to our surprise that this thing was growing bigger and bigger; and one thing which I had not expected, none of us had expected, was that some of the Congress people there had been prohibited from picketing of schools; they did not do so. I cannot speak about individuals; individual Congressmen might have done so, I cannot say; but officially they did not do so. They did not indulge in this bus business also. They did what they call token picketing, six persons performing some token picketing of Government offices. I did not approve of this at all. None of us did. But I confess to you and it may have been a wrong thing for us to do, that we were in difficulty. When the matter came up later here, some days later, we were in a difficulty because people had got entangled in this thing. And here was this thing growing bigger and bigger; and what we were anxious about very much was, in so far as it was possible, to check this movement, so far as direct action and all that was concerned, and by progressive limitation or something of that kind, because

227. A.K. Gopalan said that the same day as Nehru stated at Coimbatore (on 6 June) "that all kinds of forces are at play, casteism and communalism, all that ... Mannath Padmanabhan, the reactionary leader and the leader of the Nair Service Society, was being taken in a chariot along with Congressmen. The Congress organisation and the Prime Minister could have at least told them not to sit along with Mannath Padmanabhan especially when he said that he does not want violent conflicts as violence is objectionable and should not exist in a democratic state." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, col. 3130. For Nehru's statement issued at Coimbatore, see SWJN/SS/49/item 44.

we realised that just a command 'Don't do it' had no effect in those circumstances.

So, what was said, if you remember, in that resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board²²⁸ was a fairly strong condemnation of picketing buses etc. etc. and all direct action of any kind, in fact, but there was a proviso – and you may agree or disagree that that proviso ought not to have been made; that is a different matter; but in the circumstances, and considering the situation as it was, there was this entanglement; we said, get out of this entanglement, the most you can do for the present is to gradually withdraw, is to carry on your token thing and then withdraw. That was what we said, because we wanted them to get out of it completely and to influence others also to do so. We said, you can have any other demonstrations if you like, public meetings if you like and such like things, but not this; because, speaking, for myself, as I stated previously, I was against all this direct action. It is a wrong thing.

Acharya Kripalani²²⁹ in the course of his speech two days ago said a number of things in praise of satyagraha and direct action. I am not competent to argue metaphysical and philosophical matters with him. I do not know if I can say honestly that any kind of satyagraha should be prohibited; I am not sure in my mind; there may be occasions when it is justified. But when we use the word 'satyagraha', surely, we would have in mind the basic elements of what is satyagraha. Surely, this House will remember that in the old days, when Satyagraha and all these direct action movements were pretty common, how Gandhiji stopped the whole movement, because he thought that it was going wrong; he stopped it. He even said that he was the one and only man in India who could perform satyagraha, nobody else. That was what he said. Others were not competent; or they could come in individually, one by one. With all deference to everybody concerned, I may say that if what I have said is satyagraha, then there was no satyagraha in Kerala, none at all, because I have seldom seen any place so thick with hatred and incipient violence; it is amazing; it was a case of thick walls of hatred everywhere, group hatred. I say so with all respect, not being, or considering, myself an expert in this; but if there is so much hatred and so much bitterness about it, then it is dangerous to conduct any satyagraha; you may call it by some other name; it is not satyagraha.

Shri A.K. Gopalan referred to my going to Kerala. I might say that I had vaguely thought of going to Kerala earlier. But the Chief Minister said publicly that for the moment he was not anxious that I should go there. So, I did not

228. See SWJN/SS/49/item 57.

229. J.B. Kripalani, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

take up the question of my going there. Shri S.A. Dange is not here at the moment; he asked 'Why did he not go there at the invitation of the Congress or whatnot?'²³⁰ Well, as a matter of fact, – except for any very special reason, I do not know, I cannot think of it, I do not visit any State except on the invitation of that State Government, whether it is a Congress Government or a PSP Government or a Communist Government. So, the question of my going there did not arise. Shri Namboodiripad said that I need not go.²³¹ But later in the month he wrote to me that he would like me to go there. So, for three days, I think, for three clear days, I went there. Shri A.K. Gopalan referred to an organised demonstration when I had gone there.²³² Of course, it was an organised demonstration. I know that much of politics and that much of demonstrations as to know that. But organised demonstrations are also of various types, sizes, tempers and all that. And to some extent, I judged by them, but not much of course. I could realise that it was conceivable that a rival demonstration could also be organised, – if not on that scale, – maybe a little smaller, but big enough; it is quite possible. I spent those three days there, talking to lots of people, hundreds of people; I met them in groups and as individuals almost every person concerned; and I had long talks, of course, with the Ministers of the Kerala Government. But more than these talks, I was trying to sense in some capacity, to sense public feelings, public events, public meetings, crowds and demonstrations; I was trying to sense them, and the impression grew upon me that the situation in Kerala was much worse than what I had thought worse in a particular way, that there was absolutely no meeting-ground left between these rival groups, big or small; and the bitterness and hatred and anger at each other was prodigious; I was amazed; I did not know how I could get a move on with all this, and this movement going on. I criticised direct action etc. whenever I spoke. I spoke to the Congress there and I told them too; but the problem before me was not to give a philosophical opinion but how to deal with a particularly difficult situation. I suggested rather as a side issue, which might do some good, in regard to the Education Act: why not talk to the critics of this Act in regard to the controversial clauses? I was glad that they agreed to

230. Dange said that [the Communists] had invited the Prime Minister to visit Kerala as they were not afraid of his coming. "In fact, the other gentlemen were afraid of his coming. In fact, it should have been the Congress Party, led by the Congress President, who should have invited him first." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, col. 2874.

231. Namboodiripad did not want Nehru to come to Kerala merely on a brief visit; see SWJN/SS/49/item 46.

232. A.K. Gopalan said that the mass upsurge that Nehru saw in Kerala in June last was not a political upsurge but a partisan one stage-managed by Mannath Padmanabhan on the occasion of Nehru's visit. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, col. 3333.

do so. Thereafter, I met the managers and bishops and various people concerned, the Nair Service Society and others – the Congress had nothing to do with this because the Congress as such was not concerned with the schools at all. Those peoples [sic] – I regretted then – were not enthusiastic about this proposal to have talks. The reason they gave was not without force. They said that previously they wanted to have talks, but they did not take place, and now with all this controversy when the atmosphere was so thick with suspicion, how could they have talks; there must be something in it.

Nevertheless, I reminded them that the lesson I had learnt from Gandhiji was always to be prepared to talk even with the enemy. Do not give up. You need not give up what you consider your principles, but talk. However, I could not convince them. I am sorry. But I realised that that was not the major issue. The Education Act had long ceased to be the major issue. Therefore, – I saw no way out – I suggested to the Chief Minister and the other Ministers of the Kerala Government that their only way was an election. Mind you, not Central intervention. There was no question of Central intervention, but an election asked for by them. That was a proposal. I said that I thought that this position could not be dealt with merely by admonition or by strong language because – I use the word for both sides – it was a hysterical position. Everybody was in a state of hysteria. I am leaving out the question of justification or otherwise. There was this hysteria, anger and hatred and incipient violence, breaking out of violence. May I say – a fact which I did not quite know – that people in some parts of Kerala are in the habit of carrying about long knives with them and they are not averse to using them if their tempers rose? This kind of thing was happening from day to day; we heard of stabbings.

So I suggested elections. I did not expect elections – of course, I am not so simple-minded as to expect it – to solve this problem. But what I was aiming at was – to use a word which has been used in connection with European and world problems – some disengagement. This word, as you know, has been used in Europe about Germany and other problems. I said I wanted some disengagement and if they decided to have elections, then the situation would change. They would not set about to embrace each other, but this bitterness would change; people would, in a month or two, begin to think of the elections and start preparing for them. No doubt, they would use strong language, but it would be a different thing. This movement etc. would also be over and then it would be time to talk about the Education Act and other matters. This was the suggestion I made before I came away.

After I came back, here on two or three occasions I repeated this either in Press conference or, I think, in a letter to the Chief Minister and in various ways, because I felt that was the only thing one could do. After all, what else

could one do? There were two courses open. One was to try to crush this agitation by coercive methods. I did not think it was feasible; it was possible with the help of the police and the army to crush any agitation, however big, but the cost would have been frightful and the consequences would have been even more frightful. Maybe, I am wrong in this. The Kerala Ministers said that if this happened, the whole thing would fade away. But I think they were quite wrong, at that stage any way; I do not know about some early stage.

The other alternative was for the agitation etc., to continue and continue and continue; which also was terrible, because government, as it was, became impossible. The House can well imagine that there was not much of a normal government functioning. It was functioning in the sense of the officers and other people being there, but the normal work of Government could not go on when every Minister had to deal with the situation and did not know what might happen – with stabbings going on, firings going on somewhere, demonstrations, arrests, jails full, etc. It could hardly go on in a small State like that with the percentage of people arrested being tremendous.

So that I would see no outlet except some disengagement. And I thought that the only way of disengagement was elections. I would again beg to point out that elections did not mean Presidential Proclamation at all. In fact, it would have been, more or less, on their initiative, an advantage to them in many ways. I put it to them in this way. No doubt, they must have considered it among themselves, but ultimately they were not agreeable to that. I stuck to this advice even to the last. Once or twice I thought that there was a possibility of their accepting this advice. But ultimately they did not. When they knew that the alternative was Presidential Proclamation and elections – the first was only elections – they realised that completely, because in spite of sometimes wrong notions, we can think intelligently about these consequences. They knew that.

Now, the clear choice before them was to ask for elections or to permit the President to take action and then have elections. I have no doubt that they must have considered this choice carefully and long. And they came to the conclusion, I imagine – this is guesswork – that asking for elections would be some kind of a confession of failure...

Shri C.D. Pande²³³ (Naini Tal): Danger of losing.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ...and they would not be able to blame the Central Government so much. 'We will stick to the end. The thing will come. But then we can hold the banner of democracy against the Central Government'. That

233. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nainital, Uttar Pradesh.

is a clear and unvarnished account of things that happened. Here we were struggling for preventing this thing happening, trying to find some way out, because, naturally, not merely because of our love for theoretical democracy but because of the practical aspects of this and the possible consequences of it, we did not want that.

Now, think of another little thing. But it is important. It would have been greatly to the advantage of the Central Government if it wanted to put the Kerala Government and the Communist Party more and more in the wrong. It would have been greatly to its advantage to have stayed this action a few days, because by so doing the situation in Kerala – I have no doubt – would have become much worse. It was going forward towards disaster. That would have forced the Government there to take more and more action, suppressive, coercive action.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: You talk of saving the Communist Party at every stage!

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That was realised by Shri Ajoy Ghosh. When he came to me, he said: 'If you want to act, act quickly; don't delay'. Because it was obvious that the situation had become such that there was not a shadow of a doubt that – President's Proclamation or not – we would have to come in whether with the police or whether with the Army, call it what you like.

It has been repeatedly said – and I hope I am not referring to wrong articles – that under article 352 of the Constitution ...

Shri C.D. Pande: 355.

Shri C.D. Pande: 355. Top of Form

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: 352, 353 or 355, that we should have helped.²³⁴ It is not quite clear to me what is meant by that. Even before the President's Proclamation

234. S. Easwaran Iyer, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Trivandrum, Kerala, said on 17 August that he would have favoured resorting to Article 352, whereby "the executive is not destroyed – the Ministry in Kerala will not be destroyed – the legislature cannot disappear, the Centre's power shall extend to the State as to the manner in which the executive should be governed, and Parliament will also be vested with power to legislate with respect to items in List I contained in the Constitution." On 19 August, he said that action under Article 356 was "a grave inroad" into the provincial autonomy of Kerala, and "akin to the Daniel, the judge releasing the *thug* and hanging the complainant." *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 2922-2925, 3047-3048 and 3054.

I put it straight to the Chief Minister, 'What kind of help do you expect from us?' They never asked for any kind of help which we did not give. He said: 'We are thinking in terms of moral help and not physical help', moral help meaning thereby that we should have condemned this movement much more strongly than we did. I did condemn it. But I was quite clear about it. I condemned the form of the movement because I objected to this picketing business. But I did not condemn the expression of the people's will. I think they were justified. I said, you can do it any way you like; but these forms at least are not right. I used these very words. Do not for Heaven's sake call it satyagraha or anything because in my opinion a movement which was full of anger and hate cannot be called satyagraha. I said, have your movement. How can I condemn a movement which is people's expression? But let it be apart from this kind of direct action. Nobody listened to me; and, probably, nobody would listen to me in those circumstances. It has been repeatedly said that under some article or otherwise we should have come to their rescue.

About a year or more than a year ago, that is just after a year of the coming into power of the Government in Kerala, the Chief Minister delivered a speech which attracted a good deal of attention at the time simply because in his speech the words 'civil war' came in. It was not really important. But, nevertheless, it was an interesting speech, interesting in the sense of the working of the mind behind it. I have got a note about it.

"The Chief Minister of Kerala warned the opposition parties that if they jointly tried to oust the communist Kerala Government, it would divide the people into two camps and create disruption in the country. This, Mr. Namboodripad felt will inevitably lead to a situation in which the two contending groups will be forced to embark on a policy of mutual annihilation leading to a national tragedy. It was a similar situation, he added, that led to the protracted civil war in China." (Interruption).

This speech was delivered on the 31st May, 1958, more than a year ago.²³⁵ But, now forgetting as to whose fault it was, the fact is that in Kerala a situation arose when not only all the Opposition groups but, if I may say so, all the people, the people who belong to no groups, the neutral people – they are non-political people – all of them joined together against the Government and its supporters. And this very thing, in a sense, the then Chief Minister referred to, that there will be two contending groups facing each other. This situation was,

235. The speech was delivered by E.M.S. Namboodiripad at Coimbatore a few days after the Deviculom parliamentary by-election in Kerala in which a Communist candidate defeated a Congress candidate.

in fact, created. Sometimes, even leading members of these groups talked in amazing terms of annihilating the other group as if it was conceived at all possible, as if the communist party or Government could annihilate the rest of Kerala or as if the opposition groups put together could annihilate all the communists and their sympathisers. They are both ridiculous propositions. But it shows to what extent the feelings had gone when people talked in this way.

Now, I read this little speech of Shri Namboodiripad, which, in the context of civil war, he subsequently explained somewhat. But I attached really no importance to it, the civil war part of it, at that time, that is 15 months ago in May – to his thinking of everybody else combining against his Government. This way of thinking of the Communist Party and its supporters being one group against the world, against everybody else, one the selected and the elect and the other having the presumption to come together to oppose it, is a line of thinking which seems to be slightly odd.

When I met some of the members of the Kerala Government I put it to them: How is it that you have managed to make everybody against you – everybody meaning apart from their own party and supporters – all parties outside your group and your supporters, even some people – I do not know who they are – who call themselves Marxists or Revolutionary Marxists or Socialists, the RSP? I asked: By what alchemy have you made all these people your opponents? I used this word in this context. They were, as usual, taking it out of the context and putting it in the papers in their own context. I said, this is an astonishing failure on your part – I was not referring to the governmental measures or others. I said, you are losing support of all these people who are not intimately attached to you. I said, I was astonished. I do not think they gave me an adequate answer. I do not think it is an adequate answer to say that the communal institutions, the capitalists and the Nairs and the other people have abused and misused the people and incited them to do this. That is not the answer.

Of course, people who were opposing the Communist Party and the communist Government were all sorts of people. There are plenty of reactionaries in them. Who denies that? There are plenty of communalists in them not functioning communally, but those at other times functioned communally. You may say today they are functioning communally. It is immaterial. The point here is, all these people – remember however, though you divide all people into organised parties, but most of the humanity remains outside organised groups, whether it is in election or whether it is a movement – were opposed. Much depends upon on which side the sympathy of that unorganised, non-political mass, goes.

I have no doubt that in the present instance, these non-political lot, such as they are in Kerala, had all shifted over to the opposition groups. (Interruption).

An Hon. Member: Wrong:

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I may be wrong. I am only giving my impression.

Shri Tyagi: Not the toddy tappers.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Shri Gopalan read out in the course of his speech an old lady's pathetic letter.²³⁶ I do not know what his purpose was in reading it. If he likes, I can send him many letters from old ladies and old men which I get from day to day from various places, including Kerala. Unfortunately, many of these communications from Kerala are disturbing. The other day in this House, Shri Gopalan and his colleagues rather warmed up on one occasion on a question of an adjournment motion because he wanted to put in an adjournment motion about something which, according to him, was happening: some attacks were being made on communists in Kerala. I think that some of the statements have probably some truth in them. I tried to enquire into everyone of them. Some – I found – had no basis; some had some truth but this other aspect was this; a number of messages, telegrams and letters have been coming in about attacks of communists on the others – stabbing, this and that. In fact only two or three days ago, one of the oldest persons I know in Kerala, a friend and colleague with whom I stayed 29 years ago at Trichur,²³⁷ Kuroor Namboodiripad...

Shri V.P. Nayar:²³⁸ He is also called Kambi – Kambi means telegram – Namboodiripad, which means that he is capable of sending any number of telegrams.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Anyhow, on Independence Day, he was going to attend the celebration of Independence Day or coming back – I forget. The poor man

236. A.K. Gopalan said he had received many letters written after the abolition of the Communist Government in Kerala on the position with regard to the life and property of the poor, people, and showed a copy of a letter describing how the house, etc., of one Badungkali, a sixty-year-old Harijan woman, had been destroyed. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, col. 3120.

237. Nehru visited Trichur in the last week of May 1931.

238. V. Parameswaran Nair, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Quilon, Kerala.

was pulled out of his car by people who are described as communists. He was given a thrashing. He was rescued and taken to a hospital and he is still in a hospital. That is the kind of thing.... (Interruptions). I want you to visualise this picture in Kerala, with this tremendous anger, hatred, discontent, anger with each other, polarisation of two groups and so on. Leave out for the sake of argument which is the bigger and which is the smaller. I have no doubt that in the circumstances one was much bigger than the other but leave that out. Here was a situation and a tendency to use knives – not only a tendency, but the actual use of knives. Now it is a grave danger. One could see it happening. This would go worse and worse and in fact stabbing all over the place, this man stabbing that man and thus a situation arises which it is not easy for even the best of police to deal with. You cannot deal with this, if all individuals have to stab somebody else. It is not a question of a crowd. Because of this we felt that something had to be done to stop this and we took this action. We advised the President rather to take this action. We might as well, as I said before, waited because every day that we waited would have made the justification of that action more. But that would not be proper because that would have been at the cost of the people of Kerala and at the cost of greater bitterness and conflict. As a matter of fact, ever since this action has been taken – I do not say that there is complete peace all over Kerala, but – the situation is infinitely better. Occasionally, something happens in two or three districts. But broadly speaking, people have quieted down and they are getting out of the terrific condition in which they were in. As I said, I cannot expect them suddenly to develop an exceeding love for each other quickly.

Now, in the course of the debate, reference has sometimes been made to communism and Communist Party and all that. In connection with the Communist Party in Kerala or the Government in Kerala, naturally that subject has to be considered. But I do not think that this is the time or occasion for us to discuss communism or Marxism or even the wider implications of the communist parties in the world or even here. Not that I am averse to any talk on the subject but it must take place in the proper context, but not tied up to an important local issue like Kerala which arouses so much passion. I do not agree with much that has been said on this side or on that side. I am no communist. I do think, if I may say so with all respect, that what may be called communist theory is rather out of date. I do feel so. One big virtue in it – not so much the communist theory – is the normal socialist approach being for the underdog. That is, the normal socialist approach. Whether you come up to it or not, that is a big thing. There is much good thing in communism that people should learn and certainly in the advanced communist countries. Nevertheless, I think that the communist theory is out of date and more especially, the

application of it in various odd countries, the application based on some other application, is utterly wrong.

Shri Dange accused or rather said that he objected to being told that he had no roots, in this country – he, meaning, a communist.²³⁹ Now that charge, not referring to Mr. Dange or to any particular individual, has a very great deal of relevance to the group. I am not for a moment criticising anybody. But I say it almost inevitably follows – this kind of thing and that is the basic difficulty. It is not the communist theory, the economic theory. We may agree with it; we may not agree with it. It does not matter. We may vary it as even communist countries are varying it – but not the communist outside the communist countries! This business of not having roots – I think – is a dangerous thing. I do not say that because you have no roots, you are powerless. You may gain all kinds of authority and power but the result is this. Not having roots, your power is not easily used for the basic, construction. It is power for destruction, rather than for building up from the roots. That is a long argument and I am not going into it. Whatever it is, it is. I do believe this applies not to India only but to other countries. It is only on the roots – you may call them what you like, cultural roots, national roots, basic roots – you may add anything from outside. Otherwise, you may remain static; so you must add. Add anything you like to it but build on these roots. If you are uprooted in mind or body, then anything you have is like a pot unconnected with earth – separate pots. That is the difficulty. And the real difficulty is all these suspicions in these which had come here; they have little to do with the basic economic approach. You may agree or not. But this difficulty of rootlessness and looking elsewhere – it is that which creates those difficulties and suspicions in those minds.

Shri Punnoose: Is it our fault that we look to Delhi from Trivandrum?... (Interruptions).

An Hon. Member: Not to Moscow? They look more to Moscow than to Delhi.

239. Dange said that there was surprise expressed when Communists won the election in Kerala and the matter was debated in "the conservative Press, throughout the Congress Press," because "it was taken as an axiomatic truth that Communism has no roots in the country, Marx is naturally out of date, Socialism of the Marxian type can never win a victory! And, therefore, another axiomatic truth that Communists, if ever they have to form a Government or capture power, must do it by armed struggle, by capturing power by all sorts of means except a proper, democratic election!" *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, col. 2858.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not quite follow, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it our fault that we look to Delhi from Trivandrum? – that is what he is saying.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You do not look to Delhi; you sit in Delhi. But apart from this, let us look at it from another point of view.

I am no communist; but I am certainly not an anti-communist either and I want to declare it. I do not believe in this antiism; people get frightened of these things. I am a positive individual, not a negative individual. I hold a certain faith.

Acharya Kripalani: They do not accept you are not an anti-Communist.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have arrived at a stage in the world, trying to shift ourselves for a minute or two to a larger stage, when every attempt is being made for this kind of disengagement, disentanglement, to get out of the cold war in order to avoid the hot war. Well, so far as we have been concerned, in this country, we have endeavoured in our own small way to help in that process, because it is patent to any thinking person that the idea of these mighty groups in the world, one of them trying to crush out of existence the other, is no longer feasible, if it ever was. It means total destruction. Therefore, whether you like it or not you have to think in terms of, call it peaceful co-existence, call it what you like. There is no other way. The other way is common disaster.

I am very glad that recently some things have happened, or are going to happen, which bring out that this idea is more and more widely accepted in the great countries of the world; the idea that Mr. Khrushchev is going to visit President Eisenhower and President Eisenhower is going to pay a return visit to Mr. Khrushchev,²⁴⁰ which was difficult enough to envisage a year or two ago. More or less it shows not a conversion of one to another but a conversion to the idea that problems cannot be solved by fighting and trying to kill but by more or less friendly approaches.

Well, if that is so to the world, surely it is even more important that that should apply in the narrowest sphere, in the national sphere. It is obvious. It is not a question of giving in. But this approach that some people have of trying to annihilate and crush the other, this approach to which reference was made in

240. See item 3, fn 7.

Mr. Namboodiripad's speech which I read out to you – this is the phrase used, that each party try to annihilate each other – that is not an intelligent approach in modern life. You may like or dislike it, but you have to accept some ways of dealing with them apart from the normal jungle way of breaking each other's head or shooting each other down. It is from that point of view that I would like you to consider this.

I can also give you another, in Communism or Markism [sic]. Those of us who are interested in history read about crusading religions often full of vitality, full of the desire to conquer and convert the whole world. Well, they show considerable results. But they gradually tone down. The world still remains multi-religious; no single religion has conquered the world in spite of the army, the faith, the energy and the crusading spirit. They tone down. If you go to the letter of the religion, it is: "Go; convert everybody with the sword if necessary". But you see in practice they are quite [sic; probably "quiet"] individuals professing that religion, may be liking others to be converted but not at the point of the sword or lathi or conflict.

So these great impulses that come to the world from time to time for doing good, sometimes they upset things, sometimes they may bring in a bit of evil, but gradually they adapt themselves, they become less and less fierce, if I may say so with all respect, less crusading, less upsetting. They adapt themselves wherever they are, in their own countries or elsewhere. This process always go [sic] on and they are going on now, whether it is communism or anything else; and it is only people who take to narrower view of this, whether they are Communists or anti-Communists, who prevent the growth of these normal and natural forces.

So far as we are concerned, we have tried to follow our own policy, international, national or domestical. We approach such things as we consider wrong, national or inter-national. But we do not make our policy one of fighting in opposition to everybody who does not fall in line with us. That certainly has not been the genius of the Indian people. The genius of the Indian people has been "live and let live" and not give in wrongly. But I do think that nowadays, not when political and economic matters arouse passions to a high level, we should stick to what we believe right, we should discuss and come to terms, but finally we should "live and let live" and not try to solve them by annihilating each other.

We live in the present. But, obviously, we live in the present thinking of the future. We want to have a stake in that future. We won't have that future at all if we, more or less, in the present put an end to ourselves, if not to ourselves to much that we stand for.

Sir, before I finish, may I say a word about something quite irrelevant that

was brought into the picture? I think Shri Khadilkar²⁴¹ brought in my colleague, the Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, what happened in Bombay and so on.²⁴² Now, much can be said on that subject, but, surely I would say there is no time for it, and I do not think it is quite fair of Shri Khadilkar to bring that in and in the way that he did it.

60. In the Rajya Sabha: Explanation of President's Rule²⁴³

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Chairman, I did not have the good fortune to be present here yesterday for the greater part of the time when this debate was going on. But I atoned for this by going through almost the entire record in the small hours of last night, the record of yesterday's debate. Reading it and knowing what has been said on this subject elsewhere in the press all over the country during the last three or four weeks, I wondered if I could take any profitable part in this discussion because almost every aspect of it has been thrashed out. Nevertheless, since you had been pleased to announce that I will speak here today, I have to perform that duty.

Now, in the course of the discussions that have gone on over this matter – over the President's Proclamation – a great deal has been said which, though interesting, though perhaps important in its own context, had little to do directly with this matter. The first question that arises is – perhaps a legal one – is there anything un-constitutional about this? I am not going to deal with that partly

241. Raghunath Keshav Khadilkar, Lok Sabha MP from Ahmednagar, Bombay. According to *Lok Sabha Who's Who 1957*, Khadilkar belonged to the Mazdoor Kisan Party; however, he is described as an Independent in the *Statistical Report on General Elections, 1957 to the Second Lok Sabha* (New Delhi: Election Commission of India, n.d.).
242. Khadilkar said that discrimination was shown in favour of law-breakers to intervene in Kerala, as it had been done in favour of the then Chief Minister of Bombay [Morarji Desai], "a sort of dictator and ruthless man," during the agitation for a separate state of Maharashtra. He accused Nehru of imposing a solution with regard to the Bombay state without consulting the people of Bombay, Gujarat and Maharashtra; giving a free hand to Desai to kill people to his "heart's content" to suppress the agitation, and then glorifying him by upgrading him. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 2917-2918.
243. Speech, 25 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1759-1782. Nehru was speaking in the course of a debate on a resolution moved by B.N. Datar on 24 August, seeking the approval of the House for the President's Proclamation of 31 July 1959 in relation to the state of Kerala.

because better lawyers than I am have dealt with it, and partly because I do not really see how that question arises.

Much has been said. Words have been thrown about the unconstitutional character of what has been done. The first thing to remember is that this is the essence of the Constitution, I mean what has been done. It is from the Constitution, in the Constitution and with the help of the Constitution. In following the Constitution this has been done.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: And against the Constitution.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This repeated reference to Section 356, hon. Member opposite seems to forget – that is an Article of the Constitution. It does not come out of the stratosphere. Therefore, what has been done – whether it is right or wrong is another matter, whether it is desirable or not is another matter – is wholly and absolutely constitutional. And as it happens, if the matter went to a court of law, inevitably that would be the decision. Nobody can challenge it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: How do you know that?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the Constitutional aspect. That is one thing.

Secondly, when this action was taken, that is, the President's Proclamation was issued, was it justified at the time it was issued? I say this because most of the time we have discussed the distant past – I mean a year or two previously – and it is right that we discussed it here. I am not challenging it. Nevertheless, the point is: Was the President's Proclamation justified by the situation? The situation before us is not one point, one day or one hour. The situation itself covers a period, the best part – may be the whole period, – of two years and some months. But unfortunately, one has to consider whether it was justified. Now, I venture to say that whatever opinions people might have about various aspects of this past history, leading up to this Proclamation, nobody – I say so with respect – nobody really in his heart of hearts can feel or can say that this was not justified or this should not have taken place at the time it took place. I have no doubt about it. A situation had arisen when it is recognised by, if not everybody, but almost everybody, that this had to be done.

Then other aspects come up – how did that situation arise? It is interesting and important – although they do not actually deal with this present Resolution, which is a justified constitutional act, is something that is justified and done on behalf of the President. There the matter ends in the narrow interpretation of this Resolution which is before this House. But I am not saying that other

aspects are beyond the ken of this House or beyond discussion. I think they are important. I am glad those aspects have been discussed. But I do say, do lay stress again, Sir, that what has actually been done was inevitable and unavoidable and desirable, and there was no way out of it. That is quite clear.

Now, when we go back into the past history of this agitation that arose some weeks before this Proclamation – agitation against the then government of Kerala – when we go back into what the Kerala Government did in the past two and a quarter years or thereabouts, how all that arose, that shows that the agitation was justifiable. Whether their methods were right or wrong, interesting as it is, is slightly beside the point. For instance, I was reading what our learned friend, Dr. Kane said yesterday, and with a great deal of respect to what Dr. Kane said, I may say that I am in agreement with not all of it, but a great deal of it, about direct action and all that. He criticized me for not putting my foot or my thumb down and stop all that was happening there.²⁴⁴ Well, Sir, his criticism may be right that I might have functioned somewhat differently, more carefully or vigorously. That may or may not be so. But I think that essentially, basically, I did take up the attitude which he has suggested. Perhaps he has not seen all that I said in regard to it. But he might be quite right in saying that I could have done much more if I was so in-clined. I cannot answer that question. But there is one point, I remember, in Mr. Shiva Rao's speech here in this House yesterday. He said something to this effect. I think I had better quote him. He said:

“... I feel you will never get a real picture of the situation that has developed in that State unless you have spent at least a few days in some part of Kerala while the Communist Party was in power.”

Now, I must confess frankly that I have been influenced and considerably influenced not only by the few days I have spent there, what I have seen, what I have heard, but during the past many many months a stream of things that had come to us, more particularly, of course, in the last few weeks before this Proclamation. What I saw, what I heard, what I felt there, the atmosphere I sensed there, was that people there, people on all sides, people of rival groups

244. Pandurang Vaman Kane, Nominated, Rajya Sabha MP, speaking on the motion on 24 August said that “this picketing of schools and buses should have been put down with a strong hand, with a strong voice by the Prime Minister and the great men of the party. I am really distressed by these. My point is if the Congress really want the people to be law-abiding always they must themselves be most law-abiding, and their followers who call themselves as followers of Gandhiji. Gandhiji never advocated violence. His followers are following only the *satyagraha* part of it. But the need to be non-violent, peaceful and loving even your enemies, I think those parts are more or less forgotten.” *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1667-1668.

etc. were, if I may say so without meaning any disrespect to anybody, somewhat beyond reason, beyond a logical discussion of anything. They were too much excited and they were too much hysterical and all that. And there is no doubt in my mind that on either side – but of a different type – there was some fear and an abounding fear. On the one side, there was some fear with regard to governmental authorities, and on the Government's side there was an increasing fear of this agitation which had become bigger and bigger and contrary to all expectations. It was easy enough for me or for anybody to ride the high horse and condemn the Government for this and the opposition people for that. And to some extent I did that. But surely, Sir, what I had to deal with was as to how to meet the situation that had arisen there. If any one thinks here that I, in my capacity as Prime Minister or as an important member of the Congress Party, could have issued a decree to put an end to all these things, surely he does not realise what was happening there. I tried to check it and to minimise it. But I have no doubt that they were reacting to something which had tremendously upset the people there. It was not something sudden, and such a major upheaval could not have taken place because of certain objections merely to the Education Act or to some other Bill or Act.²⁴⁵ So far as these Bills and Acts were concerned, the Education Act as such had really no particular relevance, as far as the Congress Party was concerned. The Congress Party hardly took any great interest in it. So far as the Agrarian Bill was concerned, they were very largely in favour of it except, of course, some minor points. And among the other measures that have been mentioned is the Debt Relief Act. I was a little surprised at our friends in Kerala – the members of the Communist Government or their supporters and sympathisers – when they put up these various Bills as if they had started some new era in Kerala. The Education Act was, of course, special, although not so special either, except some clauses. But so far as the Agrarian Act and the Debt Relief Act are concerned, I have an idea that several States in India have been much in advance of Kerala. I know that in Uttar Pradesh the Debt Relief legislation was enacted in a much bigger way. That was done about 20 years ago. So, Sir, this was only some attempt to spread the idea that there was a progressive Government taking Kerala out of the rut of poverty and unemployment, with progressive legislation and with all the vested interests

245. M.N. Govindan Nair, CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from Kerala, said on 24 August that the Communist Government in Kerala created enemies for itself by bringing the Education Act, the Agrarian Bill and the Debt Relief Bill as these measures affected the interests of the school managements, the landlords and the bankers respectively. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1583-1584.

coming forward to oppose it. That seems to me to be very very imaginary and not based on any facts. The real difficulties that arose in Kerala were not due to legislative activities, except, of course, the Education Bill, and with that too the Congress was not as much concerned as others were. And there is no doubt that others felt it. The Roman Catholics and the managers of certain private schools did feel it. Of course, there may be some among the Congressmen also who might have felt it, but not the organisation. The real difficulty in Kerala has been a growing sense of uneasiness and of things happening which were lessening the freedom of speech and action of the people, not wholly, but progressively. Now, Sir, I am not, at the moment, going into that matter and saying whether this was true or not. I think it had a large measure of truth in it. But what I am saying is that this idea had spread. There is no doubt about that. Once or twice, Sir, I ventured to say something – not now, but a year ago – about the feeling of insecurity in Kerala.²⁴⁶ And I make it clear once again that I had been anxious throughout this period not to say or do anything which might be unjust to the Government of Kerala, because it is quite possible that my partiality might make me somewhat unjust towards a Government which was not functioning according to my liking. So, I tried to avoid public criticisms. I ventured to say once or twice, however, – because I was asked – that there was this feeling of insecurity there, and I have not the slightest shadow of doubt that this feeling was there and it grew from time to time. In spite of this feeling and almost to the extent of some people feeling terrorised – others not terrorised, but still a little nervous – this idea was spreading. This House is no doubt aware of many instances, and the hon. Members have read many things in this connection. But the real thing is something imponderable. This feeling of insecurity is an imponderable thing, and yet a bad thing. You saw this agitation suddenly becoming so big. It was obviously not any reaction merely to what the Catholic bishops said or what Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan said. No doubt Sir, they said a great many things, and some good and some not good. But somehow or other, all this concentrated and accumulating fear of insecurity, of injustice, of not being treated under the law etc. grew and covered practically every section of the community in Kerala, apart from those who had, directly or indirectly, associated themselves with the Government or with the Communist Party. I mention this because it was difficult for me to understand the situation as to how this upsurge had taken place in this big way.

Then, Sir, I put it to the members of the Kerala Government and I said 'I really am surprised. Will you tell me how you have managed to become so frightfully unpopular and disliked by large sections of the people?' I also said 'I

246. See fn 222 in this section.

cannot take any census and find out who are with you and who are against you.' Of course, they told me that certain vested interests were doing this and the Catholics were doing this. Well, I have no doubt that the Catholics and vested interests are in it. I accept that. But I told them 'If the vested interests, Catholics and others form a big majority of the people in Kerala, then your position is odd.' It was no explanation to say that certain vested interests were there in the case of the Education Bill. Of course, certain vested interests were there, but there was something much more than those vested interests, and that was the solid blocks of the people of Kerala, broadly speaking, belonging to no political Party. And that is important enough. If people who normally do not function on the political plane, who are busy with their day-to-day activities and who keep away from controversial politics, are drawn in it, then it shows that something big has happened to upset their normal lives. And that had happened. And it was that that gave this tremendous strength to this agitation. All these various people were not trained people to go about doing *satyagraha*²⁴⁷ in particular ways and all that. They simply rushed in and did it. To face this kind of a situation, may be the advice I gave was not as good as it might have been. I quite admit that. It is a difficult situation but my whole desire and object was to prevent direct action or to limit it to some kind of a formal expression and not in large numbers. I did not succeed but I think it is true and I have seen evidence to that effect that the Congress's coming in for this either formal or token so-called *satyagraha* – because remember it consisted of six persons in one day going and offering themselves to be arrested, not crowds, there were crowds but I am talking about the Congress – did help in maintaining a relatively peaceful atmosphere on those occasions. I am not saying that the whole thing was peaceful everywhere. But this particular thing was peaceful although I was afraid that later on it may cease to be that because the atmosphere was so thick with mutual suspicion and hatred and all that. But they did help and that was the object, instead of the whole thing being completely uncontrolled and everybody behaving or misbehaving, which was a far greater danger, and so I agreed with great reluctance and for a temporary period, that they might have this six-men token thing because I thought that might bring some order there. Otherwise it would be an individual effort or everybody functioning. May be that was not a wise thing to do, may be it would have been better, as Dr. Kane said, to put one's foot down with authority. But we were entangled in a difficult situation and one had to deal with so as to keep some mental and psychological control over it. It was a very difficult situation. However, as I said, I do agree

247. This word occurring here and at a few places below is in italics in the original.

BAD VERSE

"Have you scared with something gross
Our founding Albatross?"

"Yes, the little Albatross,
He pitched upon our cross.
Was this needless subtlety
The price of liberty,
Squealing low and squealing high
On Constitutional propriety?"

"Have you scared with hems and haws
Our founding Albatross?"

"We'd have wrung his hawse,
For he piped Justinian's laws
And Aristotle's saws.

With Chagla and Vivian Bose
He'd trespass into our troves
And the boys swore they'd run berserk
Or mutinee on the deck..."

"Have you from your sacred cross
Scared the Albatross?"

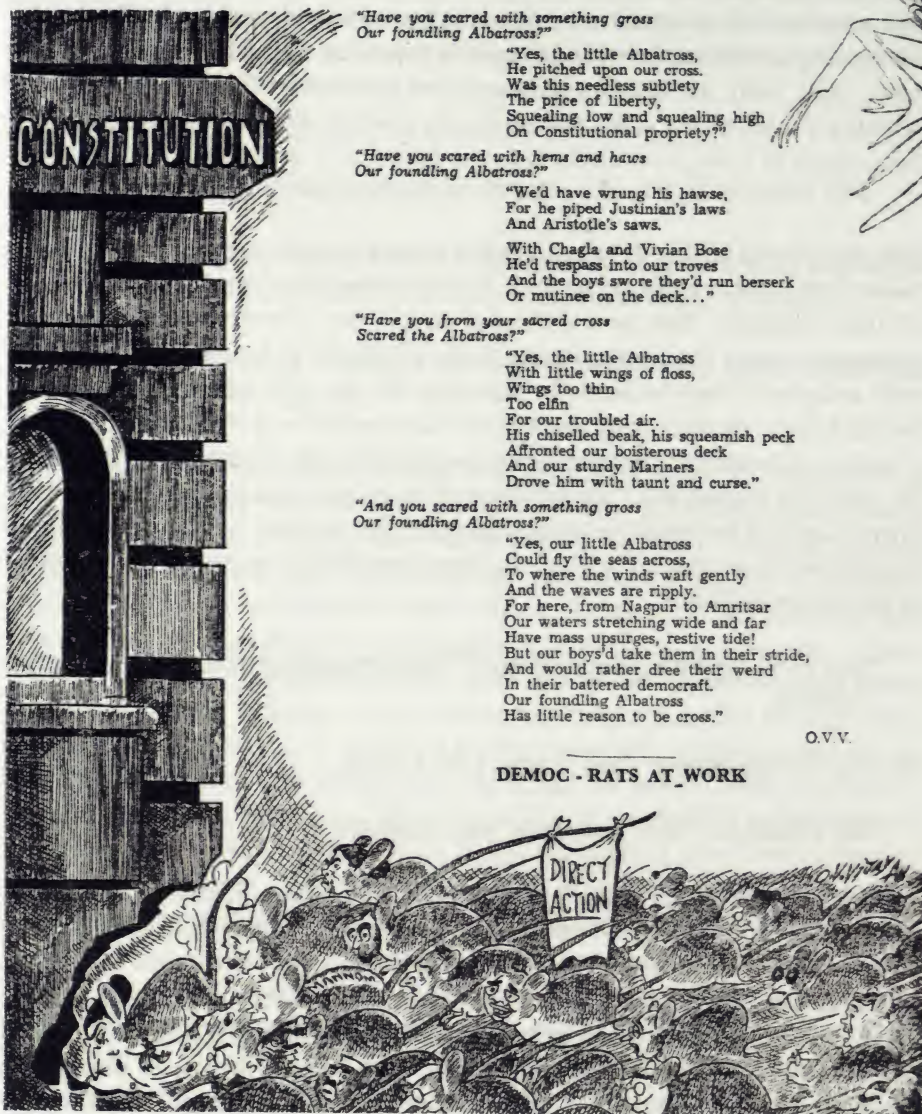
"Yes, the little Albatross
With little wings of floss,
Wings too thin
Too elfin
For our troubled air.
His chiselled beak, his squeamish peck
Affronted our boisterous deck
And our sturdy Mariners
Drove him with taunt and curse."

"And you scared with something gross
Our founding Albatross?"

"Yes, our little Albatross
Could fly the seas across,
To where the winds waft gently
And the waves are ripply.
For here, from Nagpur to Amritsar
Our waters stretching wide and far
Have mass upsurges, restive tide!
But our boys'd take them in their stride,
And would rather dree their weird
In their battered democraft.
Our founding Albatross
Has little reason to be cross."

O.V.V.

DEMOC - RATS AT WORK



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 AUGUST 1959)

with Dr. Kane that in the existing circumstances, it is basically wrong for these big so-called direct action movements to be started or carried on. The Leader of the Praja Socialist Party, in his speech yesterday defended *satyagraha* as a basic right. Well, Sir, that is a philosophical question really and I do not know whether it is worth my while to express any opinion about it but is a basic right.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: You supported in a practical way also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is just like the basic right of a people to rebel. It is a basic right to rebel and you can do it. If a man rebels, he faces the consequences of that rebellion. That is a different matter. Such basic rights everybody possesses, facing the consequences of the rebellion. If the rebellion succeeds, well and good. They become the heroes of the day. If it fails, then they suffer for the failure. In that sense whether it is *satyagraha* or civil disobedience, it is a basic right which anybody can exercise but if we go back and think in terms of, well, the person who started these ideas in our country, Gandhiji, I have grave doubts if he would have even accepted the name of *Satyagraha* for these various activities that often go under that name which are very nearly aligned to hatred and violence.

Shri N.R. Malkani (Nominated):²⁴⁸ The atmosphere was surcharged with violence.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what I am saying.

Mr. Chairman: He is endorsing your statement.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what I am venturing to say. That I can understand and although I do not myself envisage anything happening which might induce me to go in for civil disobedience or *satyagraha* myself yet I dislike the idea of giving up that right if I feel that way. But then, that would be rather an individual thing. There is a great difference between an individual doing it quietly, calmly and suffering for it and masses doing it which has nothing to do with *satyagraha* or anything like it. These are philosophical questions which we need not go into.

What are we considering in this Resolution? It is the President's Proclamation certainly but in effect it is not the Government of India that is in the dock. It is the Kerala Government in effect that you are judging and the speeches etc. have also brought that out necessarily. I should like to say, speaking for myself

248. Naraindas Rattanmal Malkani, Nominated, Rajya Sabha MP.

and I think also for my colleagues in the Government, that if what had happened in Kerala had happened in any other State where a Congress Government was functioning, I think I may well say that we would have taken that action sooner than we did here.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: You would have put all of us in jail. The Opposition Benches would have been empty.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have always welcomed the periods when I was in the prison. It does one good if one goes there in a proper frame of mind.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It gives us pain to be imprisoned under Jawaharlal Nehru. That is the trouble.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The difficulty that faces us is rather a basic one. It is how far a party like the Communist Party which is something more than a national Party – I am not using the word in any disrespectful or critical way but merely in an analytical way – and which therefore depends for its thinking and working not only on internal and national factors but on external and supranational factors, fits in or can function in a spirit of some measure of give and take and in co-operation with the other groups and parties in India under conditions existing in India. It is an interesting question. In that too my views are probably somewhat less rigid than perhaps some other people's, because in spite of the rigidity of the Communist Party and its creed, I think and history teaches us also that all this so-called rigidity becomes flexible by the force of events, by the course of events. Even rigid philosophies tone down, certainly in practice they tone down very much, even as rather aggressive crusading religions have toned down and have found a peaceful platform for living with other religions, other crusading creeds. So, I do not believe that anything is rigid for long in the changing world. And therefore I have always expected and hoped for a progressive reasonableness even in the rigid Communist approach. And I talk of Communists I am not discussing communism and I am not thinking so much of the economic aspect of it which one may accept or not accept. But rather I am thinking of what is called the technique of that Party, the technique of seizing power, which is something entirely different from the social or economic creed of communism for which so far as I am concerned, though I do not wholly agree with their interpretation, I have not any great hostility. But I feel that changing conditions in the world, the tremendous advance of technology and the arts of production etc. have rather falsified what used to be prophecies which were made 50, 60, 70 or 80 years ago and we have to

take these into consideration. But that is a matter one can discuss and one can accept with regard to a particular country's state of affairs. But what we come up is not the Communist economic creed which you may or may not approve of, but rather the technique of action which has been associated with the Communist Party, the technique of action which was laid down when there was no so-called democracy anywhere in the world and there was no way out except perhaps through that technique of action. I don't know. But now that has been so firmly impressed on the mind of the adherents of the Communist Party that even when conditions may completely differ, though the world might have changed and conditions in another country may be wholly different, yet they cannot get out of that steel frame of thinking and action. It is that which creates trouble, not the economic theory. It is this that creates trouble, these ways of seizing power, of encouraging conflicts, more and more conflicts and out of the conflict hoping that something will emerge. Whether it is class conflict or something else, the world is full of conflicts now; all kinds of conflicts. And when there is an increase of class conflicts it becomes a question of exterminating this class and that class. But there are ways of removing class conflicts and even classes. In fact, it is an odd thing today that even the highly capitalist countries in the world talk today in terms of a classless State.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: That only shows the superiority of our ideas.

Mr. Chairman: Sit down, Mr. Gupta, you will have your chance.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is to some extent right, and because he is to some extent right, when he is wrong, that stands out much more. Today the world is dominated not by communism, nor by capitalism, but it is dominated by modern technology, by the tremendous machines. They dominate the Soviet Union, they dominate America and this brings them nearer to each other, quite apart from any philosophies or theories of either capitalism or communism. I do not think there is anything now of communism or capitalism and we seem to live in our minds in a world that has vanished. But our friends of the Communist Party more especially, inspired often by high ideals, get caught up in this narrow framework of thinking and somehow try to think in terms of action, comparing them to something that happened in a distant country and under altogether different conditions and in a different decade. But it seems reasonable and quite seemingly intelligent people get lost in this maze of controversy and living in a state of super-excitement all the time, naturally, they tend to go wrong. They not only go wrong but because not being exactly of the soil of India completely, because of ideological and mental contexts and

other things, they cannot easily be put right. That is the difficulty.

All this created a curious problem in Kerala and I have no doubt that the Kerala Government realised the difficulties of their situation from their point of view, that is to say, they had to function under a certain Constitution, parts of which they did not like. Remember, if I may say so, that for years after we became independent, several years after, the Communist Party of India went on saying that India is not independent. It shows what I call the steel-frame of thinking. Facts do not make any difference to the steel-frame, because they had learnt to associate independence in a certain context and normally they call it "liberation" and liberation counts.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: That you see in Kerala.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Therefore, for years and years, they did not recognise, they did not honestly recognise that India was independent. They did not participate in our Independence Day. They said, 'It is all false. We are not independent, we are still in some kind of a secret colonial status under the British.' I am pointing this out, not to criticise our friends of the Communist Party but to try to understand the peculiar working of their minds. So we have got to do it.

Well, when this Kerala Government came into power there, they had not an easy situation to face from their point of view, because they could not well go out of the Constitution. They knew that it would lead to trouble. On the other hand, their own conditioning was to do things in a different way and they could not exactly fit into the Constitution either. They might fit in and they did try to fit in and they did largely fit in, in the external and broad things. There was no open, deliberate proclamation of violation of the Constitution. But their whole conditioning made them function in a different way. It is sometimes a little difficult for them to realise that they function in a different way, although it may appear to others so obvious.

The very first thing they said was, I think and I hope I am right in saying, that they liberated Kerala. I am not quite sure, but I think I saw it.

Dr. R.B. Gour²⁴⁹ (Andhra Pradesh): No, no. Never, never.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I accept it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: That is the Chacko version of it.

249. Raj Bahadur Gour, CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I accept what you say.

Mr Chairman: All right, all right.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: We accept things from Congress leaders. So why not accept this from us?

Dr. R.B. Gour: Years ago you said, Sir, "there is a theory against it, there is no evidence against it," and that is what he is doing to us now.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They called it the first people's government. That I think I can say with some assurance. Now, it does not make much difference what they called it. I am really trying to understand the working of their minds and that working of their minds has naturally resulted in the conditioning of their actions.

They, the Communist Party, their supporters and adherents were the people and the others were something slightly less. It is like a story that everybody should be equal but some are more equal than others.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: That is the belief under the Congress regime. They have said 'more equals' are there.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Things were happening there from the beginning almost. There was the question of the release of prisoners.²⁵⁰ Now, release of prisoners may be understood in various ways. Much has been said about the Andhra release of prisoners. May I say – and I hope my colleague sitting here will not mind my saying this – that when the release took place, we took the strongest exception to it. The then Chief Minister of Andhra overnight and I believe

250. On 24 August, B.N. Datar had charged the Communists with having started, soon after forming government in Kerala, "on a course of wild and indiscriminate remissions and withdrawals and naturally releases also;" the released included a man who had been condemned to death and his mercy petition rejected by the President. M.N. Govindan Nair asked during the discussion: "Is it only our Government that has released political prisoners? When the Andhra State was formed they released not only political prisoners ..." In the midst of interruptions R.B. Gour added: "Yes, yes; Andhra flung open the gates of the prison." *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1550-1552 and 1595-1596.

without even consulting his colleagues and his Government, issued the order for large-scale release. The action had been taken and nothing could be done after that but we took strong exception to it and we pointed out this fact. It is not that we are against release but the point is about the release of everybody regardless of the acts for which they were punished. Even there, so far as I remember, there were only a few bad cases in the sense of serious crimes and I doubt whether there was any case quite so bad as some of the people who were released in this case, talking from the criminal point of view. However, there it was and other things gradually followed step by step. Mind you, some of these people who were released – I am talking about Kerala – were actually found to be creating trouble later on, mixed up with violence and all that. In spite of all this, I do say this, that the Kerala Government wanted to remain within the Constitution because they did not want to get into trouble because of that, but by their very conditioning, by their training, and by the pressures exercised on the poor Government by others – a government has always a watch dog next to it, may be a comrade – they were led into doing things which were not individual errors, as I might do or any of us might do, but rather an organised way of working on party lines, which created progressively this feeling of insecurity and injustice. Now, there is a great deal of difference between an individual Minister not keeping up to the mark or showing partiality or, if you like, nepotism – it is bad, it is an individual error which you can try to correct or punish – and a whole party doing it, a Government doing it. Then it is on a different level. That is how even in communal troubles things become very bad when a whole community, in a Hindu-Muslim riot or something like that, behaves badly. Each member of the community thinks that he is protecting the rights of his community. That man will commit every kind of crime thinking not of himself but for the community. He will say, ‘I am doing it for my community’. That is how we sink, that is how it makes a great deal of difference. When an individual misbehaves he is ashamed and he tries to hide it. He may be caught but when it becomes almost a policy then no individual has any shame. He may or may not participate but he is certainly there and it is there that the new thing comes into the picture. I am not going into the various incidents. Many were mentioned here and many more are in our files and other publications. All this resulted in this tremendous fear. That spread to large numbers of people in Kerala which brought together in the course of this agitation all manner of people who had little in common. Hon. Members are right in pointing out that this was an odd assortment. The Revolutionary Socialist Party, the P.S.P. ...

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The Muslim League.

REALISATION IN KERALA



Preliminary talks are going on to forge an electoral alliance between the P.S.P. and the Congress.

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 19 AUGUST 1959)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ...the Muslim League and others. They came together. It is an odd assortment and the point worth considering is that this odd assortment was functioning together, the Congress, the P.S.P. and the others. As is well-known, whether rightly or wrongly I do not say, the Congress as an organisation was pulled into this movement. It was dragged into it. It took no lead in it. The Congressmen certainly got entangled but the Congress was absolutely dragged by force of events. It was trying to keep out as far as possible but it could not because all over the State such strong feelings had arisen. There was this kind of two polarization [sic] on the one side the Government, the Communist Party and their supporters and, on the other, the rest. It was an extraordinary state of affairs.

The basic question that arises and which requires consideration for the future is how far there is a possibility of working on what I consider democratic lines in this country, not superficially democratic but really democratic, and I am prepared to admit that our own activities – I mean the Congress Governments in the States or, if you like, in the Centre even have erred – have not been fully upto the mark because my conception of democracy means not merely the victory of the majority party – that is part of it no doubt – but the majority always taking into consideration what the minority feels and the minority always thinking that there is the majority. That is to say, an element of mutual consideration. Naturally, in the final analysis when there is a conflict, the huge majority view is likely to prevail but it is a very foolish majority that tries to impose its views on the minority.

Dr. R.B. Gour: Why not give this advice to the Congress?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It ought to try. Except in the most serious matters, it ought to try to win as much of the minority to its opinion as possible, to find common ground and to reduce differences of opinion. Differences will remain. Let them remain but the mere fact of trying to reduce those differences does create an atmosphere of co-operation and of recognising that each group or each individual even has a place in the democratic system and that it is not merely a question of a steam-roller majority going through regardless of other opinions. We cannot define these things. These are broad approaches, mental and other, psychological approaches which I should like developed in India. They do not necessarily solve every problem. There are differences on basic economic matters, on basic, if you like, social matters. Well, one has to face them and decide one way or the other but even in facing those differences, the approach in a democratic structure would be to minimise them as far as possible. The whole structure of our Government is like that. You have got select

committees for Bills which aim that way. Now, if a majority has its place, as it has undoubtedly, the minority also has a place and where the two are isolated and live in different worlds then it is rather difficult for the democratic structure to function adequately as one would like it. It is very easy of course to lay down these theoretical propositions but not easy to act up to them; I realise that, but that difficulty which faces majorities and minorities everywhere becomes a bigger difficulty naturally in dealing with the Communist Party, whether it is in a majority or a minority. Because, as I said, their way of thinking has been conditioned in a somewhat different manner. I do not think that that conditioning need be permanent; it may change as things are changing. Things change much more rapidly in countries that have to face realities. In the Soviet Union itself, the mother or the father Communist country, call it what you like, things change because they face realities. You may like it or not, it is a different matter, but they do change but often in other countries where Communist parties function without that touch with reality and a sense of responsibility they become much more rigid.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: But we also face realities, asking supplementaries, moving Bills, adjournment motions and so on!

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So there is this question. We talk about co-existence, co-existence in the international field, co-existence in the national field. Co-existence in the final analysis is a state of mind which tolerates differences, tries to accommodate each other and all that. There is no hope for India; I think – I am not talking in terms of politics or political policies – broadly speaking there is no hope for India excepting in terms of co-existence, different provinces, different groups, different languages, different habits and all that. But that co-existence has been existing in India and there has been that philosophical approach to co-existence in India for long ages past in spite of India being split up into many States, many kingdoms and all that. It is that, a certain approach to co-existence and toleration, that has carried us through. Now, in the modern world by and large religious conflict does not take place except when people get excited over some very trivial matter. Not a religious issue but a tiny thing occurs. A story will go round that somebody has been converted into some other religion and a huge crowd will gather in the Delhi bazaars. It is extraordinary. A story will go round that a boy and a girl have eloped and there will be tremendous excitement all over Delhi. It seems to me amazing; it seems to me a sign of backwardness, this kind of thing happening in the country. Let the police deal with it. It is a police matter. Why should a crowd collect for such a thing? By and large religions live at peace with each other. Surely, if religions

live at peace with each other, political and economic groups should also live at peace with each other. They can argue, try and convince and all that but they should live at peace; they should not be warring teams all the time, more especially when we function in a democratic manner when there are opportunities for the general public to express its wishes in the elections from time to time.

There is now a big question before me – what is the future? I may differ – as I do – very much from political parties in India. In some matters I differ less from the Communist Party than I differ from other political parties in India. I am frank about it. I am talking about the economic theory. I may be nearer to their economic theory, although I do not accept it in its entirety, than the economic theories of some political parties in India. I think apart from economic or political theory, the approach that is normally called the communal approach is more harmful to this country than almost anything else. This is a narrow, separatist, backward-looking and quarrelsome approach, intolerant approach. Nevertheless all these groups and parties are functioning within the Indian framework and one deals with them. One may struggle with them; one may fight with them if you like but they are being conditioned by things in India. Sometimes they are conditioned too much by what happened a thousand years ago. We cannot get out of it; still we have to. Now the problem of the Communist Party is that although it is functioning in the present day its conditioning sometimes prevents it and often it isolates it from the rest of Indian humanity and I say it isolates them from the basic thing that I would call India. I myself am no true representative of India; I realise that and I always try to understand it, try to accept it, try to imbibe it. To some extent I succeed but the Communist Party does not try to do that because it is already tied up in a different complex and ideas and I put it to you this way. If the great majority of people in India for some reason or other became Communists in the sense of thinking in that way – that may be good or bad, I do not know – but I am quite convinced that it would not be India; then it would be something else. And I do not want that to happen even though I want India to imbibe modern scientific techniques, scientific theories, economic theories, economic organisations. I accept all that, to the extent that it is good for India. It is for us to choose. I do not rule out anything but I do rule out being uprooted from India and may be made into some kind of a hot-house plant which may look in the hot-house beautiful to look at but has no roots anywhere in the country. I am sorry; perhaps I am drifting away beyond the scope of this Resolution.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I suggest that the Prime Minister can develop it; we can set apart a day for discussion on Communist philosophy.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Therefore the real point is that the Communist Party

had a chance in Kerala and according to my thinking they failed in that chance. And it is not my judgment that comes into the picture but the judgment fundamentally of a very large number of people in Kerala.

Now, Sir, when I went to Kerala and I saw the situation, I had not the least idea till then, I had no conception, that there was a question of Presidential Proclamation or elections or anything. During the last two years I had never thought of that. I thought in the normal course of events the State Government would last, like other Governments, for the full term of five years or four years, whatever it is. I went there; of course, to some extent my mind had been conditioned by what I had read in the last year or two. Still it had not led me to this conclusion. But still when I went there on the third day of my visit it seemed to me that the only way somehow to direct Kerala in more peaceful channels where possibly an element of reasonableness might return would be first of all to get a disengagement from this terrible tussle that was going on. It was quite impossible for each to meet or argue and sometimes on both sides a language was used which terrified me; terrified in the sense that it was a language of concentrated hatred, of extermination of the other party. I said, what is this kind of thing? How can we get out of it? So I felt that perhaps the only way was to have an election. Have a period, whatever it might be, three months or four months. If an election was decided upon then all this business would probably subside, not entirely, but still there would be an immediate disengagement. They use this word in Europe now – disengagement between the two blocs. And then by the time elections came other things will happen. Anyhow there will be an immediate disengagement and disentanglement and I suggested it to the Kerala Government. And mind you, there was no question in my mind of Presidential proclamation. I suggested it for them to take the lead, to agree to it and make this proposal which would have been completely in order and which I think would have been, well, more advantageous to them. However, they did not. Ever since that time I could not get out of this idea of election from my head because I saw no other way. It is all very well for me to go to condemn the Communist Government or the Opposition. I might have done that more or less, or not. But the point was I just could not see any other way of getting out of this terrible tangle. And so I suggested that and I had suggested it later too here. Finally it came to this, at any rate I felt convinced that others were also convinced, that this was the only way. Now, obviously I am not going to, and I do not wish to put words into the mouth of anybody, but it was my belief that even the Communist Party leaders, circumstanced as they were, were driven to the conclusion that there should be this kind of intervention – not that they liked it ...

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Never.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am merely saying my own view, not that they liked it. They were in a difficult situation. I can very well understand it. However, there it is. So, in so far as this Resolution is concerned, the Resolution itself is quite simple and I cannot understand how anyone can really oppose it. Circumstances were such that it had become inevitable. Legally, constitutionally, it is a perfectly straightforward one and within the terms of the Constitution. In fact, it is the Constitution functioning.

Going into past history, we find that a very basic issue arose in Kerala, that is, the functioning of a Communist State Government in this democratic structure and that issue has not been solved yet. It failed of solution and I do not, and I am not prepared to deny that to some extent the fault may have lain with others. For instance, I think the Opposition in Kerala was very non-cooperative right from the very beginning. Whether any other attitude would have been helpful to them or not, I do not know. But I do believe that in an Assembly, the majority-minority, Opposition-Government, even though they oppose each other stoutly, the opposition is based on a measure of co-operation. That is the basic structure of the Government. And I do not think the Opposition in Kerala had this outlook at all. But the basic fact is that the Communist Government in Kerala found it very difficult to fit in with this democratic apparatus – mentally they may have tried to do it – and therefore they were constantly coming into difficulties. My colleague here, the Home Minister, has got piles and piles of letters in his office on what happened there, of little things which seemed to us wrong. He wrote in a friendly way: This might not be so. We get letters from all kinds of States about many mistakes and many things and we try to advise them. But here is something happening in Kerala which is outside the ordinary. That is the main point, and possibly happening not accidentally but deliberately because of the very conditioning of their approach. We were worried by this and at the same time we were very anxious not to interfere. In many matters we have interfered privately, sometimes even publicly, much more with Congress Governments than we did with Kerala, because we know that – they may like or dislike our interference – they will not suspect us of *mala fides*²⁵¹ in this matter. Here we were always thinking that we belong to a different Party and they might think or we might unconsciously act in a way which is not considered quite fair and impartial. So, really we checked ourselves all the time. Some hon. Members talked about it that this action ought to have been taken a year ago. Well, I do not know, I do not think so. I do not think that

251. Italics in the original.

we were at all wrong in avoiding such action as long as we could avoid it.

Mr. Shiva Rao, I believe, suggested that the Governor should be given much more powers, amend our Constitution. I do not personally agree with him. I do not think that we should change our Constitution, vary and amend it, in order to meet a particular situation, which might perhaps come in our way. I do not think that is the right way of dealing with a democratic Constitution. Anyhow, this Kerala business has been a lesson for all of us, from many points of view, and these debates have been good for us and good for the people, because they have brought out, I hope, the essential features of our democratic system, which I hope we shall preserve, and if that democratic system is undermined in some way, then we should check and stop that undermining. Otherwise, we shall neither have democracy nor anything better than that or worse than that. Therefore, I submit that this Resolution should, of course, be accepted. But behind that acceptance should be the acceptance of our maintaining our democratic system basically and with that also this idea that this democratic system has to be based on a spirit of mutual accommodation between majority-minority, Government-Opposition, and trying to find, as far as is possible, agreed ways of working, and where we do not agree, well, we part company, but we part company after discussion and full consideration of every aspect of the question.

Thank you, Sir.

61. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Alleged Mis-statements by Nehru²⁵²

28th August, 1959

My dear Krishna Iyer,²⁵³

I have your letter of 23rd August.²⁵⁴

I am sorry if anything that I have said in Parliament or elsewhere should have created any misunderstanding as to what happened. It is, of course, difficult to remember exactly or to repeat an impression gathered previously. In the course of a debate, things come out in bits and not as a connected whole. My recollection is that you did tell me that the 'Mannam' crowds were

252. Letter.

253. Law Minister in the Namboodiripad government; identified in the letter as "Advocate, Ernakulam."

254. Not available in JN Collection.

very big.²⁵⁵ It is perfectly true that you said that the Catholic Church was organising this campaign. The fact of the Catholic Church being, according to you and others, the principal organiser was, I think, stated perhaps in a slightly different context. Anyhow, I am sorry that this should have created an impression in your mind that I did not give a fair account of what you had said to me.

I do not think I have said anywhere that the Kerala Government had asked for an intervention. In fact, when such a statement appeared, I denied it. What I said was that I had gathered the strong impression that the leaders of the Communist Party, in the situation that had arisen, considered Central intervention as almost inevitable.

Again, I do not remember saying that the Communist Party and the Muslim League had formed any alliance. What I think I probably said was that several parties were seeking after the votes of the Muslim League people at various previous stages, or something like it.²⁵⁶

I think it is very improper for anyone to threaten officers with transfers and punishments. It is still more improper for a person who has gone to prison on account of direct action to make this a special qualification for preferment of Government jobs. I am sure that the present administration of Kerala will not encourage any such misuse or anyone who seeks to profit in this way. This will be made clear to them.

You have not sent me with your letter the enclosure promised about a write-up.

I do not think that the elections, which we hope to have as early as possible, will not be fair and impartial. We shall certainly make every effort to that end.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

255. In his speech in the Lok Sabha on 19 August 1959, Nehru had alluded to a remark to this effect by a Minister of the Kerala Government; he presumably had V.R. Krishna Iyer in mind; see item 59, here p. 251. "Mannam" refers to Mannath Padmanabhan.

256. At a press conference in New Delhi on 7 July 1959, Nehru had talked about the CPI in Kerala being interested in getting the cooperation of the Muslim League; see SWJN/SS/50/item 3, here p. 30. On 4 August 1959, addressing the CPP, he had referred to the Communists having "flirted" with the Muslim League in Kerala for "so long;" see item 13, here p. 174.

62. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Officers Being Persecuted²⁵⁷

28th August, 1959

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I enclose a letter I have received from V.R. Krishna Iyer and a copy of my reply to him.²⁵⁸

I think it is very improper for any person in Kerala, Congress or other, to threaten officers because how they functioned previously. It is still more improper for people to ask for posts and jobs because they participated in the agitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Madhya Pradesh

63. To K.N. Katju: Renaming Bhilai²⁵⁹

August 4, 1959.

My dear Kailas Nath,²⁶⁰

Your letter of August 2 about Bhilai. I was not aware of the fact that some Member of the Lok Sabha had sent a resolution about re-naming Bhilai. I think that it would not be appropriate to name it after Maulana Sahib.²⁶¹ Indeed, I am quite clear in my mind that the name of Bhilai should not be changed at all. I dislike names of persons being brought into the picture like this. Bhilai has got known all over the world as Bhilai and it should remain so.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

257. Letter.

258. See item 61.

259. Letter. File No. 17 (37)/57-66-PMS.

260. Kailas Nath Katju, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

261. Maulana Sahib is Abul Kalam Azad, who died on 22 February 1958.

64. To Rajendra Prasad: Chambal Valley Ravines²⁶²

August 20, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for sending me copies of your letters addressed to Jagjivan Ramji²⁶³ and Ajit Prasad Jain.²⁶⁴ I entirely agree with you on our not spending money on merely putting up big railway stations.

As for the ravines in the Chambal Valley, I am not quite sure to which part of this Valley you are referring. But, broadly, the question of these ravines in Madhya Pradesh has been very much before us chiefly because of the dacoit menace and partly because of our desire to utilise the land for cultivation. Our engineers surveyed it and drew up schemes which, taken as a whole, were on a big scale and very expensive. I suggested then that a beginning should be made anyhow in a small way, and I believe this was done then. I shall enquire further into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

262. Letter.

263. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Jagjivan Ram, the Railway Minister, on 20 August that he considered the expansion of railways more urgent than the remodelling of stations. The Railways proposed to remodel the Madras railway station at a cost of Rs 1 crore. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. 19 (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), pp. 140-141.

264. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Jain that he had noticed during his journeys by train and plane that large tracts of land in the Chambal Valley had been eroded and become big ravines, and were serving as hide-outs for dacoits; and suggested that a regular plan be framed for reclaiming these lands for agriculture and rehabilitation of dacoits. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*, Vol. 19, p. 141.

65. To K.N. Katju: Reclamation of Ravines²⁶⁵

August 20, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

You will remember that there were big schemes for reclaiming the ravines in some parts of Madhya Pradesh. These afforded refuge to dacoits. It was decided, I think, to go ahead with this programme gradually. Could you kindly let me know what is being done?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) Mysore

66. To B.D. Jatti: Congress Party Squabbles in Mysore²⁶⁶

26th August 1959

My dear Jatti,²⁶⁷

I had a talk with Nijalingappa²⁶⁸ today. He came to see me about the Congress Session.²⁶⁹ After we had discussed this matter, I told him that various reports had come to me about inner party troubles in Mysore and I had been distressed by them. What had distressed me even more was the story that to some extent Nijalingappa himself was concerned in this matter.

He told me that when you had formed the Ministry²⁷⁰ he had given you his assurance of full cooperation. He had endeavoured to do so and in fact restrained other people who wanted to create some trouble. But he had to confess that several things had happened which had been a matter of concern to him. He had wanted to discuss these with you but he had a feeling that you wished to avoid discussing matters with him.

He said that people were appointed to committees from particular groups and not from the point of view of fitness. There were also some stories of

265. Letter.

266. Letter.

267. The Chief Minister of Mysore.

268. S. Nijalingappa was the Chief Minister of Mysore from November 1956 to May 1958.

269. The 65th Session of the Indian National Congress, held in Bangalore in January 1960.

270. On 16 May 1958.

corruption which had not been attended to. He said that his grievance was not against you directly but rather against some people who thrust their advice on you and who were encouraged by you.

I told him that even if some of his complaints were justified, it would still be very improper for any one to do anything which disrupted the party. Mysore had a very bad reputation about party squabbles and some one or other dissatisfied person trying to create friction. It is impossible to satisfy everybody but we must have a measure of discipline and restraint. If there are any important charges, they should be enquired into. I told Nijalingappa that he should have a talk with you. He again repeated that he would like to help you fully.

He mentioned also that there was not full cooperation about the Congress Session. He did not complain of you in this connection but rather of some others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) North East

67. To B.P. Chaliha: Official Architecture in Tribal Areas²⁷¹

August 1, 1959

My dear Chaliha,²⁷²

I was just now having a talk with Verrier Elwin, our Adviser in regard to tribal matters. He has been put in some committee concerning Community Development work in tribal areas and had come here in that connection.

In the course of his talk he mentioned to me something which he had talked about even previously. This is that the style of buildings that our PWD organisation put up in the tribal areas is usually wholly inappropriate.²⁷³ Naturally, the PWD follow their own standards which have been laid down in their books. But a style which may be quite appropriate for one place may not suit another place at all. This applies to school buildings, dispensaries, residential houses, etc.

271. Letter.

272. The Chief Minister of Assam.

273. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 409-410 for Nehru's meeting with Verrier Elwin on 30 December 1957 at Shillong when this matter was discussed.

I am not referring to the architectural beauty of a building, although that is worth remembering, but rather to the fact that a building has to fit in with the surroundings and with the purpose in view. If a school or dispensary is built in a tribal village in a manner which is completely different from the village style, this is a foreign element which sticks out from the rest of the village. The tribal people have not a sense of the school belonging to them but of something being imposed upon them. That applies to residential buildings too. If we have to make the tribal people at home with our officers, then our officers should not live in a building which is completely out of keeping with the surroundings.

I do not mean to say that our officers and schools should be accommodated in tribal huts. Of course not. What I mean is that the general exterior approach should fit in with the surroundings. In some of our Buddhist areas in the frontier, we have done that and this is being greatly appreciated by the people there. Generally, this is not more expensive and sometimes it may even be cheaper.

Quite apart from tribal areas, I have been of opinion that the type of buildings that the PWD often put up for schools, etc., in our villages are unsuitable. The old types and standards do not apply now and are much too expensive. I think all our PWD designs and standards require revision in regard to these buildings. But in so far as the tribal areas are concerned, this is particularly necessary.

I have conveyed to you what Verrier Elwin told me as I agreed with him in this matter.

You know that Verrier Elwin is our Tribal Adviser on NEFA, Naga Hills, etc. He is a man of vast knowledge about tribal affairs all over India and he approaches these people with great sympathy. Since he lives mostly at Shillong as his headquarters, I do not see why the Assam Government should not profit by his experience. You can consult him about tribal problems that may arise in your hill districts or elsewhere and ask for his advice occasionally. This does not put any burden of expenditure on you. If you agree, all you have to do is to write to your Governor²⁷⁴ and tell him so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

274. Saiyid Fazl Ali.

68. Law and Order in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area²⁷⁵

As this is an unstarred question, the answer should be given directly and not in the form of a statement to be laid on the Table of the House.²⁷⁶ The answer should be as follows :-

(a) There has been a steady improvement in the law and order situation in the Naga Hills-Tuensang area. A very large number of surrenders of underground hostiles has taken place. Many of them have surrendered with arms, during recent months. The Village Guards have played a commendable part in dealing with hostiles.

Committees of Nagas are considering drafts for a political settlement. It is proposed to place these drafts before a Naga Peoples Convention which is likely to be held in August.

(b) There were three raids and eight skirmishes and ambushes by the Naga hostiles during the period from May to July 1959.

(c) As a result of these raids and skirmishes, fourteen persons belonging to our Security Forces were killed and eleven rifles, one D.B.B.L. gun, some ammunition, one vehicle, some livestock and Rs. 500/- in cash as well as some personal belongings of our men were lost. The casualties suffered by the hostiles were very much heavier.

(d) Help is given in the form of relief rice, monetary assistance, building materials and award of stipends for the education of children.²⁷⁷

275. Note, 3 August 1959.

276. The question asked by D.C. Sharma, Congress MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab, and four other Congress MPs in the Lok Sabha was:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the present law and order position in the Naga Hills Tuensang Unit;
- (b) the number of raids made by the Naga hostiles since the 1st May, 1959;
- (c) the extent of loss in life and property suffered; and
- (d) the nature of help given to affected people for rehabilitation?

277. The above answer was given on 6 August 1959. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 899-900.

(vi) Punjab

69. To Partap Singh Kairon: Case against the Commissioner, Patiala Division²⁷⁸

August 3, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,²⁷⁹

A few days ago, I received a copy of a communication from R.P. Kapur,²⁸⁰ till recently Commissioner of the Ambala Division,²⁸¹ which he had addressed to the Home Ministry. With this representation there were many other papers annexed.

Normally, I am not interested in such matters, and I do not know what the Home Ministry will do about it, I have not asked them. Also I do not see why I should interfere in any way with internal matters affecting an officer of the Punjab Government. In any event, I would hesitate to write to you on this subject. But I read some of these papers for two reasons. One was that apparently this case has attracted a good deal of publicity in the Punjab. Secondly, I did not see where the Chief Minister came into the picture. If there is any kind of a case against an officer that is usually dealt with by the law courts in the normal way. Government, and more especially, the Chief Minister, keeps out of it. If the case is apparently a bad one, departmental action may be initiated after a reference to the law officers of the Government. It may have to go up to the Public Service Commission also. But any direct action by a Minister is, I believe, very unusual. The idea is that the Minister and more especially the Chief Minister are superior impartial authorities who should not get entangled in such matters. If they get entangled, then, to some extent, they lose their impartial position. This applies more particularly to cases in law courts.

I do not know anything about R.P. Kapur, and I can well imagine that he is an unsatisfactory officer. Even so, he rose to be one of the senior-most officers

278. Letter.

279. The Chief Minister of Punjab.

280. ICS officer; served in Punjab as Transport Secretary, Home Secretary, Commissioner of Ambala Division, and Commissioner of Patiala Division; twice suspended from service: first in 1955 during the chief ministership of Bhimsen Sachar but exonerated after a departmental enquiry; the second time in July 1959.

281. R.P. Kapur, Commissioner of Patiala Division, was arrested in Patiala on 18 July 1959 on charges of fictitious sale of land in Delhi, had a case registered against him under section 420 of the Cr.P.C. and was suspended from service; was later bailed out on furnishing sureties.

in your Government, If, in the course of his work in Government, he acted improperly, the right course is for departmental proceedings to be initiated. I cannot understand how some petty dispute about the sale of land could affect Government, whatever the rights and wrongs may be. That is for the courts to decide. We have rather complicated rules about dealings with Servicemen, and ultimately the Public Service Commission deals with such matters, apart from cases in courts of law. Court cases are something apart which should be left to the courts. The two should not normally be mixed. If, as a result of a court case, some action is indicated, the normal departmental procedures should be gone through.

I think that some of our Service rules are very cumbersome and take a long time. Nevertheless, the object is to give a sense of security which is good, in so far as it goes. For a Service to lose this sense of security would be bad, because that affects their work.

I am, however, not so much concerned about Kapur as the reaction of all this on your Government and more especially on you. I just do not understand why the Chief Minister should get entangled in this way over some civil suit, and why rather unusual steps should be taken involving the police being put in charge and arresting the man as well as his mother.²⁸² The whole case seems to me of a trivial and civil nature. It is not really even a criminal case. If the person is found guilty by a court, well and good; he suffers for it. But for the Government to function directly and the police to throw their weight about does seem very odd. Whatever the result of the case might be, the person suffers irretrievably. At the same time, the Government's reputation goes down.

I hope you will forgive me writing to you on this subject. I am doing so really because I am concerned at the way small matters become big in the Punjab and affect the reputation of Government.²⁸³ If any such case had come to my notice, my immediate reaction would have been to say that it is entirely for the civil court to decide and I would not have interfered. Secondly, if I thought it raised rather important moral or like issues, I would have asked for legal opinion and then, if I thought it necessary, I would have initiated departmental proceedings. In any event, I would have kept completely apart from it and not allowed myself to be entangled in any way.

282. In fact, Mrs Kaushalya Rani, the mother-in-law of R.P. Kapur, was arrested in Patiala on 20 July under Section 420 of the I.P.C. She was released on bail later the same day.

283. On 20 July 1959, R.P. Kapur filed a contempt of court case against Kairon. He accused Kairon of obstruction in the Karnal murder case. See *The Tribune*, 21 July 1959, SWJN/SS/39/p. 394 and SWJN/SS/40/p. 324.

What I have said above has really not much to do with the merits of the case. I am obviously not in a position to judge the merits. But I have seen what is called the First Information Report, and it has not impressed me at all. Here was entirely a civil matter. How could it be made a criminal one? Even as a civil matter, it was not very impressive. To some extent, my first reaction would have been against the complainant for making such an unconvincing report. Anyhow, all this would have been for the courts to determine, not for me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

70. To Partap Singh Kairon: Agitation against the Governor²⁸⁴

7th August, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have received a letter from Dr V.K. Satyawadi²⁸⁵ in Urdu with a translation in English attached.²⁸⁶ I am sending you this English translation.

I do not know what truth there is in the statement that there is an agitation among Congress people against your Governor. If so, this is not at all right. It helps nobody and only creates difficulties as well as bad precedents. I hope you will discourage it.²⁸⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

284. Letter.

285. Virendra Kumar Satyawadi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Karnal-SC, Punjab, 1952-57.

286. Satyawadi's letter in Urdu as well as its English translation have not been traced.

287. Nehru also wrote to Satyawadi the same day; see item 71.

71. To V.K. Satyawadi²⁸⁸

نئی دہلی

7 اگست 1959ء

ڈاکٹر ستیہ وادی جی۔

آپ کا 5 اگست کا خط ملا۔ یہ سنا کہ کوئی تحریک گورنر گیلڈگل صاحب کے خلاف کی جا رہی ہے
تعب ہے کہ کیونکہ میں نے اس کے بارے میں کچھ نہیں سنا تھا اور اس قسم کی بات نامناسب ہے۔ ان
کے خلاف یا ان کے حق میں اس معاملہ میں تحریک اٹھانا مناسب نہیں۔ گورنروں کو اس طرح کسی بحث
میں نہیں گھیننا چاہئے۔ وہ ان باتوں سے اوپر رہتے ہیں۔

آپ کا

جواہر لال نہرو

ڈاکٹر وادی کے ستیہ وادی۔

شاہ آباد۔ کراٹل۔

[Translation begins:

7 August 1959

Dr Satyawadiji,

Received your letter of 5th August. I am astonished to learn about the movement against Governor Gadgil, as I have not heard anything about it until now. It is most inappropriate to support or oppose him in this matter through a movement. Governors should not be dragged into such controversies, as they are above these matters.

Yours,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

72. To Partap Singh Kairon: Dhani Village Tenants' Petition²⁸⁹

9th August 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Thank you for your letter of July 17 in which you dealt with the petition from some tenants of village Dhani, District Sangrur.²⁹⁰ I have seen the Deputy Commissioner's report also.

It is, of course, quite right for the Deputy Commissioner to maintain law and order. Also it appears from the report that one of the conditions of the lease was that the lease-holder had the right to change the possession of the tenants. Apparently, this condition was included in the terms of the lease even under the management of the Court of Wards. It would appear, therefore, that in law he is right to evict tenants. It also appears that some political elements are taking advantage of this situation.

I would not have written to you again but for the fact that some of these evicted tenants came to see me again. They appeared to be in a state of great distress and, apart from the law, I could not help taking pity on them. Normally, as you know, we do not like the eviction of tenants. I wonder if it is possible, as a matter of grace, to give some alternative accommodation to those people who have been evicted or, at any rate, to those who have no such place to live in. I gather that a panchayat tried to do something but no amicable settlement was arrived at.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

73. To Amar Nath Vidyalankar: Language Goodwill Committee²⁹¹

August 17, 1959

My dear Amar Nathji,²⁹²

I have your letter of August 14th and the various papers which you have sent with it. I have gone through these papers. It seems to me that the approach

289. Letter.

290. See SWJN/SS/50/item 53.

291. Letter.

292. Minister for Education and Labour, Government of Punjab.

made by Bhai Jodh Singh and Shri Jai Chandra Vidyalankar was a reasonable and, in the circumstances, good one.²⁹³ But, as you know, this depends less on logic than on circumstances and agreement. I hope that there will be broad agreement on the proposals made.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. To Partap Singh Kairon: Delhi Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee²⁹⁴

August 27, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received today from Master Tara Singh.²⁹⁵ With this letter, he has sent me some other papers, such as copy of a letter from Sardar Gian Singh Vohra, President, D.G.P.C. to the Arbitrators over Delhi Gurdwara dispute, and also text of the Award given by Sardar Baldev Singh²⁹⁶ and Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.²⁹⁷ I am not sending you these enclosures.

I should like to have your advice as to how I should deal with this letter from Master Tara Singh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

293. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 1 August 1959, the Punjab Government had appointed a language goodwill committee in June 1958. Consisting of Jodh Singh and Jaichand Vidyalankar, it was to suggest a new language formula by 31 July. It was given two months' extension at the request of Vidyalankar. The extension, the newspaper reported, had put out the Hindi Samiti leaders who had postponed their proposed agitation for three months in May on the express understanding that the report would not be delayed.

294. Letter.

295. See Tara Singh to Nehru, 27 August 1959, Appendix 42.

296. A Sikh leader and a former Defence Minister; Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Hoshiarpur, Punjab, at this time.

297. Former President of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee.

75. To N.V. Gadgil: Giani Kartar Singh's Activities²⁹⁸

August 27, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Master Tara Singh.²⁹⁹ On past occasions, Master Tara Singh has managed to pull me into these Sikh disputes³⁰⁰ but, soon afterwards, he has gone his own way. I do not, therefore, feel at all inclined to be dragged in again.

But I must confess that I do not like much that Giani Kartar Singh³⁰¹ is doing now. I feel that especially a Minister should not do this kind of thing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) Rajasthan

76. In the Lok Sabha: Bhooswamis³⁰²

Harish Chandra Mathur:³⁰³ Will be Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 2994 on the 14th April, 1959³⁰⁴ and state:

(a) to what extent the Nehru award in respect of the Bhooswami Sangh³⁰⁵ will cost the State Government and whether any assistance will be given by the Centre; and

298. Letter.

299. See Tara Singh to Nehru, 27 August 1959, Appendix 42.

300. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 357-358; SWJN/SS/46/p. 338; SWJN/SS/47/pp. 216-224, 572-575, 581-582 and 601-603; SWJN/SS/48/pp. 299-302 and 304-311; and SWJN/SS/49/pp. 256-259 and 305.

301. Revenue and Agriculture Minister, Government of Punjab.

302. 20 Aug. 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 3227-3229.

303. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Pali, Rajasthan.

304. Nehru stated that he had given his award in the dispute between the Rajasthan Government and Bhooswami Sangh; that some contentions put forward by the Bhooswami Sangh had been partly agreed to; and that the parties had apparently accepted the award and action was being taken accordingly.

305. The Bhooswami Sangh, an association of small jagirdars, had been agitating after the abolition of the jagirdari system by the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, February 1952. See SWJN/SS/32/pp. 174-175, SWJN/33/pp. 283-290, SWJN/35/pp. 241-243 and SWJN/38/p. 247.

(b) how many Bhooswamis will be benefited and rehabilitated?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The award will cost approximately an additional expenditure of Rs. 5.3 crores. In order to avoid immediate increase in the financial burden on the Government, the relief recommended is payable in the form of additional annual instalments of the same size as their present instalments immediately after the payment of the existing instalments.

There is no proposal to give financial assistance to the State Government by the Centre in this connection.

(b) The award will benefit 2,16,747 jagirdars.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know if any steps have been taken to implement this award?

Mr. Speaker: Have any steps been taken to implement this award?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I presume so. What has been given has been accepted by the Government and I am sure they are taking steps to implement it. But I cannot say exactly what particular step they have taken.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know what circumstances were taken into account in giving this award and to what extent it meets the demands of the bhooswamis?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I received a number of complaints from; some organizations notably the Bhooswami Sangh as it is called. I consulted the Rajasthan Government and both parties agreed that the matter might be referred to some kind of arbitration. In a sense I made it clear – I cannot go into the details – that I would refer it to the Planning Commission; and then consider what the Planning Commission says. Both of them agreed to that – both parties meaning the parties concerned and the Rajasthan Government. Thereafter, two or three experts of the Planning Commission examined this very thoroughly, visited Jaipur several times and discussed with all manner of people and presented their report to me. I accepted that report and the parties accepted it too.

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know whether the Prime Minister would kindly lay copies of that award on the Table of the House?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If the hon. Member means the report of the Planning Commission advisers, yes. If the House so wishes, I shall lay that as well as

my note on it on the Table.

Shri Vajpayee:³⁰⁶ May I know if the hon. Prime Minister has received such representations against this award, particularly from the smaller Bhooswamis?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This award deals almost entirely with the smaller Bhooswamis and benefits them; I have received no objection from them.

Harish Chandra Mathur: Is it a fact that after this award was given, leaders of the Bhooswamis met the hon. Prime Minister and if so, for what purpose?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir.

Shri Panigrahi:³⁰⁷ May I know whether the Rajasthan Government expressed inability to incur this additional expenditure and if so, did the Government advise the Rajasthan Government to raise this additional amount from some other sources?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They accepted the award; there is no question of expressing inability.

(viii) Uttar Pradesh

77. To Sampurnanand: Congress Dissidents in UP Assembly³⁰⁸

11th August 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have received today your note of August 10 with which you have enclosed copy of a letter you have sent to the Congress President.

306. Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP.

307. Chintamani Panigrahi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Puri, Orissa.

308. Letter, copied to Indira Gandhi, the Congress President. File No. A/149, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

I need not tell you that the latest news of happenings in Lucknow or rather in the Congress Party there has come as a shock to all of us.³⁰⁹ You know that for many months past many of us have been worried about Congress affairs in the U.P. As a consequence of this, the UP Government naturally has been affected and all kinds of difficult problems have had to be faced by you. I mentioned these matters to you from time to time because I thought that you were the only person who could and should deal with them. I felt that you were perhaps a little rigid in your approach and rather tended to allow matters to drift. Because of this, I felt that it would be a good thing if you took the initiative in dealing with these matters.

I knew of course, that there were some basic difficulties and conflicts, both personal and others, which came in the way. Also that progressively some of the so-called dissidents had behaved in a bad way and thus made it difficult for you to take any effective step. After the last party meeting when a kind of a vote of confidence was passed by a large majority,³¹⁰ I thought that the position had improved and the time was ripe for you to take some step. What step that should be, I could not say and indeed I was not sure in my own mind. That could only be decided upon by you. My whole thinking of UP affairs was based on the central fact of your being and continuing as the Chief Minister and Leader of our Party there. I could think of no one else who could shoulder this burden.

This is the past history. Now new developments have taken place which have created a situation which is quite unique and which verges on absurdity so far as our Party is concerned. So far as the wider issues are concerned, it

309. On 7 August, the second day of a two-day debate in the UP Legislative Assembly on a motion of no-confidence against the UP Government sponsored by the Opposition parties, 98 out of the 285 Congress MLAs, in a signed statement handed to the Assembly Speaker, openly expressed their lack of confidence in the Sampurnanand ministry. The signatories included Charan Singh and Jugal Kishore, both former Cabinet Ministers, Mangla Prasad, Chief Whip and a former Minister of State, Muzaffar Hasan, General Secretary of the Legislature Congress Party and a former Minister of State, and Ram Murti, a former Minister of State. Later, during discussion on the motion, Jugal Kishore read out the statement in the House in which the signatories severely denounced the functioning of the ministry; they, however, stated that they would not vote with the Opposition on that day to avoid "political instability" in the state, but might do so later "if things deteriorate still further." After the debate, the ministry survived the ballot thanks to the dissident Congress MLAs voting against the motion. See *The Hindustan Times*, 7 and 8 August 1959.

310. The UP Congress Legislature Party met "in camera" in Lucknow on 9 March 1959 and reaffirmed its confidence in Sampurnanand. For details, see SWJN/SS/47/p. 228.

BY POPULAR DEMAND



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 12 AUGUST 1959)

raises even greater difficulties and problems. Because of this, this matter requires careful consideration from all aspects. You have no doubt given thought to all these aspects.

There are, however, two or three basic approaches which anyhow I feel you have to keep in mind. One is, as I have said above, that I cannot think of any one else in the UP who at present can shoulder this burden apart from you. What your position may ultimately be is a matter of conjecture, that is to say, how members of the Party and others are likely to behave and where a majority might lie. You have given some indication of what you think this is likely to be and according to you there will still remain a substantial majority on your side. If so, well and good.

The second point that seems to me basic is that the attitude that the dissidents have now taken up is so utterly bad that it seems to me quite impossible to give in to it. Not only the UP Congress organisation but the organisation all over India will be affected and will suffer. Therefore, I feel that some action has to be taken. That action, to begin with, might well be limited. I agree with you that at first it should be limited to Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad. Jugal Kishore having himself read out his paper in the Assembly naturally has to be addressed. As for Mangla Prasad, it seems to me monstrous that a Chief Whip of our Party should function in the way he has done.

There are others also no doubt who are equally guilty. I have no doubt that Charan Singh³¹¹ is one of them but I imagine that it is better to confine your first step, as you have yourself suggested, to Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad. It would be desirable therefore, for you to write to them formally and ask them to explain their conduct.³¹² This step will lead to certain consequences. It is likely that a number of the dissidents may decide to leave the Party. How many, I cannot say. You mention of sixty. Ajit Prasad³¹³ and Keshava Deva³¹⁴ thought that it would not exceed forty or so. I think that we should take the view of the larger number going out.

You mention the possibility of some independents and some members of other parties perhaps joining them. That may well be so. But it would not be advisable to have this horse trading at this stage. If they want to vote with you

311. Charan Singh, Minister in the UP Government, had resigned on 2 April 1959. He was among those who had voted against Sampurnanand in the "in camera" meeting of the UP Congress Legislature Party on 9 March 1959.

312. On 12 August, Sampurnanand had sent "show cause" notices to Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad asking them to explain their conduct.

313. Ajit Prasad Jain.

314. Keshava Deva Malaviya.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 AUGUST 1959)

or to intimate to you that they wish to join you, well and good. We shall consider that. But all this should really be considered very carefully by all of us. I know that the matter is too complicated for us to take any step in a hurry.

I am writing to you entirely on my own account giving you my personal reactions. But the Parliamentary Board and other colleagues will naturally have to give full thought to it and consult you.

Therefore, I think that only one step should be taken at present, that is, what you have yourself suggested – sending some kind of a notice to Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad. You might wait for the reactions to this step. I presume that the Central Parliamentary Board will meet soon to consider the whole matter. It may be, however, that those notices to Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad should go from you.

I am anxious, as you must be, that whatever steps we may take should be dignified and taken after the fullest consideration. The question may well arise later about some changes in or reconstitution of your Cabinet. If you will permit me to say so, it is not a strong Cabinet. Indeed without you it is feeble. I think that in the new situations that are likely to arise, it would be desirable to take some such step, both from the governmental and the public point of view.

As things are, there is not much chance of the Pradesh Congress Committee being helpful. Indeed, they may create difficulties. Therefore, the whole question must necessarily be considered by the Central Parliamentary Board and even by the Working Committee. This Committee is meeting in Delhi on the 22nd August³¹⁵ and I hope you will be coming here then.

You have all my sympathy in the burden you carry in the difficulties you have to face.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

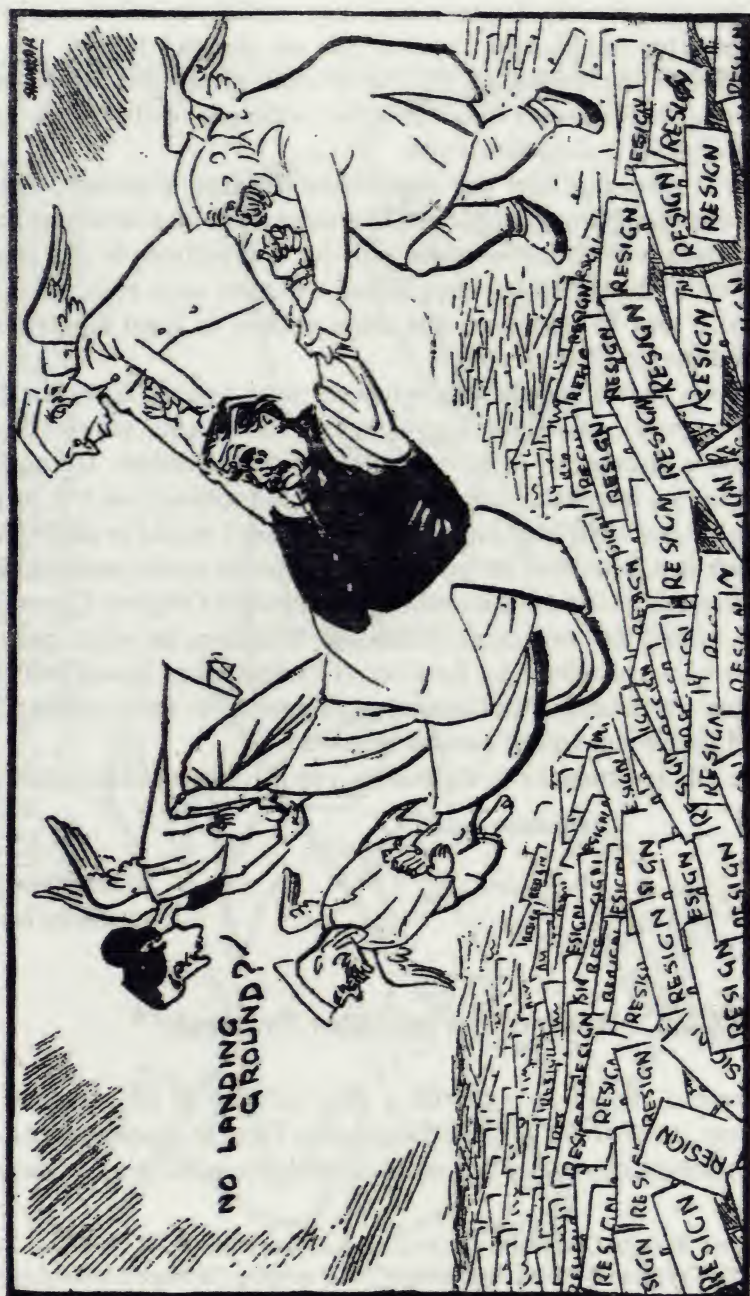
78. In the CWC: Resolution on Uttar Pradesh³¹⁶

Dr. Sampurnanand gave the Committee a short account of the action of the dissident group in the U.P. Congress Legislature Party in reading out to the Assembly a statement expressing lack of full confidence in the present Congress

315. The Congress Working Committee met on 22 and 23 August 1959.

316. Report of the Congress Working Committee (CWC) meeting, 23 August 1959. *Congress Bulletin*, June, July & August 1959. Some invitees, including Nehru, attended. Indira Gandhi presided.

The Angels Of Peace



Top Congress leaders have been trying to bring about an amicable settlement of the party dispute in U.P.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 23 AUGUST 1959)

Ministry.

The Committee, after considering the situation in all its aspects, adopted the following resolution:³¹⁷

“The Working Committee have learnt with surprise and distress of the statement made by some members of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Legislature Party expressing their lack of full confidence in the Government in the course of a discussion on the motion of no-confidence moved by the Opposition.

From any point of view, this is a clear breach of the rules and conventions governing Parliamentary Parties. Such behaviour can only lead to the disruption of the Party.

In dealing with this question many aspects have to be considered. The Central Parliamentary Board is, therefore, requested to consider this matter and report to the Working Committee.”

79. To C.B. Gupta: UP Congress Matters³¹⁸

August 26, 1959

My dear Chandra Bhanu,³¹⁹

Thank you for your letter of August 21, which I received some days ago. I have read this letter carefully.

I find it rather difficult to write about UP Congress matters. The story is a long one and is full of unsavoury episodes. It is easy enough for anyone to find room for criticism in others. Those who criticise are themselves criticised. The general impression I gather is that in the excitement of group politics, all standards of political behaviour have disappeared.

I am not going to discuss these charges and counter-charges, and some may well have substance. For my part, I think every serious charge should be enquired into. But I must say that the behaviour of the 98 MLAs on August 7 in the Assembly came to me as a great shock.³²⁰ It was inconceivable to me that any Congressman, whatever his views might be on other matters, should

317. For evidence of Nehru's authorship of the resolution, see Sampurnanand to Nehru, 25 August 1959, Appendix 40; see also Nehru to Sampurnanand, 27 August 1959, item 80.

318. Letter.

319. Chandra Bhanu Gupta, a Congress dissident leader in Uttar Pradesh; defeated in the 1957 elections and again in a by-election in April 1958, both to the state assembly.

320. See item 77, fn 309.

function in this way. I have been for 47 years now a member of the Congress organisation, and have believed in certain basic disciplines. I am not a rigid disciplinarian, but where those basic matters are concerned, I do not think that we should ever weaken if we want this organisation to continue. The act of the 98 MLAs on August 7 did violence to this basic discipline.

You say that you were not influenced in any way by Algu Rai³²¹ or Charan Singh. I never thought that you could be pushed about by these or any other people. But I have been surprised at the close association of people who have nothing in common except a common dislike. So far as Algu Rai is concerned, he has developed a habit of behaving in a manner which brings no credit to him or those associated with him. There is not an atom of principle involved in his behaviour. Charan Singh's conduct in the last few months has also, to my thinking, been improper. There has been so much of narrow personal ambition in many of these matters that often it has seemed to me to verge on indecency.

I hold certain views on political, economic and social matters. But I have progressively come to the conclusion that more important than such views in an individual is his integrity. If there is an absence of integrity, then the views do not count for much. When I say integrity, I mean also political integrity. I fear there is very little of this in evidence in the Uttar Pradesh Congress. Group or Party loyalty has pushed aside other and wider considerations.

I do not know who drafted the statement read out by Jugal Kishore on August 7 in the Assembly. But that statement contained many sentences and phrases which I had previously read in communications from Charan Singh to me. I was naturally led to the conclusion that Charan Singh must have had a big say in the drafting of that document.

I did not complain to Sri Prakasaji³²² that you had not informed me from time to time of the trends and tendencies in UP politics. You had written to me once or twice and more or less I knew these trends. What I said to Sri Prakasa was that the actual step taken on August 7 should never have been taken by any Congressman without previous intimation that such a step was contemplated. It was far too serious a matter to be dealt with casually in this way, and no amount of provocation can justify it. It was not a technical breach. It was almost a fatal stab, and I have not recovered from that shock yet.

I am not discussing individual cases. They have to be separately considered. What I wish to write to you about is my broad reaction to recent events.

321. Algurai Shastri had been General Secretary and President, Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, between 1950 and 1955; and Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP, 1956-58.

322. The Governor of Bombay.

You refer to what Amery³²³ said in 1940 in the British House of Commons. I do not think that has much relevance in this connection. I know that incident well.³²⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

80. To Sampurnanand: Dealing with the Dissidents³²⁵

August 27, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I received your letter of the 25th August today.³²⁶ I was distressed to read it. Certainly, I did not take the Working Committee resolution³²⁷ to mean what some people have said about it. As you know, this was dictated rather in a hurry at the last moment, and I now realise that it was liable to some misunderstanding.

At no time did I think that the Parliamentary Board was going to deal with this question without your consultation and help. Nor did I think that the dissidents were going to be sent for here to give them a hearing. Of course, I do not rule out, at some future stage, some talk with them, but, according to my thinking, this should not be in such a way as to bypass you. It is for you to deal with the situation to begin with and for us to help.

While this is clear to me, I have been pressed by the thought that we have to pull up the Uttar Pradesh Congress from the roots up. There is far too much disintegration going on and merely some arrangement at the top is not likely to produce very satisfactory results. How exactly we should proceed about the matter is by no means clear to me.

I wish that you had expressed yourself more clearly at our meeting. It is true that Subramaniam took up an attitude which surprised me also a little.³²⁸

323. Leopold S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and for Burma, 1940-45.

324. See C.B. Gupta's reply, 1 September 1959, Appendix 47.

325. Letter, copied to Indira Gandhi, G.B. Pant and Lal Bahadur Shastri. File No. A/152, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

326. See Sampurnanand to Nehru, 25 August 1959, Appendix 40.

327. See item 78.

328. C. Subramaniam, Congressman, and Minister, Madras Government, attended the CWC meeting as an invitee.

Possibly, if you had explained matters a little more fully, he would have understood them better. It was unfortunate that this whole question was considered in a rush at the end of the meeting.

As for Govind Sahai,³²⁹ I understand that he was invited because of the planning report³³⁰ as he had been taking much interest in planning.³³¹ The question of the UP matter coming up before the Working Committee was not thought of at that time. If you had suggested it, Govind Sahai could have been asked to go out at the time.

My own understanding of all this has been that the very first thing that the dissidents should do, is to express regret for their action. Unless this is done, they are out of court. That regret should be expressed to you as Leader.

As for Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad, you can certainly go ahead and inform them that their explanations are not at all satisfactory.³³²

The main consideration before you, as it is before all of us, is not so much a personal one, but how to deal with a most unfortunate and complicated situation which may well put an end to the Congress in Uttar Pradesh. The dissidents have undoubtedly acted very wrongly, and the least they can do is to be considered from the larger point of view of trying to put matters right in so far as we can. That can only be done if you take a leading part in it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

81. To Indira Gandhi: Draft for Letter from Indira Gandhi to Sampurnanand³³³

I am sending you a copy of a letter I have written to Dr. Sampurnanand.³³⁴

329. Congress, MLA, UP, from Nagina constituency in Bijnor district.

330. U.N. Dhebar placed the report of the Planning Sub-Committee before the CWC on 23 August.

331. In fact, Govind Sahai was present at the CWC meeting as an invitee on both days, that is, 22 and 23 August 1959.

332. On 20 August, Jugal Kishore replied to Sampurnanand's "show cause" as follows: dissidents had to protest openly in the House as Sampurnanand had refused to hear them; and that it was not a breach of discipline since he could produce a fair list of breaches by Sampurnanand himself. Mangla Prasad also complained that he had been ignored as Chief Whip by Sampurnanand. *The Hindustan Times*, 21 August 1959.

333. Note, 27 August 1959.

334. See item 80.

2. Perhaps, you might write to him as follows:

"I read the letter you had written to my father dated August 25th,³³⁵ with some distress. You know the circumstances in which the Working Committee passed the resolution about the U.P. matter. It was done in rather a hurry, and I accepted what was given to me. I thought that it was passed with your approval. It was rather difficult to follow the proceedings at that stage and, indeed, I did not quite realise what Shri Subramaniam had said. As for Govind Sahai's presence in the meeting, he had been invited for the planning report. I realise that it would have been better for him not to be present when the U.P. matter was discussed. If I had thought of it at the time or my attention had been drawn to it, I would have requested him to leave us.

It has not been our intention to send for anyone from among the U.P. dissidents here. Mangla Prasad came here a day or two ago, but I refused to see him and told the AICC office not to encourage him in any way.

I have felt all along that the first step should be for the dissidents to express their regret to you for what they did. After that, the matter should be considered with your help. As Leader of the Party, you must necessarily take an important part in whatever might be done. There should be no question of your resignation."

(c) Goa and Pondicherry

82. In the Lok Sabha: British Offer of Mediation on Goa³³⁶

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Prime Minister of U.K. has offered his good offices to mediate between the Government of India and the Government of Portugal on Goa dispute;
- (b) whether the Government of India have been directly approached in the matter; and
- (c) if so, with what results?³³⁷

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) to (c). The Government of India have received no offer of this nature either

335. See Appendix 40.

336. 3 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 52-53.

337. The question was asked by A.M. Tariq, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, and 19 other MPs.

from Her Majesty's Government in the U.K. or the British Prime Minister. Government have, however, seen a copy of a letter which the British Prime Minister wrote to a member of the British Parliament as a result of some parliamentary question in the British House of Commons.³³⁸ This letter stated, in general terms, the position of the British Government in regard to any problem existing between two other countries. This letter was published in the Press and the members must have seen it. In our view the problem of Goa is not one that can be given to any third power for mediation. The United Kingdom is fully aware of our views and if they so wish they can use their undoubted influence to induce the Portuguese Government to adopt a more reasonable attitude in this matter.

83. In the Lok Sabha: Displaced Persons from Goa³³⁹

Shri Radha Raman:³⁴⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of displaced families which have come from Goa so far due to conditions prevailing there;
- (b) where they have been settled;
- (c) whether Government have rendered any financial or other assistance to them; and
- (d) if so, the nature thereof?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) to (d). We have no accurate statistics for families who have permanently migrated from Goa because of political situation there. However, according to the information available with the police, 221 families, including about 100 families of fishermen, have left Goa, Daman and Diu and have settled down in India, particularly in Bombay, Belgaum, Sawantwadi, Karwar, Poona, Vapi (Surat district) and Nagpur. Applications for financial assistance are considered on merits and in some instances small assistance has been given to certain families.

338. See item 86.

339. 3 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, col. 66.

340. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Delhi.

84. In the Lok Sabha: Pondicherry before Election³⁴¹

Mr. Speaker: Now, the next adjournment motion is regarding the situation prevailing in Pondicherry tabled by Shrimati Renu Chakravartty, Shri Tangamani and other hon. Members. It reads:

“The situation prevailing in Pondicherry when elections to the Representative Assembly are to take place from 11th August,³⁴² with the police taking a partisan attitude arresting the candidates and the election workers of the People’s Front,³⁴³ thereby affecting the conduct of free and fair elections.”

Where does she get all this information from?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I was there in Pondicherry myself and I found that there....

Mr. Speaker: In her presence the arrests were made?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I was not present when the arrests were made but a candidate has been put into jail on a charge of just small fracas at which he was not even present at that time. Not only that. Under the French law the Public Prosecutor can just say, “I am not going to give bail” and therefore it becomes a non-bailable arrest and he is kept in jail. This has happened on more than one occasion. Shri Ramalingam, one of the candidates,³⁴⁴ is still in jail. There are also people who are working for the People’s Front candidates. Shri Thooradi was actually kidnapped but after being rescued when they went to police station, the police did not make an entry in the diary. Next day they arrested him and put him in the jail. There is no appeal against it. This is the type of thing that is going on.

Mr. Speaker: How long ago was the hon. lady Member there?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: About seven days ago.

341. 7 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1187-1193.

342. On 27 October 1958, the Chief Commissioner took over the direct administration of Pondicherry state; more than nine months later, in August 1959, the new Representative

Chakravartty: About seven days ago.

Shrimati Renu

Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. XXXII, cols 1187-1193.

1958, the Chief Commissioner took over the direct administration of
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341. 7 August 1959. I

342. On 27 October
Pondicherry stat
Assembly was

Mr. Speaker: What has happened since?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: We have been making representations but nothing has happened. The election is on the 11th August.

An Hon. Member: Ask them to arrest all the candidates!

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): About the elections in Pondicherry, we have received reports mostly from Pondicherry. They deal with Pondicherry, Karaikal and two other places where elections are going to take place in the 11th August. We hear that... (Interruption). There are two other places, Mahe and Yanam. These elections are now taking place because the Assembly was dissolved as the Council of State Ministers did not have the majority. Now, you know that in Pondicherry whenever the elections....

Mr. Speaker: If candidates are arrested on trivial charges that is a matter which I have allowed to come. He need not go into past history as to why elections are taking place now.

Shri Tangamani: Whenever elections took place in the past, that is, before this de facto transfer took place,³⁴⁵ there has always been rowdyism. Some peace loving people had to evacuate from Pondicherry. That has been in the past. Now representations have been made to the Chief Commissioner³⁴⁶ by the leader of this People's Democratic Front that a particular Police Officer, one Shri Palaniappan, has been taking a partisan attitude. Instances have been brought to notice as to how he goes about in the jeep and canvasses for the Congress Party. He has also threatened the villagers that if they vote either for the DMK or for the Communist Party or for this People's Democratic Front they will have to meet the consequences. These instances have been brought to the notice of the Chief Commissioner himself.

Mr. Speaker: How long ago?

Shri Tangamani: Whenever elections took place in the past, that is, before this de facto transfer took place,³⁴⁵ there has always been rowdyism. Some peace loving people had to evacuate from Pondicherry. That has been in the past. Now representations have been made to the Chief Commissioner³⁴⁶ by the leader of this People's Democratic Front that a particular Police Officer, one Shri Palaniappan, has been taking a partisan attitude. Instances

Shri Tangamani: On various dates.

Mr. Speaker: We have been meeting since the 3rd August. A question might have been asked here. Hon. Members always think only of the adjournment motion as if this was the last day of the session.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: You had been telling us that we must write to the hon. Minister on some occasions. Nothing happens. When we bring up the adjournment motion then you say that it is too late.

Mr. Speaker: Between bringing the adjournment motion and writing to the hon. Minister a question also can be tabled.

An Hon. Member: It cannot come up before the 11th August.

Mr. Speaker: We are not going to allow all representations.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Day before yesterday I received a letter from the hon. lady Member and other hon. Members more or less to the effect of this adjournment motion with which she enclosed a copy of the representation which a representative – I take it – of the Communist Party in Pondicherry had sent to the Chief Commissioner there mentioning some of these matters which she has mentioned now. I have no information about these things. That very day we sent her letter to the Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry immediately to enquire and take necessary action, that is, day before yesterday. We had no reply from him. Since this morning when I received this notice of adjournment, I have been trying to get in touch with him over the telephone to find out. I have not succeeded yet. We may later naturally draw his attention.

Even from the copy of the letter of the Communist Party representative there which was sent to me I have no other information as I said. It appears that this charge and counter-charge is between two parties who had apparently some troubles, scuffle or whatever it is. Anyhow, we are enquiring into this matter immediately and are asking the Chief Commissioner to try his utmost so that fair and free elections might be held.

There are some complaints about the police and the judiciary there. Now all these are old police and old judiciary. The House will remember that unfortunately even now de jure it is not a part of India – de facto it is – and the French law applies there. French methods apply and it becomes difficult. It is not very easy for us to find even judges who know the French law and the

French language to deal with this matter.

However, in view of these elections we have arranged for some police forces from neighbouring States to go there for these few days, that is, for the election period to help in seeing that nothing wrong happens there. That is being done and we shall try our utmost naturally to see that no impropriety occurs there and inform the Chief Commissioner.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: The main thing is that in Pondicherry they do not allow bail for those who are candidates for the election and who have been arrested on the flimsiest of grounds. They refuse bail on the ground that French law applies there and if the Public Prosecutor says 'No bail', there is no bail.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very difficult for me without knowing the facts of the case to issue orders from here, but broadly speaking it does seem improper to me that candidates etc. should be put in prison. We should draw the attention of the Chief Commissioner to this. But having drawn it, unless we function as an appellate court here and go into the facts of the disputes, perhaps it is rather difficult to issue orders. But, I do think that normally no disability should be placed on the candidates.

Mr. Speaker: Unless the offences are of a very serious nature, of murder and so on, they must be allowed to contest the elections. I am sure the hon. Prime Minister will issue instructions.³⁴⁷ I do not think that any discussion at this stage, in view of the fact that the elections are on the 11th August, will be helpful either to one party or to the other.³⁴⁸ It may pull the weight one way. Therefore it is not necessary for me to give permission for raising this motion on adjournment.

347. See the next item for the follow-up action in this matter.

348. The Congress Party secured 21 seats out of 39 in the Pondicherry Assembly elections, the results of which were announced on 17 August 1959. The People's Front got 13 seats; PSP one; and Independants four.

85. To Subimal Dutt: Fair Elections in Pondicherry³⁴⁹

Here is another telegram from Pondicherry. I have just seen the letters from our Chief Commissioner there. We have already made it clear to him that the election should be fair and impartial and I think he is taking the necessary steps. These telegrams are merely pressure tactics.³⁵⁰

86. In the Rajya Sabha: British Offer of Mediation on Goa³⁵¹

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the British Prime Minister while speaking in the House of Commons on the 15th May, 1959, offered the services of Britain to mediate between India and Portugal on the question of Goa; and
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, whether Government have so far received any communication in this connection from the Government of the United Kingdom?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). On 10th May, 1959, the British Prime Minister sent a letter to a Member of British Parliament discussing mediation on Goa. This letter said in general terms that the British Government could mediate only if requested by both sides. No offer of mediation has been received by the Government from the British authorities. Nor do we think that the solution of Goa problem will be found through mediation. The United Kingdom knows our views and has great influence on Portugal. If she so wishes, she can use it to persuade Portugal to be reasonable about the Goa problem.

349. Note to Foreign Secretary, 9 August 1959. File No. 48-3/58, Pond., Vol. III, MEA in the records of the MHA.

350. Lakshmi Menon made a statement in the Lok Sabha on 10 August 1959 on Nehru's behalf denying Opposition charges of 7 August (see item 84) that the Pondicherry police had arrested candidates. She explained that Ramalingam, the Communist candidate, had been arrested three months earlier "for causing grievous hurt", that he was still in jail because the High Court had rejected his appeal, but that he could get out on bail and fight the elections. She also assured the House that every effort was being made to ensure fair elections.

351. 10 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, col. 5.

87. In the Lok Sabha: Nagar Haveli and Dadra³⁵²

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 45 on the 10th February, 1959, and state the latest position with regard to the Portuguese complaint to the International Court regarding Nagar-Haveli and Dadra?³⁵³

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): The Court has fixed 21st September 1959 for opening Oral Proceedings. As required by the Court, both parties filed by 20th July the original documents in support of their respective claims.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether the hearing has started and, if so, the time by which this will be complete?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: I have just now said that it is 21st September.

Dr. Sushila Nayar:³⁵⁴ I would like to know how much money we have spent on this case already.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not exactly know, but it is a considerable sum.

Shri N.R. Munisamy:³⁵⁵ May I know how far will the findings of the court be binding on India and what are the sanctions behind their verdict?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This case was started by Portugal about three years ago, in 1956. India took a preliminary objection to its hearing. That took about a couple of years for decision. I may add that apart from the normal judges of the court, in such matters the parties concerned also nominate judges and so Portugal nominated a judge and we nominated a judge. Our judge was Mr.

352. 11 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1631-1634.

353. The question was asked by Ram Krishan Gupta, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mahendragarh, Punjab, and four other MPs. On 10 February 1959, Sadath Ali Khan had stated that the rejoinder to the Portuguese complaint to the International Court of Justice regarding Nagar Haveli and Dadra had been filed; further stages of the case had not yet been determined by the Court.

354. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh.

355. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Vellore, Madras.

Chagla who was then the Chief Justice of Bombay.³⁵⁶ And so, the preliminary objection came up for hearing. After a number of papers had been put in by India, by Portugal – rejoinders and so on, long printed documents and books – this preliminary objection was decided against India by a big majority of the court. The court consists, I think, of about 16 or 17 judges altogether. After that we have gone back to the original complaint; preparations have been made for that and now they are complete. All the memoranda, rejoinders, have been done and the hearing of the case will begin on the 21st September.

I cannot say what their final findings will be. That is for the court to decide. Nor can I say – it all depends on the finding – anything about the sanctions.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:³⁵⁷ Being a purely political matter, may I understand that only the wishes of the people of Nagar Haveli and Dadra will be binding on us?³⁵⁸

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer a hypothetical question. I do not know what the court might decide ultimately. How can I say that – what will be binding and what we can give effect to or not before we know what it is?

Dr. Sushila Nayar: Does Mr. Chagla continue to be our judge on the International Court now? I understand that most of the judges have expressed a wish that Justice Chagla should continue to be on that bench. Has the Government of India agreed to that?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think when Mr. Chagla became our Ambassador in the United States³⁵⁹ we referred this matter to the court there, – whether there was any objection to his continuing. To the best of my recollection, they said they had no objection, and so he is presumably continuing there.

श्री सिंहासन सिंह:³⁶⁰ क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि गोवा का मामला कब तक भारत के लिए एक कलंक बना रहेगा, सिरदर्द बना रहेगा?

356. Chagla served as an ad hoc judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague from September 1957 to 1959.

357. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram-SC, Bihar.

358. Activists from the Goan People's Party and the Azad Goa Dal wrested control of the village of Dadra on 22 July and Nagar Haveli on 29 July 1954 from Portugal. See SWJN/SS/26/p. 291 and SWJN/SS/29/p. 395.

359. In September 1958.

360. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : माननीय सदस्य ने एक अलग सवाल पूछा है। इस में गोवा का सवाल आ जाता है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि यह जो पुर्तगाल ने वहाँ मुकदमा चलाया है, इसका गोवा से सीधा सम्बन्ध नहीं है, लेकिन दूर-दराज़ का रिश्ता हो ही जाता है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Sinhasan Singh:³⁶¹ May I know till when the matter related to Goa will remain a black spot for India, a headache?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The honourable member has asked a different question. The question of Goa comes within it. Undoubtedly, the case filed by Portugal there has no direct relation to Goa, but a distant relevance is possible.

Translation ends]

(d) Bhutan & Sikkim

88. To the Maharaja of Bhutan: Bhutan's Security³⁶²

August 6, 1959

Your Highness,³⁶³

I have just received your letter which has been forwarded to me by our Political Officer in Gangtok.

I can well appreciate your anxiety at the recent developments in Tibet. As I assured you during my visit to Paro last year, the Government of India will endeavour to assist Bhutan in every way possible to meet her requirements in the development of her economy and the preservation of her security. Indeed, any aggression against Bhutan would be considered by us as an aggression against India.³⁶⁴

361. See fn 360 in this section.

362. Letter.

363. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk.

364. See Nehru's notes dated 26 and 28 September 1958, written during his visit to Bhutan, SWJN/SS/44/pp. 311-322 and pp. 324-325.

I understand that Shri Jigme Dorji is now having preliminary talks in Gangtok with our Political Officer. As soon as we know the detailed requirements of Bhutan, we will consider with the utmost priority how best to meet them.

With my regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

89. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Propaganda about Bhutan and Sikkim³⁶⁵

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh – Shri Raghubir Sahai:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government of India have seen reports in the press about Chinese propaganda in Sikkim that Bhutan and Sikkim were part of Chinese territory in the past and are bound to return to the Chinese motherland within the next few years; and

(b) if so, what action Government of India propose to take to remove the anxiety created by these reports among the people of Sikkim and Bhutan and border territories in India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) and (b). We have seen occasional reports in the press to the effect mentioned by the hon. Member. It is not possible for us to check up the authenticity of these reports. Such reports are naturally causing concern to the people of Sikkim and Bhutan and elsewhere in the border regions of India. Our position is quite clear. The Government of India is responsible for the protection of the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan and of the territorial integrity of these two States and any aggression against Bhutan and Sikkim will be considered as aggression against India.

Shri Hem Barua:³⁶⁶ May I know whether the Governments of Sikkim and Bhutan have by now apprised our Government of the situation obtaining there? The Prime Minister said that he has seen only newspaper reports.

365. 28 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4800-4804.

366. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : माननीय सदस्य ने एक अलग सवाल पूछा है। इस में गोवा का सवाल आ जाता है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि यह जो पुर्तगाल ने वहाँ मुक़दमा चलाया है, इसका गोवा से सीधा सम्बन्ध नहीं है, लेकिन दूर-दराज़ का रिश्ता हो ही जाता है।

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Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

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(b) if so, what action Government of India propose to take to remove the anxiety created by these reports among the people of Sikkim and Bhutan and border territories in India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b). We have seen occasional reports in the press to the effect mentioned by the hon. Member. It is not possible for us to check up the authenticity of these reports. Such reports are naturally causing concern to the people of Sikkim and Bhutan and elsewhere in the border regions of India. Our position is quite clear. The Government of India is responsible for the protection of the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan and of the territorial integrity of these two States and any aggression against Bhutan and Sikkim will be considered as aggression against India.

Shri Hem Barua:³⁶⁶ May I know whether the Governments of Sikkim and Bhutan have by now apprised our Government of the situation obtaining there? The Prime Minister said that he has seen only newspaper reports.

365. 28 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4800-4804.

366. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

The Hyena Hunt



India has reiterated her responsibility for the defence of Bhutan and Sikkim.

[In uniform, Nehru left, G.B. Pant right]
(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 30 AUGUST 1959)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I can't catch the question.

Mr. Speaker: Have the Governments of Sikkim and Bhutan made representation to this Government that propaganda is being carried on there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have been in touch with both the Governments, naturally. I cannot say exactly whether this particular matter was referred to by them. But the fact remains that, if I may use that word, they are not happy about the situation. They are rather nervous about what is happening roundabout them.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: As the reports indicate the Chinese troops are all along the 500 mile border of Bhutan and Tibet; and it has also come to our notice that the traditional route to Bhutan which passes through a portion of Tibet has been closed. In the circumstances, may I know what help the Government of India is going to render to save Bhutan's economy at present? May I also know whether the Defence Ministry has studied the entire situation from the new position which has been created at present?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: A big question, Sir. It is true that there have been some recent difficulties in a person going to Bhutan from India by the normal route which crossed a little corner of Tibet below Yatung³⁶⁷ – a route, in fact, by which I went last year this time or a little later. There will be difficulty for Bhutanese people to cross that route. Therefore, they are using other routes.

There are other routes from India, of course; only they are longer and sometimes more difficult and these routes are being improved. In fact, quite apart from recent incidents, there is a programme of road building in Bhutan, roads from India to Bhutan and within Bhutan and we are helping them in building those roads.

As for the hon. Member's enquiry about the Defence Ministry, the Defence Ministry no doubt keeps all these things in view and it is difficult for me to discuss what exactly the Defence Ministry may consider right or proper under a certain set of circumstances.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether Government have received any reports of harassment of Bhutan and Sikkim citizens by the Chinese troops or Chinese nationals?

367. A small town in Tibet, near the Sikkim border. India maintained a Trade Agency at Yatung; see SWJN/SS/50/item 158, fn 47.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You mean in Bhutan or Sikkim or outside?

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: On the border also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know, I do not think there has been any incursion of Chinese troops into Bhutan or Sikkim. The Chinese troops came to those borders probably because the refugees were coming through that way, possibly to step them or in pursuit of them. Probably, they were not more gentle with the refugees. One can imagine that. But I do not think there was any kind of conflict with the Bhutanese as such. It may be that some threats were thrown out occasionally and some Bhutanese have heard them.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Will the Prime Minister give us a clear guarantee that in no case the Chinese will be allowed to set up any post in Bhutan or Sikkim as they have done in Ladakh?

Mr. Speaker: There is no question of guarantee.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a very odd question. I do not think, not only this poor Prime Minister, any Prime Minister can give guarantees of that type. All we can say is that as I have said already any kind of incursion into Bhutan or Sikkim will be considered incursion into India, that we shall abide by the assurances we have given to them. How we shall abide by them and in what manner if circumstances arise is a matter for careful consideration. It is not a matter of a direct statement made in this House or elsewhere but of action, if necessity arises, difficult action, very difficult action and action the burden of which will have to be borne by this House. It is not an easy matter in which an easy assurance can be given which may rather sound pompous.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: There are other similar questions.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:³⁶⁸ May I know whether we have written to the Chinese Government at Peking about this propaganda and whether we have received any reply to it?

Mr. Speaker: Propaganda about Bhutan and Sikkim.

368. Socialist, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad-SC, Uttar Pradesh.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes; we have specifically written to them about this. Of course, we could not accuse the Chinese Government of propaganda. We have not stated so but we have said to them that such things are reported to us. That we have said.

An Hon. Member: What was the reply?

Shri Panigrahi: May I know whether these reports are emanating from Chinese Government sources or sources outside China – these reports about Sikkim and Bhutan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: These reports mostly come from, naturally, not Chinese Government sources. That is what I have said. I have said in my reply that it is not possible for us to check up the authenticity of those reports. But they are said to be made by lesser functionaries in Tibet, smaller people who say this.

An Hon. Member: Less than 5 feet.

Mr. Speaker: Let us not indulge in such kind of remarks.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said we cannot say if any responsible man has said that. The people in Tibet who come to India repeated that to us in their own turn – that they have heard this kind of thing being said. It is bazaar gossip; one cannot catch it, but it produces some impression on the people. (Interruptions).

(e) Administration

(i) Procedures

90. To Morarji Desai: Simplification of Procedures³⁶⁹

21st August, 1959

My dear Morarji,

You will remember my speaking to you about the desirability of our appointing a committee to look through our broad procedures and try to streamline them.

369. Letter. File No. 2 (338)/59-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This was B.K. Nehru's suggestion to me just before he went away.³⁷⁰ He said that in view of our desire to increase the tempo of our work it was essential that procedures should be simplified. Probably, with the coming of the Third Plan our work will increase enormously. If the procedures are not simple and quick, the execution of this plan will be held up. As is often being said, nothing is more harmful and wasteful than delay. Therefore, we have to find some way of quick decisions even at the cost of some risk.

Could you kindly give thought to this matter and suggest some kind of a high-powered committee?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

91. To Morarji Desai: Simplification of Procedures³⁷¹

August 26, 1959

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd August.³⁷²

It would certainly be a good thing if you could spare the time to preside over a high-powered Committee which can be appointed to streamline our procedures. There was only one aspect of this about which I am not quite clear. You have suggested a Committee of officials, apart from yourself. Would it be quite appropriate for a senior Cabinet Minister to preside over official Committee? On the whole, however, I think that it would be better for you to be there.

Perhaps, you might mention the constitution of such a Committee at a Cabinet meeting.

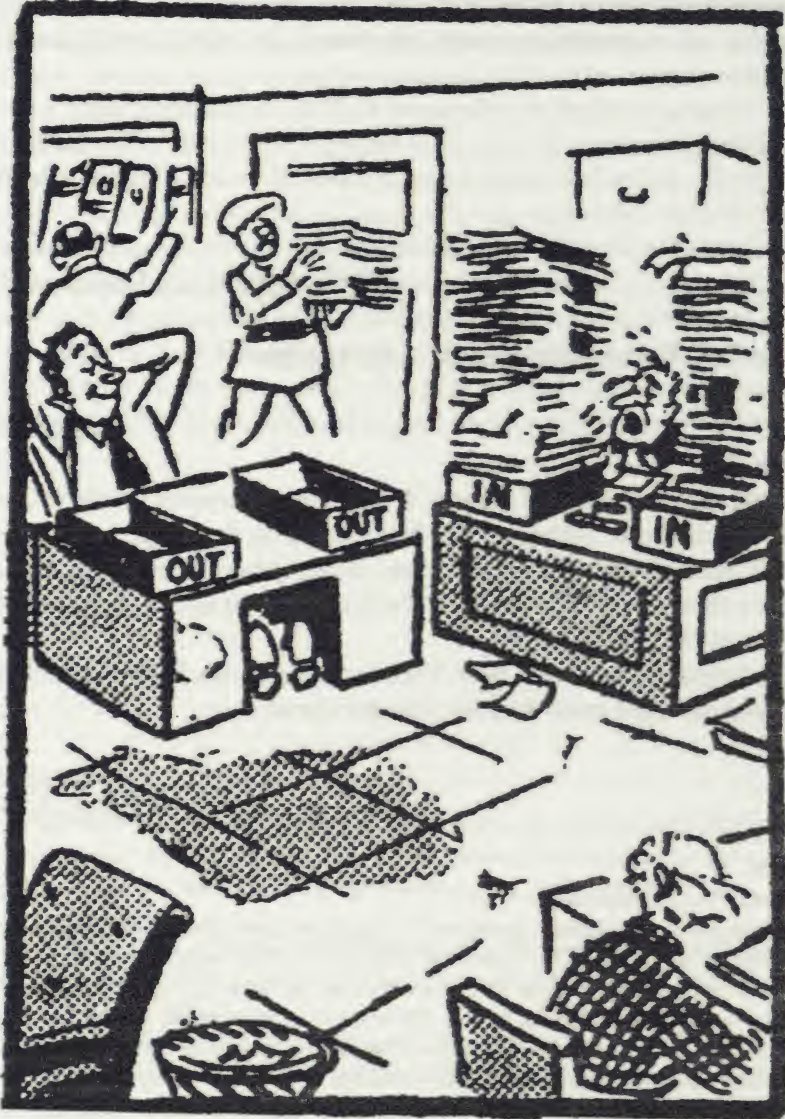
370. B.K. Nehru of the Finance Ministry, then posted in Washington as India's Commissioner General for Economic Affairs, was sent to the USSR to negotiate an extension of Soviet credit for the Third Five Year Plan. He was in New Delhi for about a fortnight before he left for Moscow on 21 August 1959.

371. Letter. File No. 2 (338)/59-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

372. Morarji Desai replied to Nehru's letter of 21 August (see item 90) with a proposal for a committee to streamline procedures; it would consist of the Cabinet, Home, Finance (Expenditure), and Commerce Secretaries, with himself presiding; and beneath it each Ministry would form a committee consisting of the Secretary and Financial Adviser, who, in consultation with the head of each department involved, would propose methods of cutting "red tape" and report to the higher committee. See File No. 127/CF/59, Cabinet Secretariat.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Young man, is that by any chance my tray you have there on your table?

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 21 AUGUST 1959)

I agree that each Ministry should have its own small Committee, but I have found in the past that they all tend to work in the same grooves, and it is not at all an easy matter for them to think of fresh approaches. How are we to get over this? What is required, I imagine, is that fresh approach, and not merely pruning here and there. Further, we must be prepared to take risks in small matters by not requiring too many references and also in order to develop initiative.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Corruption and Accountability

92. To T.T. Krishnamachari: LIC Matter³⁷³

August 9, 1959

My dear TT,³⁷⁴

Thank you for your letter of August 4. The long statement you have sent me has also reached me. I suppose you have sent it to the press. I wonder if the press will publish such a long statement. It might have been better if you had prepared a shorter note.³⁷⁵ I think that the debate on the LIC affair will probably take place at the end of August.

I am keeping pretty well now. There is nothing much the matter with me except tiredness and some trouble with my throat.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

373. Letter.

374. Former Finance Minister.

375. Krishnamachari's statement, issued on 31 August, was in response to some of the remarks concerning him in the UPSC's advice to GOI and in the Vivian Bose Board's report on the conduct of the officials in the LIC-Mundhra deal. He said that the scope of the UPSC's advice was clearly defined in Article 320 of the Constitution and was strictly limited to the disciplinary action proposed against the officers concerned; the UPSC was not an appellate authority sitting in judgement over the Bose Board except insofar as it related to the officials; and the UPSC had commented not only on all matters raised by the Bose Board, including those strictly not relevant to the disciplinary action in hand, but also on similar points not strictly relevant to the proceedings against the officers, arising out of the Chagla report. *Hindusthan Standard*, 1 September 1959. See also SWJN/SS/49/ item 109.

93. M.O. Mathai Case³⁷⁶

It is entirely for the Speaker to decide whether this motion should be admitted or not.³⁷⁷ When this matter was referred to in Parliament, I gave an assurance that I would have it enquired into by the Cabinet Secretary³⁷⁸ and would place the Cabinet Secretary's report before the Finance Minister and the Comptroller & Auditor General. I carried out my promise. When the report came, I sent it on to the Finance Minister and the Comptroller & Auditor-General, and they commented on it. Thereafter, I placed my note with a covering letter and the comments of the Finance Minister and the Auditor-General on the table of the House.³⁷⁹ There the matter ended, so far as I was concerned. Shri M.O. Mathai had previously resigned from Government service.³⁸⁰ The allegation made against him were [sic] general and particularly related to some Insurance policies, etc. There was no question of any Government matters or funds being involved in it. The report of the Cabinet Secretary, as endorsed by the Finance Minister and the Comptroller & Auditor-General, gave a satisfactory explanation of these matters, and so far as I could understand, there was nothing more to be said about it.³⁸¹

376. Note, 12 August 1959.

377. On the M.O. Mathai case, see SWJN/SS/46/pp 374-391 and SWJN/SS/49/pp. 335-336, 338-342 and 350-355. The motion referred to here did not come up for discussion in the current session of the Lok Sabha which ended on 12 September 1959.

378. Vishnu Sahay.

379. For Nehru's letter of 6 May 1959 to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and his statement placed before the Rajya Sabha on the same date, see SWJN/SS/49/items 111 and 112.

380. On 12 January 1959.

381. On 8 May 1959, Nehru told Parliament that a committee under Vishnu Sahay had exonerated Mathai and that he accepted its conclusions. However, in private conversations with S. Radhakrishnan in 1966, Vishnu Sahay said that he had exonerated Mathai to protect the Prime Minister's reputation but Nehru was informed that Mathai could not account for his great wealth and without doubt had received money from the CIA as well as from businessmen in India. See S. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Vol. 3, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 122.

94. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Relations between Ministers and Civil Servants³⁸²

August 12, 1959

My dear V.T.,

Thank you for your letter of August 11th³⁸³ in which you have dealt with some basic issues raised by the LIC matter. Broadly I agree with what you have said. I think we should have these definite principles clearly stated. I am sending copies of your letter to the Law Minister,³⁸⁴ the Finance Minister and the Cabinet Secretary and I am asking the Cabinet Secretary to draw up a paper on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

95. To I.C. Varma: Inquiries into Corruption Charges³⁸⁵

August 20, 1959

Dear Shri Varma,³⁸⁶

I have your letter of the 18th August.

I agree with you entirely that where there are any definite charges of corruption, they should be enquired into. When some reference to this was made in the Lok Sabha, the Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri A.P. Jain, asked for particulars so that he might have an enquiry.³⁸⁷ A day or two later he invited the persons who had spoken in the Lok Sabha and made these charges. He asked them to help him by giving some indications of the charges. Whenever an enquiry takes place, some such indication is given. This need not include any proof. Without any indication it is difficult to have an enquiry which can only be a roving

382. Letter. File No. Code for Civil Service, Confidential Section, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection.

383. See V.T. Krishnamachari to Nehru, 11 August 1959, Appendix 27.

384. Asoke Kumar Sen.

385. Letter.

386. A resident of 72/6, Balkeshwer Colony, Agra.

387. On 14 August, during a debate in the Lok Sabha on the rise in prices of sugar, Braj Raj Singh charged that sugar magnates and officials of the Food Ministry were involved in profiteering; Jain's response was that the MP should cite specific instances so that he might take action. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 2496-2584. See also item 28.

enquiry. Those Members told him that they had no information on the subject and in fact some of them expressed their regret that they had made those charges.

You will appreciate that unless some definite charge was brought against any officer of the Food Ministry, it is difficult to have an enquiry. If you can send any such information, I shall be grateful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Protocol and Security

96. To G.B. Pant: Ceremonial³⁸⁸

2nd August, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Some two weeks ago I sent a kind of a circular letter to our Ministers here.³⁸⁹ For facility of reference, I enclose a copy of it, although you must have seen it.

Manubhai Shah sent me a reply to this³⁹⁰ which seems to me to have a good deal of sense in it. I am therefore sending it to you in original.

(1) I think that guards of honour should be completely banned except on very special ceremonial occasions.

(2) I see no reason whatever why every Minister and Deputy Minister in the Centre or in the States should have security guards attached to him. I can understand special cases being dealt with in this way, but it is almost absurd for a person who becomes a Deputy Minister to carry about a security man with him wherever he goes. This should apply to the State Ministers also.

(3) When Ministers travel, there should be no elaborate receptions for them and the local officials need not gather for the receptions. Only those that are wanted should come.

(4) Inaugural functions should also be normally much simpler. I think that in future the practice of having a foundation stone laid by prominent individuals should be given up. We should encourage the practice of an actual worker there, one of those who are putting up the building, being asked to lay the

388. Letter. File No. 20/11(S)/59-Police I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

389. See SWJN/SS/50/item 67.

390. See Manubhai Shah, the Minister of Industry, to Nehru, 20 July 1959, Appendix 2.

foundation stone. The prominent individual may be present to bless the undertaking.

All this is general. But I do think that this is necessary. There is growing dissatisfaction at the special arrangements that accompany Ministers. But nothing is more irritating to people than to have traffic held up because a prominent person like the Prime Minister is supposed to pass by. This kind of thing should be completely banned. Also, the lining up of roads and sometimes even a railway line. All this belongs to some past age which is completely inappropriate today.

You know how many times I have written to you about security arrangements for me. They are slightly better now, in the sense that they are not so obvious. But wherever I go, even privately, vast arrangements are made. During my recent visit to Mashobra the whole surrounding hillside was full of people hiding behind trees etc. who were supposed to be looking after me. This was really quite fantastic. I was told that about fifteen hundred people were used in various ways for security purposes for me either to guard the routes or the house where I was staying.³⁹¹

This has become a terrible burden for me and the thought of it is very upsetting. What is particularly distressing is the futility of it. I do not know how to bring the light of intelligence in the minds of the average policeman.³⁹²

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

97. To G.B. Pant: Police Surveillance on Mridula Sarabhai³⁹³

August 7, 1959

My dear Pantji,

Mridula³⁹⁴ tells me that she is honoured by one, and sometimes two police cars following her about wherever she goes. There is also constant watch on her house. Is this necessary? I think that this kind of thing does not help at all.

391. Nehru stayed at "The Retreat" in Mashobra, six miles from Simla, during his visit, 9 to 19 July.

392. See notings in the MHA regarding the follow-up action on Nehru's letter, Appendix 39.

393. Letter.

394. According to *The Hindustan Times* of 3 August 1959, Mridula Sarabhai, a social worker and supporter of Shaikh Abdullah, was released from the Delhi Central Jail on 2 August 1959.

Apart from being a nuisance, it is a bad approach. I am trying to deal with Mridula in other ways, and this police surveillance comes in the way. Whatever Mridula's faults may be, she is not secretive, and she functions in public.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

98. Kesho Ram to Home Ministry: Titles and Honorifics³⁹⁵

The Prime Minister has seen these papers and has recorded the following minute:-

"I have seen the old papers in this connection. I see that even at that time Sardar Patel, the then Home Minister, was agreeable only to hereditary titles being recognised during the life-time of the then holders. I did not wish to put any such restriction at the time. I now think that Sardar Patel was right and I was wrong.

Our Constitution lays down that there should be no titles but, as a special indulgence, we agreed to the old princes etc. carrying on their titles and highnesses. That might be said to be a special dispensation by agreement. I do not see why we should extend this to others. To do so is to go against not only the spirit but the letter of the Constitution.

We need not go out of our way to prevent people from using such titles unofficially, but we should not use them officially, just as we do not use officially the English title "Sir".

I think it is particularly objectionable for people in Government employ to go about flaunting these titles. We should not encourage such behaviour which has a touch of the snob in it.

I suggest, therefore, that the ruling princes and such like persons apart, we should not use these titles in official papers. If privately these titles are used, we need not object."

395. Copy of note, 14 August 1959. File No. 2 (287)/48-PMS. A remark on the document says, "Original on File No. 2 (328)/59-PMS".

99. To Kesho Ram: Security Arrangements for the Prime Minister³⁹⁶

All this business of complicated security arrangements for me distress [sic] me. They convey a sensation to me of being kept in a prison. I do not understand why there should be so much fuss over this matter.

2. Usually I give times for interviews. In the morning, however, it is understood that any one can come and see me before I go to the office. This custom should be continued. I do not think it is right or feasible to keep lists of people at the gate. Some one, Khanna or Seshan³⁹⁷ can go to the gate in the mornings and remain there till I go to the office and see to it that people come in easily. Any one who is obviously known to me can always come, and if he brings some one with him, that person can also come. Broadly speaking, every one should be allowed to come unless there appears to be some suspicion, when a reference can be made.

(iv) Passports and Visas

100. To Kesho Ram: The Case of Salima Burke³⁹⁸

I have read these notes and have seen the other papers too in this file.³⁹⁹ My approach to such questions is different from that usually taken by the police or the Home Ministry. While the question of granting nationality has always to be considered with care, permission to stay in India is another matter, and, unless there are positive and patent reasons, one should not deny such permission. It is not enough to proceed on suspicion in such matters. Normally in most countries, people come and go without much difficulty. The police takes action only when there is definite proof that a person is of undesirable character.

2. Police reports are often based on vague surmises. If they are to be relied upon, they should be examined for definite facts. I see no facts here. As to whether the divorce paper is genuine or not, is a matter which may be enquired into. But, really, it does not seem to make much difference so far as I am concerned. The fact that Mr. Burke denies the genuineness of the divorce

396. Note, 29 August 1959.

397. S.P. Khanna and N.K. Seshan, Assistant Private Secretaries to Nehru.

398. Note, 4 August 1959.

399. For previous reference, see SWJN/SS/50/item 71.

paper has no significance in the circumstances, as he himself is supposed to be the guilty and mischievous party.

3. We have some definite date [sic]. One is that her mother and other relatives live here. The other is that a large number of respectable citizens, including the Bishop, speak well of her and her family. This is positive evidence in her favour. Whether formally divorced or not – and divorce is easy for Muslims – it can be presumed that she does not and cannot get on with her old husband. To push her back to his tender mercies would not be desirable from any human point of view.

4. Thus, normal considerations would lead to the conclusion that she should be allowed to stay on with her mother. What are the basic reasons against it? What is stated is that she has been seen in various hotels and that because of her previous residence in Pakistan, she might possibly be used for espionage. Both these are vague statements, and I do not know if there is the slightest evidence of misbehaviour. Where there is doubt, this should be resolved in favour of the person concerned. As I have said above, normally people have freedom of going from one country to another. It is only because of our very special history with Pakistan that individual cases have to be considered more carefully.

5. I think, therefore, that this case should be given further consideration and that it will be desirable to allow her to stay on in India with her mother. The question of nationality does not arise, at present at least. Even the question of her being given a permanent residence certificate need not be considered at this stage. She should be allowed to stay on and, after some period, if nothing adverse to her happens, we can consider the question of a permanent residence certificate.

6. The attention of the Home Ministry should be invited to this note as well as to the other notes in this file.

101. Complaints about Indian Consulates⁴⁰⁰

Question No. 266 in the Rajya Sabha.⁴⁰¹

I am not at all satisfied with this answer. There are far too many complaints of rude or discourteous behaviour for us to assume innocence of any such thing. I am not referring merely to newspaper letters but to occasional reports which come directly.

2. I have not seen the correspondence with the Tehran Embassy but to say that there was no indication that a reply was urgently required is hardly good enough. A person who is travelling about and asks for a visa obviously requires a quick reply; otherwise he is held up.

3. I think that clear and strict injunctions should be sent to our Consulates abroad pointing out that complaints are made of delays and discourteous behaviour. These complaints may or may not always be justified but such an impression is bad and is commented upon in the newspapers. Any person, therefore, who is curt and discourteous in his replies to visitors is not doing his work properly and should be warned. Also there is no reason at all why there should be delay in issuing a normal tourist visa or in replying to a letter for it.

4. The answer might be as follows:

ANSWER

(a) A [sic] enquiry was made into this complaint from the Embassy of India in Rome. It appears that from April 1 to June 30, 1959, 420 applications for visas were received by our Embassy there and out of these, 400 were granted visas on the same day as the applications were received. Two were granted within one day of application and of the remaining 18, 9 were referred to Government for orders.

400. Note, 17 August 1959.

401. V.K. Dhage, Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh, had asked:

“Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government’s attention has been drawn to the news which appeared in a letter to the Editor in the Times of India, Bombay edition, dated the 29th June, 1959, that the personnel of the Embassy of India in Rome behaved rudely towards a couple who visited the Embassy for visa purposes, and if so, what action Government have taken in the matter; and

(b) whether Government have issued any instructions as to how the personnel in the Indian Missions abroad should conduct themselves in their dealings with the public?”

The record of the Embassy shows that on the 5th June, 1959, an American gentleman with C.R. as initials, accompanied by his wife, came to the Embassy for visas for India. They were given visas the same day. The Embassy further report that no complaint has been received by them during the last few months of any rudeness or incorrect behaviour on the part of the Embassy staff dealing with passports and visas.

(b) Suitable and strict instructions have been sent to all our Missions that all visitors should be treated with politeness and courtesy. These instructions will be repeated.

(To be answered by Dy. Minister)⁴⁰²

(v) Other Matters

102. To S.N. Sinha: Raja Mahendra Pratap in the Defence Consultative Committee⁴⁰³

Raja Mahendra Pratap's⁴⁰⁴ action in writing to our officers is, of course, very objectionable. I think that you should send for him and point this out to him. You can tell him that this is against all rules and conventions.

2. Further I think you should show the Speaker these papers. I do not wish the Speaker to take any action in the matter but if he so chooses, he can also send for Raja Mahendra Pratap and tell him that this is a very improper behaviour.

3. As for Raja Mahendra Pratap continuing in the Defence Consultative Committee, this matter might be considered by us separately. How long does the present Committee last? Are such committees chosen for a year or more?

402. Lakshmi Menon answered the question on 19 August 1959. See *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1094-1095.

403. Note, 12 August 1959.

404. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.

103. To S.K. Sinha: Imprisonment of Freedom Fighters in Bihar⁴⁰⁵

August 16, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,⁴⁰⁶

The following item appears in a periodical:

"Freedom Fighters Still in Jail

I along with 14 others, who had participated in the 1942 freedom movement had been accused by the British regime of crimes like dacoity and murder and were sentenced to imprisonment for life. After freedom was attained, Congress leaders of Bihar gave us repeated assurances about securing our release, but without any results. Uptill now we have spent from 14 to 18 years in jail. Eight of us are in the central jail, Hazaribagh, and seven in Bhagalpur camp jail. I hope this brief note will draw the attention of the people and the authorities.

Central Jail, Hazaribagh Chhotelal."⁴⁰⁷

I should like to know how far this account is a factually correct one. If it is a fact that many of these people have been 14 to 18 years in jail why has it been decided to keep them on there indefinitely. I do not know what the cases were in which they were involved. Evidently they were serious cases.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

405. Letter, copied to G.B. Pant.

406. Sri Krishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar.

407. A note in the margin of the document says: "(Extract from *Mankind* of July 1959)."

104. To C. Rajagopalachari: Misconduct of an Indian Doctor in England⁴⁰⁸

August 16, 1959

My dear Rajaji,

Two or three days ago, I received your letter with which you enclosed a letter from Dr. S.R. Ghosh of London.⁴⁰⁹ I had a vague recollection of Dr. Ghosh's case as it has been coming up before us repeatedly during the past few years. But I wanted to be clear about this case before I replied to you. I have, therefore, had the old papers produced and have gone through them.

This matter has been going on for many years and Dr. Ghosh has not been behaving at all well. I do not wish to trouble you with a long account of what has happened during these several years. Should you, however, wish to have a fuller account, I can have it sent to you.

Briefly, Dr. Ghosh was in the service of the Government of West Bengal. He went to England in 1946 and was given loans amounting to £ 282.00 to prosecute his studies in England by the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. He acquired some basic medical qualifications in England and, so far as we know, has not returned to India since then. Nor has he returned the loans given to him. For some years past, he has been practising in London under the National Health Scheme.

A little over two years ago, the Resident Warden of the Indian Students' Hostel in London (an Indian lady) reported to our Educational Counsellor in India House, London, that Dr. Ghosh used to push himself into her Hostel every week with the intention of registering as many students as possible on his National Health Panel. He demanded that only his name should be sent up from the Hostel under the National Health Scheme and no other doctor's name should be mentioned. He was rude to her and to other students who were not agreeable to register their names with him. Normally, students or patients have a right to choose their own doctors under this National Health Scheme. The Warden pointed out that she could not interfere with their freedom of choice. Under the rules, canvassing or touting for patients, as Dr. Ghosh was doing, was considered unprofessional conduct in the United Kingdom.

This angered him still further, and the poor lady Warden had a bad time from him. He was told not to visit the Hostel. This again became a grievance.

Dr. Ghosh instituted a case of slander, which we consider a false one,

408. Letter.

409. S.R. Ghosh wrote to C. Rajagopalachari on 5 August 1959 asking for help. See C. Rajagopalachari Papers, NMML.

against an Indian woman, Miss Sahasi Ghosh, Assistant Professor, Institute of Education for Women, Calcutta, who had gone to London in 1957 on a fellowship from the University of Calcutta. This young woman was greatly harassed in this case and in fact we had to help her to some extent in her defence.

There is a case pending against Dr. Ghosh in a London court now for the realisation of the amount due from him to the Government of India. In the course of the last two or three years, there have been questions in Parliament about him also.

It seems to me that Dr. Ghosh is a very odd and eccentric person, if not worse, and his behaviour on a number of occasions has done him no credit. I do not quite know what he wants us to do now.

I am returning his letter to you.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

105. To K.N. Katju: Defamatory Leaflets⁴¹⁰

August 16, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

Maganlal Bagdi⁴¹¹ came to see me today. In the course of his talk, he showed me the attached printed notice which he said had been widely circulated. The notice is highly defamatory. It bears no imprint sign or the name of the press. It may be difficult, therefore, to trace it. But it would be worthwhile to try to find out which press has issued this. It is a bad thing to permit such notices to be circulated defaming people and to take shelter in not giving the name of the press.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

410. Letter.

411. Maganlal Radhakishan Bagdi (1912-1988); participated in the freedom movement; joined the Socialist Party, 1942, and became member of its National Executive, 1948-52; joined the PSP and thereafter the Congress; elected to the Lok Sabha in 1952 from Mahasamund, Madhya Pradesh, and in 1957 from Hoshangabad, Madhya Pradesh.

Bagdi defeated Hari Vishnu Kamath, PSP, the sitting Lok Sabha MP from Hoshangabad, in the 1957 election. Kamath appealed against the result on the ground that Bagdi had, among other things, circulated defamatory notices against Kamath.

106. To B.C. Roy: Political Prisoners in West Bengal⁴¹²

August 26, 1959

My dear Bidhan,
Sibnath Banerjee⁴¹³ has sent me a letter, a copy of which I enclose. This is about the release of certain political prisoners.⁴¹⁴

This matter has been raised previously on several occasions and you have given reasons for not releasing them at that stage. As this is a new approach after some time, I shall be grateful to have your views.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

(f) Social Groups**107. To R.R. Diwakar: Reservations in Mysore⁴¹⁵**

August 15, 1959

My dear Diwakar,⁴¹⁶

Your letter of the 12th August,⁴¹⁷ sending me a recent Press Note of the Mysore Government.⁴¹⁸ I am indeed surprised to see how far the principle of reservation

412. Letter.

413. (1897-1982); accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, and interned, 1929-32; General Secretary of All India Trade Union Congress, 1933, and President, 1937; elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1937, and again in 1946; co-founder, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, 1948; For details see Sajal Bose, *In Quest of Freedom: Sibnath Banerjee and His Times* (Calcutta: Minerva, 1990).

414. Sibnath Banerjee wrote to Nehru on 24 August on behalf of the Political Prisoners' Release Committee, West Bengal, about the Committee's appeal for the early release of 35 political prisoners, imprisoned and convicted in the Dum Dum Bashirhat Case, Kakdip Case and Jessop incidents. They had spent more than ten years in jail already.

415. Letter. R.R. Diwakar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

416. R.R. Diwakar was the founder and sole trustee of the Loka Shikshan Trust, Hubli.

417. See Appendix 30.

418. The Press Note of 21 July 1959, Appendix 3. Diwakar also sent Nehru a copy of an Order issued by the Government of Mysore on 22 July 1959 (see Appendix 4) and a Press Note dated 15 May 1959.

of appointments has been taken. I do not think this is at all good. This will lower standards and perpetuate divisions.⁴¹⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. To B.D. Jatti: Reservations in Mysore⁴²⁰

August 15, 1959

My dear Jatti,

I have seen a Press Note issued by your Government on the 21st July, 1959, on reservation of appointments in Government Services for various Backward Classes.⁴²¹ The list given is indeed formidable. Indeed, it seems that almost everyone has been included in the list of Backward Classes except Mudaliars and Brahmins. Possibly, the Mudaliars also would come in at a somewhat later stage.

I must say that this approach of stratification and reservation for every odd group does not appeal to me at all. I think this is bound to perpetuate

419. Diwakar wrote to Indira Gandhi on 24 August that the reservation policy pursued by the Mysore Government was "something which may go to revive and stabilize caste consciousness, caste organization, caste grouping and caste distrust of each other." He admitted that the method of reservation adopted was mathematically correct but wondered whether such classification "is democratically justifiable and whether it will really result in 'social justice'." Diwakar pointed out that "the whole of the present Mysore Cabinet (except one man) consists of men and women from Backward Classes" and added: "If such are the policies which are pursued by Congress Government, one is at a loss to know as to whither the Congress is going." He also cautioned that once the system of caste representation "takes root in service, in professions, colleges etc. it is difficult to restrict it only to those fields. It will develop into demands for representation in civic and other administrations, in Legislative Assemblies, in Parliament and so on. And the demand would be quite justifiable, once the principle is admitted." Diwakar hoped that Mrs Gandhi would consider these matters. Indira Gandhi replied on 10 September 1959 that "It is really extraordinary that all our efforts to minimize casteism have lead [sic] to this sort of thing." She added in her own hand, after the letter: "I learn that my father has already written to Shri Jatti & received the reply that this was merely carrying on an old custom & they have appointed a committee to go into this matter & revise it." For Nehru to B.D. Jatti, 15 August 1959, see item 108.

420. Letter.

421. See Appendix 3.

divisions and lower standards all round. How is any Government to be carried on like this, is not clear to me.⁴²²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

109. To G.B. Pant: Reservations in Mysore⁴²³

August 15, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I am sending you the enclosed letter from Diwakar,⁴²⁴ but there is no hurry for you to see it. When you have a little leisure, you can look through it.

I am indeed alarmed at the way reservations for appointments in Government Services have been given to a tremendous number of castes and groups. This is a very bad tendency and must lead to deterioration in Government work and in public life generally. I have written briefly to Jatti about it.⁴²⁵

[Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal]

422. For Jatti's reply, see item 107, fn 419.

The validity of the orders of the Mysore Government was challenged before the Mysore High Court by writ petitions Nos. 567, 572, 574 and 575 of 1959 in the case of Ramakrishna Singh Ram Singh and others v. State of Mysore and others. The High Court bench consisting of Chief Justice S.R. Das Gupta and Justice H. Hombe Gowda quashed the State Government orders on the ground that they could not be justified under Article 15(4) of the Constitution. See AIR 1960 Mysore 338 (V 47 C 119) in *The All India Reporter* 1960, Vol. 47, Mysore Section, (Bombay: The All India Reporter, Ltd., n.d.).

423. Letter.

424. See Appendix 30.

425. See item 108.

110. To Sampurnanand: False Case against Muslims in UP⁴²⁶

August 23, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

You will remember writing to me on July 23 about some Moharram incident near Sitapur.⁴²⁷ The other day Maulana Hifzur Rahman⁴²⁸ came to see me and gave me a very different account from the one the District Magistrate had sent you. It is possible that the official account you received was not correct.⁴²⁹

However, I am writing to you not about that particular incident, but about what apparently happened a little later. Hifzur Rahman had gone there for a day, and apparently as a result of his visit some kind of case was started against a number of Muslims there, including some old Congressmen. Hifzur Rahman gave me a full account, but I am afraid I have forgotten much of what he said. His chief point was that this second case had absolutely no basis, and he could say this from his personal knowledge. The case, according to him, was bound to fail. Only it will lead to much trouble and harassment. So he suggested that this might be looked into and the case not proceeded with. I am not referring to the riot case, but to what happened later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

426. Letter.

427. See SWJN/SS/50/item 81 for Nehru's reply to Sampurnanand's letter of 23 July 1959.

428. Maulana Mohammad Hifzur Rahman, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Amroha, UP, and General Secretary, Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind.

429. With reference to the Moharram incident in Laharpur, Sitapur district, on 18 July (see SWJN/SS/50/item 81), the *National Herald* reported on 20 July that, according to a press note issued by the District Magistrate on 19 July, "the processionists insisted on taking the tazias on new route and defying orders started cutting trees. They attacked the police and the magistrate who ordered firing in self-defence after two warnings and an ineffective lathi charge. Nine policemen were injured by the mob."

(g) Language

111. To Frank Anthony: Resolution on English⁴³⁰

August 6, 1959

Dear Anthony,⁴³¹

I have your letter of the 5th August.⁴³² It is not correct to say that the Government as such have decided to block or oppose your resolution.⁴³³ As I have already stated, there will be a free vote in the House and any Member can express his views as he likes.

I have promised to speak on this and I shall do so tomorrow.⁴³⁴ My own views on the question of language have often been stated. My approach is rather different from others, whether they are the Hindi enthusiasts or the English enthusiasts. I shall give expression to my views tomorrow. But I fear I cannot support your resolution as it is. I am, however, clear that English has to be encouraged in many ways and for a considerable time in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

112. In the Lok Sabha: English in the Eighth Schedule⁴³⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this debate has gone on for a fairly considerable time and I had intended not to participate in it. Not because I am not greatly interested in the subject but right from the beginning, I had felt that in this particular debate, every Member should be free to express his views and give his vote as he chose without any, if I may say so, party pressures or whips or anything like that. And I thought that, even though I had made that

430. Letter. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

431. Prominent Anglo-Indian leader; Nominated, Lok Sabha MP.

432. See Frank Anthony to Nehru, 5 August 1959, Appendix 20.

433. In the Lok Sabha, recommending inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

434. See Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha on 7 August 1959, item 112.

435. Speech, 7 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1287-1305.

The Lok Sabha was debating Frank Anthony's resolution which recommended inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

clear and it is clear, perhaps, if I spoke, that itself might be some kind of indirect pressure, although I do not want it to be so. But during the last session, friends pressed me to participate in this debate and I promised to do so and I am, therefore, fulfilling my promise.

To some extent I have tried to prepare myself for this by reading last evening Mr. Frank Anthony's speech when he moved this resolution and also some other speeches. Then I went back to the records of the Constituent Assembly when these language matters came up and among other speeches, I read my own which I made almost exactly ten years ago in September, 1948 [sic].⁴³⁶ If I may be permitted to say so, I was rather surprised to see what a good speech I had made there. And I find that really I have little to add to it or to vary it in any way.

My approach to this question is not hidden. I have repeated it on various occasions. It is not an approach of those worthy colleagues of ours whom I would call the Hindi enthusiasts, nor is it the approach of the other colleagues who are the English enthusiasts. Personally, I am an enthusiast for both: Hindi and English – when I say Hindi, I mean the Indian languages also – provided they function in their proper domains and spheres. I do not see any real conflict. There may be overlapping. Necessarily, languages overlap. That is not harmful. They have a good effect on each other but we should avoid this approach of conflict, as if the advance of one language somehow crushes the other. I recognise that in the past of India, English was undoubtedly an imposed language by the power that dominated over India. Therefore, while on the one hand it brought and opened out windows of knowledge, etc. it also had that sting in it – of being a language, sitting on the top of our own languages and our own cultural traditions. That is true. To some extent that memory lingers though we should try to get rid of it and consider these matters more objectively and impersonally.

In the course of the debate, many aspects of the language issue have been referred to although it is well to remember that Mr. Anthony's Resolution only touches one small aspect of it; it does not cover the rest. It is true also that the moment you touch these matters, immediately you shake up a hornet's nest and all kinds of things – not only language but all kinds of suspicions in people's minds, fears – come up and rather come in the way of calm and logical thought. One cannot help, therefore, looking at this relatively small matter in this larger context. Nevertheless, let us consider it in the smaller context.

436. In fact, in the Constituent Assembly on 13 September 1949; see SWJN/SS/13/pp. 146-155.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



I just asked the candidate to draw a chair and sit down!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 18 AUGUST 1959)

Shri Nath Pai,⁴³⁷ who was just speaking, appealed with eloquence for our helping the Anglo-Indian community to maintain their individuality and all that. I am all with him. I just do not see, however, how this particular amendment this way or that way helps or hinders. It is a very very minor matter from the point of view of maintaining their individuality. I am all for it. There are other forces that play in India which will help in maintaining it and other forces which will come in the way; because, naturally, all kinds of forces came to unify India came to mix us up with each other, and I hope—I am not talking of the Anglo-Indian community, but all of us—that these forces which mingle and commingle us will grow and not keep us in watertight compartments as they do still, and compartments of caste, and the like will actually vanish. If that happens, no doubt, that kind of thing will affect the Anglo-Indian community also, and I think it is a good thing if it happens, not by any pressure but by the natural process of racial integration and all that.

This particular resolution really has no real effect on that, because I recognise that English is and should be considered the mother tongue of the Anglo-Indian community. By putting it in this list you do not make it more or less a mother tongue; it is that. And, as the House knows, our policy is to encourage education in the mother tongue, whatever it is. We go about in the North-East Frontier Agency teaching people in their tribal languages. Some of them are very imperfect, not developed, nevertheless, we think it important to start their primary education in their own language. If you start in any other language, Assamese, Hindi or whatever it may be — these languages come at a later stage, there is an element of difficulty, of foreignness to the child. If you do that in the case of the tribal languages, surely in the case of the more developed languages that is even more important. Surely, in the case of English it is very important. For people who consider English as their mother tongue, — well, it is for them to decide — it is their mother tongue and they should be given every facility for that.

Shri Anthony referred in his speech, I think, to the so-called Anglo-Indian schools. I do not personally know much about them, so I dare not say much; but without knowing much I would say this, that any facility for Anglo-Indian education should be maintained, should be continued and should be facilitated necessarily.

Now, it must be remembered that the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution containing the list of 14 languages is certainly not an exhaustive Schedule of Indian languages. Obviously, not. There are other languages which are not

437. Bapu Nath Pai, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Rajapur, Bombay.

mentioned there, quite a number. In fact, in the amendments to this resolution I see odd languages mentioned saying that they should be included. Therefore, you must not consider that the non-mention of a language means that it is not an Indian language or is not a language used in India. That is not correct.

Take another language not so much used in India. There are plenty of Indians who have French as their mother tongue in Pondicherry and elsewhere. We have promised to honour French in Pondicherry and to encourage it. We are encouraging it, and it is the language of that little State of Pondicherry today; education, law, judiciary, medical, teaching and other matters are done in French there. What will happen in the distant future I do not know. It may be that before too long a very considerable number of Portuguese-speaking people will also be within our country. Many are within our country today, outside Goa. But, no doubt, Goa will come, and we have even now given the assurance that the Portuguese language of Goa will be honoured. We respect it and it will be a language of India in so far as those people are concerned.

So my outlook is somewhat different. I am not referring, of course, to all the other languages which are more typically Indian all over the place. There is Sindhi, a very important language. Sind may have gone, but a large number of Sindhi-speaking people of eminence have come here with their language. Because of that, you know, so far as the Sahitya Akadami is concerned, deliberately we have included English and Sindhi in our list, because we were dealing with a practical problem of encouraging the publication of book in languages which we considered to be of importance to India. We had the whole list, of course, of the Eighth Schedule, and we had English and Sindhi. That is all right. It shows our friendly attitude to encourage English; not at the expense of the 14 or any other – of course not – but we felt that English had a peculiar importance – not because, if I may say so with all respect, the Anglo-Indian community considered it their mother tongue, but for wider reason; because it has been and will continue to be a window to us to all kinds of activities, – thinking etc. Therefore, we included it, and one of our chief purpose in the Sahitya Akadami is to translate from one Indian language to another; translate from English to an Indian language, translate from an Indian language to English etc., and quite a number of translations have come out.

Now, therefore, my first point is that the Eighth Schedule is not an exclusive list of Indian languages. It is a list of the more widespread, if you like, Indian languages, spoken by large numbers of people. There are quite a number which are not included, which are very much Indian languages. Secondly, so far as education etc. are concerned, we lay stress on the mother tongue, not on the 14 languages but on every other mother tongue that is in India – certainly on English, certainly on French, certainly on Portuguese, leave out the typical

Indian languages, and certainly on the tribal languages – so that there should be and there is no burden on the Anglo-Indian community or anybody who consider English or any other language as their mother tongue.

Now, there is article 347 of the Constitution. It says:

“On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.”

“Any language”, not a language of the Eighth Schedule. It is the right of people speaking any language, if they are sufficient in numbers, to request the President to declare it as the officially recognised language for that area. He may do that. And it is obvious that it is not confined to the 14 languages; any language can come. It is a different matter whether conditions prevail for any other language to be so, but the point is that the Constitution definitely thinks not of the 14 languages, mentioned in the Eighth Schedule only but also of other languages. And, so far as English is concerned, of course, it is mentioned in the Constitution in various places rather specially.

As Shri Anthony himself said, this question of language whenever it comes up rather clouds our vision because of our emotion. There are psychological and other reactions to it, and that is the real reason for this kind of debate; otherwise, I do not think it makes much difference if you add or subtract a language because that is not an exclusive list, as I said.

It is true that the Indian languages have suffered psychologically and otherwise; yet they have gained a great deal too naturally from contacts with the wider world. They have suffered to a large extent.

Some hon. Member: I forget who it was, perhaps it was Shri Nath Pai or somebody else, who said –

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Pandit Braj Narayan “Brajesh”.⁴³⁸

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He put the idea that a person who knows English is a superior person to a person who does not know English. They have suffered from that to an extent and still they suffer to a certain extent; it is gradually going away; but it is still there, and there is a bad thing. That kind of feeling is a bad thing.

438. Hindu Mahasabha, Lok Sabha MP from Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh.

I am rather partial to English. I consider English important, not, if I may say so, for many of the reasons advanced here – those reasons, I think, are relatively unimportant – but for some entirely different reasons. But I do think that it is a bad thing if in India this feeling perseveres, that a person who does not know English he may be a scholar in his own language—is somehow inferior to the other person who knows very imperfect English or whatever it is.

An Hon. Member: There is a feeling.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not a good feeling. In fact I go further. I think it is quite essential that a person, even though he belongs to some rather primitive group, whoever he may be—though you might think that he belongs to some rather primitive group – must respect his own culture. If you go and deal with some of the tribal folk – the tribal folk of course differ greatly, some of them are highly advanced and some are not – the first thing, I believe, is to make them have contempt for themselves or their people. It is a bad thing. When I say that about the tribal folk, how much more does it apply to others? There has been this feeling and there has been this separation in India of the so-called English-knowing and the English-speaking people from the masses of humanity in India, whether they are Hindi-speaking or Marathi-speaking or Bengali-speaking or Tamil-speaking. That of course is partly going but it has been there and that has to be very definitely removed. A scholar of Hindi or Tamil is infinitely better than a person who knows indifferent English; obviously he is better. He knows something well.

Take another aspect of it. Whether you like it or not, I like it. The medium of instruction in India is becoming an Indian language, of a region or of the State; call it what you will. There is no doubt about it. The real importance of English in the past was that it was the medium of instruction. Many of us have grown up learning it as a medium of instruction. We cannot get out of it, but the next generation is getting out of it. The generation after that will be completely out of it, and that is the real change that is coming; not your Schedules and all that. The medium of instruction is Hindi or Tamil or Telugu or Marathi or Gujarati or Bengali or whatever it is. Progressively it is coming like that. I do not wish to force the pace anywhere.

My friend Dr. Subbarayan talked about university education with one language. I do not know. I should like that. But I do not want Parliament or the law to force the pace. I want things to develop naturally, imbibing the good things of the past and the present, because I dislike pressure in the case of language. I dislike imposition in the case of language. Therefore I dislike Hindi enthusiasts trying to impose Hindi. I dislike it. Well, equally I dislike the idea of

imposing English. I feel all these things should be allowed to grow naturally, giving a certain help and direction now and then and allow things to be developed.

Now, the major change that has come over India is that the medium of instruction has become – in the schools, high schools, it has already become – the language of the State. English is used certainly, – a good thing too – and I am all for it especially in the universities. But the medium of instruction in the regional language is a big break linguistically from the past. It does not matter where you put it in, in what Schedule, or what the Official Language Commission says or does. They are important for their own reason but the real thing is that the medium of instruction has changed. Therefore, you can only consider English as a secondary language, or if you like, a compulsory secondary language; if you like, a highly important language, a language which is not the medium of instruction but which is learnt as a separate foreign language. That has become inevitable. I think it is right.

There are certain risks and dangers in all this – linguism or the languages developing and becoming rather autarchies or developing certain separateness. There are certain risks. We cannot ignore them and we should deal with them. We should fight that tendency; but, mind you, we cannot fight it by trying to come in the way of the developing of the regional languages. That is a wrong way. We must encourage their fullest development because I believe it is through that development that they can come together and come nearer to each other; not by one language trying to push the other like the exceedingly futile debate for a generation or two generations or more that took place in Uttar Pradesh or the old United Provinces about Hindi and Urdu and each so-called language, – the languages may be more or less the same with minor differences – not trying for its own growth but trying to smother the other, trying to sit on the other and trying to blame and condemn the other. It is an amazing thing, but it goes on still to some extent. Some Hindi enthusiasts get angry if somebody speaks of Urdu not knowing that they cut their own hands and feet by talking against Urdu, because Hindi and Urdu help each other. They do not hinder each other; they help each other, add to the growth of each, and the moment you try to hinder the one you hinder yourselves from growing.

Therefore, I think we have to take that risk, the risk of language separatism. There is no help for it. I think we shall get over it undoubtedly, but we should get over it if we encourage the right tendencies and not impose our will on others.

Now, take Hindi. Hindi is at present objected to by many people in the South. Why? Well, because of a feeling of imposition and not because they are against Hindi. As a matter of fact I think there are vast numbers of people in the South learning Hindi and learning it very well. The process is going on, but the

moment you talk of any kind of imposition, quite rightly they get angry. And, therefore, all talk of imposition must go. I should go further and tell them, if they do not want to learn Hindi let them not learn Hindi. Let us gradually, if they want to, make this approach and thereby you would bring them nearer to each other.

There are, of course, many other things. I am not discussing the whole question of language, but again I repeat that the big thing that has happened in India is that the medium of instruction has changed from English to the regional languages. Other things are secondary.

Also, it was right and essential for this medium of instruction to change and for our education to be in those languages if we have to deal on a level with the masses of our people. There is no other way. Now, remember, I repeat, I am partial to English, and I will say something about that presently. But I am also partial to our people, the masses of this country; not because of my partiality for English or foreign knowledge or scientific and technical knowledge – I am partial for them – but I just cannot forget that we have to carry 400 million people with us and not an elite, a few thousands or even a million or two if you like, and you cannot carry them practically, psychologically, emotionally in anyway except through their language. So, you have to deal with those languages. You have to deal not only with them, but ourselves too.

Therefore, it is for all these reasons that, although Mr. Anthony's resolution does not make a mighty difference this way or that way, I do not think it is a wise resolution or a wise step to take. I do not think it will make any difference. It would not help the Anglo-Indian community, but it may very well hinder not the Anglo-Indian community, but the process he wants to encourage, by bringing in another bitter dispute, fears and apprehensions. I want to avoid that. I want natural processes and not make a constitutional amendment. Suppose at the time of framing the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly put in English there at that time, there it would have remained. But now to go out of our way to put in any language will obviously open the doors to so many other languages coming in. Apart from that, it will open the door to infinite controversy and conflict.

It will be injurious to English, in the end, because, remember, in the final analysis, it is no good forgetting that it is the non-English-knowing people who will decide the fate of India – I do not say "Hindi-knowing", but "non-English-knowing" – because they are the vast majority in this country. Naturally; how can we escape that? We can help them, we can to some extent mould their thinking and direct them, but the moment you make them feel that you are up against them, then you are lost; you will be swept, with all your English and everything. Therefore, I do not think it is wise to raise these things.

But I do think that essentially we have to encourage our languages, our education and our work must be progressively in our languages to keep in touch with the people and to bring them into the emotional contact with what is happening in your Governments and elsewhere. It does not matter I am speaking in English; It is because I am habituated to it, and it does not matter. But I know that the right thing to do is to speak in a language understood by far more people. So, I think that has to be done.

Dr. Subbarayan referred to the official language. Our Constitution has laid it down, for a variety of reasons into which I need not go, that Hindi should develop progressively as that, not because Hindi is better or more powerful or whatever it may be, than the other languages, but for certain very practical reasons of extent, etc. I believe that this should be done.

I believe also two things. As I just said, there must be no imposition. Secondly, for an indefinite period – I do not know how long – I should have, I would have, English as an associate additional language which can be used, not because of facilities and all that, there is something in that, but because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance are closed to them, because they are forced to correspond – the Government, I mean – in the Hindi language. They can correspond in English. So, I would have it as an alternate language as long as people require it and the decision for that, I would leave not to the Hindi-knowing people, but to the non-Hindi-knowing people.

I will repeat what I mean, Hindi progressively develops; I try for that, but I love English to come into the picture to be used as long as people require it. Some States have followed it; they can go on using it and gradually allow languages to develop and to replace English.

Having said that, I should like to say a few words about English itself. Really the question of Hindi versus English is a very minor issue; it is not the real issue at all, although there is so much argument, if you look at it from my point of view, the way I have put it. I come to English – and its importance. It is not important, if I may say so, because a number of people know it in India, although it is a factor to be remembered. It is not important because it is the English of Milton and Shakespeare, although that also has to be considered. There are also great poets in other languages – French, German, Russian, Spanish, etc., apart from Asian languages. It is important because it is the major window to the modern world for us. That is why it is important and we are not close that window. If we close it, it is at the peril of our future.

We talk about our Five Year Plan, industrialisation, science and technology. Every door of that is closed if you do not have foreign languages. You need not have English; you can have French, German or Russian, if you like, but obviously

it is infinitely simpler for us to deal with a language we know than to shift over to German or Russian or Spanish. It is a tremendous job. Certainly we want to learn Russian, German, Spanish or whatever it is, because we deal with them in business, trade and science. Every competent scientist today has to know two or three non-Indian languages.

People imagine that by coining a large number of words in Hindi or Bengali or Marathi or Tamil – technical and scientific words – and maybe by translating some text-books, you provide the background for scientific teaching. Certainly, for high schools you do it and maybe it is right that you should do so, although this business of coming words seems to me to have been carried on to rather absurd limits, making a noble language progressively more and more artificial and understandable. It is terrible and I think the chief persons guilty are, not all, but some of the Hindi enthusiasts. They make it very difficult really. Leave out the question of literary forms and graces; in my own small way, I too am a lover of languages and it hurts me, it hurts my aesthetic sense, my conception of language, to see these artificial monstrosities thrust upon me, put up at cross-roads and stations – huge long words, which nobody understands, not the public. I do not know if the man who invented it understands it.

It is a terrible thing and it is more dangerous for the Hindi language than anything else, because you are tying up Hindi with steel bonds, which will prevent it from growing. The creativeness of a language goes if you impose these things. Language is a delicate flower which grows in beauty. You can feed it in various ways; you cannot pull, tug or twist it about and think it will grow.

Shri Narasimhan (Krishnagiri):⁴³⁹ This disease is spreading to regional languages also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is all the worse; I am sorry. It is a bad thing.

It is inevitable that in the present stage of our development, with our Five Year Plan, industrialisation, mechanisation, scientific progress and research, you cannot progress by all the Indian languages put together. I say that definitely today and if you want to stick to them only, without foreign languages, you do not go ahead. You may have enough science to teach in high schools; you may even get some books for your elementary university course. All that should be done, but science is not the B.A. or the B.Sc. course. Science today goes into

439. Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari Narasimhan, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Krishnagiri, Madras State.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

the jet age, atomic energy, space travel, automation and all that. It is a new age and this House should forgive me if I say something, not derogatory to the House, but still rather critical; and that is, this House does not represent, in numbers I mean, the scientific outlook. That is to say, we represent more the literary outlook, the lawyers' outlook and so on and so forth.

Shri Hem Barua: The emotional too.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The peasant's outlook too, which is important. I do not challenge that. But I will say this. I was reading a lecture delivered in the Cambridge University a few months ago by an eminent man. The lecture was called "the two cultures".⁴⁴⁰ He was dealing with the English scene, mind you, not India. And he was saying how in England two cultures have developed which were far apart from each other, which did not understand each other, the two cultures being the literary culture and the scientific culture. And he gave examples. He said in the hall of the big college at Cambridge there were dons sitting – the scientific dons, the mathematical dons and the literary and the classical dons and they glared at each other; they did not talk to each other; the literary and the classical people, Greek and Latin and all that, on the one side and the scientific and the mathematical people on the other side. They looked with contempt at each other. And he said it is extraordinary these two cultures developing – the literary man, he knows nothing about the modern scientific age and the scientific man knows nothing about the treasures of literature. If that can happen in a country like England, in a city like Cambridge in a college gathering, people glaring and not understanding each other, professors of a single college, transport yourself to India. We are backward in science. Our scientists apart, our own thinking is not scientific. We use some of the products of science in industrialisation undoubtedly. We travel by air, we talk about space travel. Maybe we read some fiction, what is called "science fiction" or space fiction or something. But essentially we are far far away from this age, the atomic age, in our thinking. Naturally, it is not surprising. If the English literary men who live in a highly industrialised country cannot fit into

440. "The Two Cultures," Rede Lecture, delivered by C.P. Snow at Cambridge University, in May 1959.

that mentally, how much more difficult will it be for us who are industrially backward, scientifically backward and in other ways not used to that.

We have some professors teaching science. We have some technologists. They are growing of course, and there we are on the threshold of an industrial revolution in India. Now that industrial revolution cannot, in the present age – I am not talking of the future ages – be carried out, because we have no literature, no language. We have some books on elementary physics or biology or chemistry, but this higher mathematics and all that is really quite beyond our languages, at the present moment. And you cannot have an industrial revolution unless people have access to these and are taught these books in various languages. You may translate some. You should. But it is not enough. So, without the knowledge of the foreign language the doors of the new age are closed to you, without the knowledge of several foreign languages I would say, and inevitably the language which is easier to you is English, to come back to it.

There is another aspect. When I talk of the industrial age and all these other scientific developments, and when we talk about language, a totally new language is developing in the world, a language, if you like, of the elite, the language of the mysterious, the high priests, which average people do not understand. But it is developing with amazing rapidity among the technical people, among the scientific men, a language largely of mathematical formulae. There is very little of the rest there. It is chiefly mathematical formulae which are accepted and as only mathematicians and physicists will understand and for you and me we do not just understand it. And this is developing at a terrific pace, because it has to keep pace with the development of technology, development of so many other things of science and there surely is going to be, I hope, one language in the world, the language of the mathematical formulae. For that we cannot have a separate language; otherwise, the world is lost.

We talk about one world today in theory because of scientific advance, communications and all that. National boundaries hardly count. And I have no doubt that if the world survives long enough there will be one world. But these national prejudices come in the way and we cannot ignore them. At any rate, let us go towards that, and not isolate ourselves. In this connection, I would say a lay small matter which you have decided and I would like to stress on that. It is of the highest importance that you use international numerals progressively – not that you cannot use whatever you like in the private books and things, I have no objection because that again becomes a symbol of the modern age, of science, of mathematics, of formulae and all that. You cannot introduce all that formulae etc. in the Devanagari numerals. You immediately get into a different world. You have to use it. That at least, let us have in common with the world, common in India to begin with. Then the commonness increases.

An Hon. Member: That is a signal for you to stop.⁴⁴¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know it is a signal from Seth Govind Das.⁴⁴² In conclusion I would venture to say that it is of the utmost importance that the people grow from their roots. We cannot uproot, without doing them enormous injury, any people, even the primitive people. We are not a primitive people. We have 5,000 years, 10,000 years background behind us. How can we uproot ourselves? It is an impossibility. We cannot do it. The language becomes a symbol of continuity. What are languages, every language, even the Southern languages? The northern languages are intimately connected with Sanskrit. The southern languages are not connected in that way, but in other ways.

Now, everyone knows that Sanskrit was the symbol and the vehicle of our magnificent civilisation in the past, a tremendous thing. Whenever I think of it I am overwhelmed by the achievement of Sanskrit. It is a tremendous thing. Now we cannot leave it. Let us learn it by all means. But our languages are a continuity, are a cultural tradition from Sanskrit. They keep that continuity deep of the dim past through Sanskrit and for us not to lay stress on that, not to encourage them, not to imbibe them ourselves means that we cut ourselves away from thousands of years of cultural tradition, to cut ourselves away from our people who have that cultural tradition. You may call them illiterate but you dare not call our people uncultured. They are not. They are full of culture even though they may not know how to read and write. So, if this continuity is broken, for an ancient country like us it will be fatal. We dare not do it. Therefore, we have to develop our language. Therefore, we have to keep in touch with the mass of the people. Therefore, we have progressively to function in those languages.

Now I come back again to the second point, of the modern scientific jet atomic age. We must have a foreign language to open our windows and we must not close our minds to it.

Shri Nath Pai: The hon. Prime Minister stated that Portuguese is the language of Goa. Konkani is the language both of the Hindus and the Christians in Goa. Portuguese is the language of the forces of occupation.

441. This comment was prompted by the alarm buzz of the wrist watch of one of the Members.

442. According to the *National Herald* of 8 August 1959, Nehru, who had been speaking for about an hour, turned towards Govind Das, Congress MP from Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, and said amidst laughter: "I know this is a signal (laughter). I know this is a signal (for me to stop) from Mr. Govind Das."

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know that Konkani is the language. But we have said that it is entirely for the people there – we have said that as we said in the case of Pondicherry – that if the people there want to carry on with Portuguese they can do so.⁴⁴³

113. To Sunderlal: Urdu Deputation⁴⁴⁴

August 30, 1959

My dear Sunderlal,⁴⁴⁵

Srinivasan⁴⁴⁶ has shown me your letter to him of the 29th August. I would, of course, gladly meet your Urdu deputation, but I find it very difficult to do so during the next two or three days. There is no particular point in your meeting me before the discussion in the Lok Sabha on the Official Language question.⁴⁴⁷ This whole report deals principally with the use of Hindi or English or both in various capacities as an all India language. So far as I know, the question of Urdu, as that of other languages, is only referred to incidentally. Also, Parliament does not pass any resolution on this subject. According to the Constitution, the report of the Parliamentary Committee has to go to the President as it is. Parliament can only consider it and not make any specific recommendations. There-fore, the need for your seeing me before this discussion anyhow does not arise.

Also, if you wish me to be at all helpful, I should like to have the specific points which your Anjuman has before it.⁴⁴⁸ I could inquire into them. It is

443. After the debate Frank Anthony sought to withdraw his resolution as he wanted to avoid friction, but Govind Das insisted that it should be put to the vote. The House granted Anthony leave to withdraw the resolution.

444. Letter. File No. 40 (132)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 17/14/49-SR(R), MHA.

445. Pandit Sunderlal was an active member of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu Hind.

446. C.R. Srinivasan.

447. The Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language was discussed in the Lok Sabha from 2 to 4 September and in the Rajya Sabha from 8 to 9 September 1959. Nehru made a statement in the Lok Sabha on 4 September 1959; see SWJN/SS/52/item 46. The Committee, set up in September 1957 under G.B. Pant, recommended on 8 February 1959 that English be continued after 26 January 1965 as co-official language. See <http://rajbhasha.gov.in/cpolreport9-chapter1eng.pdf>.

448. The Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu Hind had been urging that Urdu should be officially recognised in various territories in the country where it was prevalent among considerable sections of the population.

hardly necessary for you to come just to convince me of the necessities of our helping Urdu in the Delhi area or elsewhere. I am convinced that we should help Urdu speaking people. Afterwards, if you like, I shall meet your delegation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Media

114. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Import of Newsprint⁴⁴⁹

August 2, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

In the course of a letter I have received from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,⁴⁵⁰ there is a note to the following effect:

“Mr. Durga Das, the Editor of “The Hindustan Times”, for whom I have a great regard, called to see me the other day. He seemed very disturbed at the small amount of newsprint that you can import into India with all the other calls upon your financial resources. He felt that with the immense growth of literacy this was very sad and gave the Communists a chance of distributing their material. It is not my business to interfere but do you think there is anything that I can do to help? I would willingly discuss it with President Eisenhower and my own colleagues and see whether some assistance could be given. Please forgive me if I am interfering.”

I am passing this on to you. I do not quite know what the position is and who deals with this news-print import. I suppose your Ministry does it. Have you any suggestions to make?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

449. Letter. File No. 44 (38)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

450. For Harold Macmillan's letter to Nehru, see Appendix 15. This was contained as a message in a letter of 2 August 1959 from Malcolm MacDonald, the British High Commissioner, to Nehru; the actual date of Macmillan's letter is not available.

115. To B.V. Keskar: Vinoba Bhave's Addresses in Kashmir⁴⁵¹

August 7, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,⁴⁵²

I am told that some of the reports of Vinobaji's addresses, which have been given in the A.I.R., have not been correct.⁴⁵³ Indeed, that Vinobaji himself felt so. I gather that one of your Radio men, probably from your Srinagar Station, is attached to him. It is through him that news comes even to P.T.I. I think that he should be pulled up. It should be quite easy for him to get his message passed by someone who accompanies Vinobaji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. To Mahavir Tyagi: *Indian Express* Building in Delhi⁴⁵⁴

August 13, 1959

My dear Mahavir,

You wrote to me two or three days ago about Goenka⁴⁵⁵ and the Indian Express building here. I had a vague recollection of what the Cabinet decided last year, but I did not remember the details. I have, therefore, sent your letter on to K.C. Reddy, the W.H. & S. Minister, and asked him to let me know what the position is.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

451. Letter.

452. Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

453. Vinoba Bhave toured Jammu and Kashmir from May to September 1959. See <http://www.mkgandhi.org/movedbylove/map.htm>, accessed on 1 June 2013. *The Statesman*, 2 August 1959 and *The Times of India*, 8 August 1959.

454. Letter. Mahavir Tyagi Papers, NMML.

455. Ramnath Goenka, the publisher of the *Indian Express* group of newspapers.

117. To Ramnath Goenka: Need for another News Service⁴⁵⁶

August 15, 1959

My dear Goenka,

Your letter of the 14th August.

You are quite right in saying that it is not a good thing for us to have only one News Service.⁴⁵⁷ So far as I know, nearly everyone would like to have another News Service, both because it would be good in itself and, secondly, a little friendly competition will be good for both.

I have learnt for the first time from your letter about your proposal. You will appreciate that it is a little difficult for me to say anything about a particular proposal unless it has been examined by the Ministry in question. I am, therefore, sending your letter to Dr. Keskar and asking him to have this matter looked into as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

456. Letter. File No. 43 (139)/59-61-PMS.

457. The only national news service operating in India at this time was the Press Trust of India; the United Press of India had suspended its service from 1 October 1958.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

118. To V.T. Krishnamachari: The Third Five Year Plan¹

August 1, 1959

My dear V.T.,

I suppose you will be coming back soon to Delhi.² I hope that your stay in the South during this hot season has made you fit.

I suppose that during these past few months, there has been some slackening in our Planning Commission about the preparatory thinking for the Third Five Year Plan. We have to pick up the threads again and go on with it in the organised way that we have begun.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has agreed to give us a credit for Rs. 180 crores for the Third Plan.³ They describe this as an initial step and probably can give us more later. Anyhow, we have to think of utilising this and discuss the matter later with the Soviet authorities. Probably someone will have to go to Moscow for that purpose.

How do we fit this in with our contemplated future schemes? I understand that the Soviet authorities think that a good part of this money should go for oil development in India, to which they give very high priority.

I shall, of course, be seeing you fairly soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter. File No. Plan/51/4/58 (A), Planning Commission. Also available in File No. 17 (302)/58-59, PMS and JN Collection.
2. Krishnamachari returned on 3 August after attending three conferences in Mysore City: the Conference of Deputy Commissioners, the National Conference on Community Development and the Conference of the State Ministers of Cooperation. File No. Plan/51/4/58 (A), Planning Commission, and V.T. Krishnamachari, *Planning in India* (Calcutta: Orient Longman's, 1961).
3. The Soviet offer came in the last week of June 1959; see SWJN/SS/49/item 168 and SWJN/SS/50/item 163.

119. To Jagjivan Ram: Railway Workshop at Amritsar⁴

August 16, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Your letter of the 8th August with which you have sent a chronological statement about the Amritsar workshop.⁵ Obviously, I cannot be a judge in a complicated matter of this kind, but I confess I have a feeling that the Punjab Government have not had a fair deal in this matter. I am chiefly concerned because I was responsible for this transfer of the workshop to the Railways. The Punjab Government did not want to transfer it, and they only did so under pressure from me. Because of this, I feel a certain responsibility.

I do not think that a matter like this can be settled by long letters and correspondence. Some new method will have to be devised which ends this issue and removes the sense of grievance which the Punjab Government have. The Punjab Government want to set up a new workshop now, and this may cost them anything up to four crores of rupees.

Have you any suggestions to make as to how we should deal with this matter so that final results may be arrived at quickly? I might add that Partap Singh Kairon is coming to see me soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Letter. File No. 17 (68)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

5. For previous reference, see SWJN/SS/50/item 87.

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

120. To S. Nijalingappa: The Congress Approach to Cooperative Farming⁶

August 15, 1959

My dear Nijalingappa,⁷Your letter of the 11th August.⁸

The letter of the President to me⁹ to which you refer, was confidential, and I do not think it will be right for me to circulate it in any way. But I might inform you that the Press had given a wrong twist to it. There was very little in it about cooperative farming. The letter dealt with a variety of subjects. Some reference was made about cooperative farming, but the subject was not discussed in any way. The main purpose of the President writing to me was to draw attention to certain matters, which included education etc., and express the hope that our Government will give careful consideration to them.

Probably you have seen the report of an Agrarian Committee appointed by the Congress in, I think, 1946.¹⁰ Rajendra Babu was Congress President then, and he appointed this Committee. J.C. Kumarappa was Chairman, and there were a number of eminent members, economists and others. I am sure it will interest your Working Group to read what this Committee have said about cooperatives. They have discussed this at some length. Their recommendation was that there should be two types of farming: (1) individual farms with service cooperatives, and (2) the smaller holdings to be put in cooperative farms. Their point was that small holdings cannot function properly or advance except through cooperative farming. Where holdings were somewhat bigger, individual farms should continue.

In fact, they went rather far and said that the cooperative farming with small holdings should be compulsorily introduced. The Nagpur Congress resolution¹¹ more or less follow [sic] that lead, though the wording is different and it is clear that no compulsion is thought of or considered desirable. The

6. Letter. File No. 31(93)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

7. S. Nijalingappa was the chairman of the Working Group on Cooperative Farming, appointed by the Union Government.

8. See S. Nijalingappa to Nehru, 11 August 1959, Appendix 28.

9. See SWJN/SS/49/item 3, fn 30.

10. See item 3, fn 31.

11. See SWJN/SS/50/item 1, fn 4.

Nagpur resolution laid stress on service cooperatives, that is, individual farms functioning separately, but joined together by service cooperatives. This is the next three years' programme. It said, however, that the ideal we aim at is cooperative farming. The changeover was envisaged as coming gradually and, of course, voluntarily.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

121. To Morarji Desai: Leonard Cheshire's Charity Work¹²

August 21, 1959

My dear Morarji,

I enclose in original a letter from Group Captain Leonard Cheshire.¹³ There is no doubt that the work that Cheshire is doing deserves every sympathy and help. He is a fine man who himself suffered from T.B. and after the War started a new approach to the question of relieving suffering. His name has now become famous in many continents. He works quietly without fuss.

I do not know the rules of P.L. 480¹⁴ and how his request might affect some other claims that we may have.

He has, I think, decided to make Dehra Dun his headquarters and has got some land from the U.P. Government. Oddly enough, he has managed to get help from both the Soviet Union as well as other countries.¹⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Letter.

13. British RAF pilot during World War II; set up philanthropic organizations, especially the Cheshire Homes for the sick.

14. US Public Law 480, passed in 1954 regarding US food for overseas aid.

15. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 503-504.

122. To K.P. Sinha: Cooperative Farming¹⁶

August 23, 1959

Dear Shri Sinha,¹⁷

I have your letter of August 12th. The question of agrarian reform involving ceilings and cooperatives has been continuously discussed by the Congress organisation for the last ten years or more and by the Planning Commission repeatedly. We have had meetings of the National Development Council to discuss it too. And the matter is dealt at length in various reports etc. You can hardly expect me to discuss this complicated subject in the course of a letter.

So far as cooperative farming is concerned, this has been suggested as the second stage after service cooperatives have been introduced and only where the people themselves voluntarily offer to do it. There are many ways of doing it. Broadly speaking, it applies to the small holdings.

You can certainly see me when you come to Delhi, but I am very heavily occupied during this Session of Parliament.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

123. To S. Narsapaya: State Trading in Foodgrains¹⁸

August 25, 1959

Dear Shri Narsapaya,¹⁹

Thank you for your letter of the 24th August.²⁰ I am delighted to learn of the success of your Cooperative Society in South Kanara and of the good work this has done. I am quite sure that properly organised Cooperative Societies can undertake State trading in foodgrains as well as many other kinds of work. Such difficulties as we have had in various places are due to the absence of proper Cooperatives.

16. Letter.

17. A resident of Saran House, Boring Road, Patna.

18. Letter.

19. MLA, Mysore state; advocate; President, S.K. Cooperative and Marketing Supply Society, South Kanara District.

20. See S. Narsapaya to Nehru, 24 August 1959, Appendix 38.

I shall welcome your sending me a scheme as you suggest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

124. To C.L. Khanna: Students Need to Work in the Villages²¹

August 30, 1959

Dear Shri Khanna,²²

I have your letter of August 25. I am glad to learn that your College Planning Forum is having some kind of a National Plan Celebration Week. I attach very considerable importance to these college forums where the problems of planning are discussed. This is the only democratic way of dealing with our country's problems. Planning, of course, covers all our major problems. We shall not solve them merely by slogans or merely by an emotional approach, although emotion in right causes is always good.

In India we face a problem of colossal dimensions. This is not merely because of the size of India and our population, but the nature of these problems. The only way to solve them democratically is for large numbers of young men and women to give thought to them and thereby train themselves for future action. Thought and discussion are necessary, but they are only good if they are followed by action. In fact, thought and action have to be intimately allied if they are to be effective.

I am glad to learn that you have been conducting a socio-economic survey of a village. I would suggest that, in addition to such surveys, you might organise active work in the villages involving physical labour. There is nothing like physical labour and productive activities to train a person and put him in tune with our people and our national activities. I do not mean some kind of show-piece and some people going and digging for a while. The work should be worthwhile and continued. Perhaps different groups could take up different nearby villages. In doing so, it is quite essential not to go to the village in a superior way to teach the villagers. The approach has to be friendly, cooperative and a little humble so as to gain the goodwill and confidence of the people. There are far

21. Letter.

22. Head of the Department of Economics, DAV College, Ambala. Personal communication from DAV College, Ambala.

too many fissiparous tendencies in India, and even in our villages. They can only be got over by solid activities which will divert people's minds into right channels.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Food and Agriculture

125. To Cabinet Ministers and Chief Ministers: The Food Situation²³

Opening the discussion, the Prime Minister thanked the Chief Ministers of States for coming to the meeting at very short notice. The Prime Minister said that the meeting had been convened to consider, not so much immediate issues, as broad policies relating to food. Two days earlier the Cabinet had considered the subject and felt that it was neither desirable nor possible to come to any conclusions without the fullest consultation with the Chief Ministers. A situation had been reached when it was essential for the Centre and the States to function together, otherwise both would suffer. Food administration affected every single person in the country and also affected planning. Food problems, therefore, required consideration from all aspects. The Prime Minister said that the issues were too important to be decided at this meeting and suggested a special meeting a few days later when the Chief Ministers would have considered the subject and their Food Ministers could also accompany them.

2. The Prime Minister explained that at his suggestion the Cabinet Secretary had prepared a short paper setting out the main issues regarding food policy and the arrangements for the next kharif which required consideration. It was clear that whatever decisions were taken, they had to face certain difficulties. In regard to food, to some extent they were in the hands of the elements. While stocks were a kind of insurance, the question was how these were to be built up. During the past year food production had been 10 million ton more than in the preceding year. Nevertheless, they had experienced high prices.

23. Summary record of a meeting of the Cabinet with the Chief Ministers of States, 22 August 1959. File No. 8/11/59-CDN, Coordination Branch, Planning Commission. Excerpts.

3. The Prime Minister thought that if they looked back, they would find that they had faced far greater difficulties in earlier years, as, for instance, immediately after Independence. From time to time they had adopted various policies to meet the situation which had arisen. In some ways they were now better placed. On the other hand, there were larger additions to the population which had to be looked after. There were also other factors such as the inflationary situation. They had to be careful that any action they took did not increase inflationary pressures. If inflationary tendencies were allowed to persist, ultimately they affected planning as well as other activities. Another aspect of the situation was that the country was now perhaps politically more developed. Opposition groups asked the question as to what had become of the additional production realised last year. It appeared that the actual arrivals in the markets had been more limited than before. Suggestions had been made that traders had profited and in fact, ever since the announcement regarding State trading was made, there had been an element of non-cooperation from them. Rapid enquiries had been carried out by the Agro-Economic and Farm Management Centres and by the field staff of the Programme Evaluation Organisation. Both enquiries led broadly to the same results, namely, that it was not so much the traders or the small farmers as middle and big farmers who had kept back foodgrains. In other words, a section of agricultural producers had developed the capacity to keep back foodgrains, and all the quantity available had not yet been offered for sale. How was this tendency, which was itself due to some extent to improvement in conditions in rural areas, to be overcome?

4. It would be appreciated, the Prime Minister said, that while the Chief Ministers had to look after the requirements of the people of their own States, they had also to look after India as a whole. Naturally, there were different kinds of pulls from the surplus States and from the deficit States. Ultimately, they had to make a choice between two broad courses of action. One of these led to a free market in which prices were left to look after themselves; the other led to control of prices. The first course involved giving up State trading, the second involved action, with suitable variations, in terms of State trading. It was true that so far State trading had not gone beyond its initial stages and what they had seen were mainly the reactions of those who were opposed to it.

5. Referring to zonal arrangements, the Prime Minister said that broadly speaking except for the Punjab-Delhi area, it was only in the South they had a zonal system. There was pressure from Madras and Andhra Pradesh for breaking up the southern rice zone which, however, Mysore and Kerala wished to retain. There had also been proposals for joining Orissa with West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan with Bombay. Logically every State should be a separate zone. This, however, implied that all States would carry out fully their

You Said It

By LAXMAN



*How did I manage to buy these vegetables?
...On the instalment basis of course!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 28 JULY 1959)

responsibilities towards other States, otherwise there would be utter disaster. It was obvious that unless every State played its part, a very difficult situation would arise in lean periods. In respect of wheat, they could get some help from the United States under PL-480, but basically it was necessary for the country to produce more food. The Prime Minister said that in considering the problem there was sometimes a certain basic difference in approach or philosophy. The Prime Minister requests the Chief Ministers to consider the problem both in relation to the present and to the future.

6. At the suggestion of the Prime Minister, it was agreed that a special meeting of the National Development Council should be held on September 5 and 6, 1959 to consider the food situation. It was also agreed that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Planning Commission should send papers giving the necessary background information to the Chief Ministers of States and that the results of the surveys undertaken by the Agro-Economic and Farm Management Centres and the Programme Evaluation Organisation should also be forwarded. At the suggestion of the Chief Ministers, it was further agreed that the papers should give the necessary statistical informatics regarding production and retirements in each State...

11. Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh,²⁴ referred to the recent food riots in the State and said that his Government had come to the definite conclusion that unless the State was constituted into a separate zone, in the present situation it would not be possible for them to control prices. The Chief Minister said that he had offered to supply 4 lakh tons of rice to meet the requirements of deficit States if Andhra was declared a separate zone.

12. The Prime Minister said that Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, had on previous occasions also offered to supply the quantities agreed upon for deficit areas. He recalled, however, that in some cases guarantees given by States had not been fulfilled, specially in a lean year. It was important that States should be prepared to share with one another, whether the seasons were good or bad.

13. Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, suggested that unless every surplus State was made a zone by itself, there would be enormous problems of law and order. At one stage in the zonal arrangement with Bombay he found that prices in Madhya Pradesh had shot up from Rs. 14 to Rs. 28 per maund, and there would have been serious trouble if the zone had not been broken up. The problem had both its economic and psychological aspects. The people could not understand why they could not get enough food at reasonable prices when the State had a surplus. The obligation to provide foodgrains should be on a Government-to-Government basis and every State should be prepared to offer

24. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

the utmost cooperation and assistance. In Madhya Pradesh, 30 per cent of the population consisted of Adivasis and Harijans and they were in no position to pay high prices. It was also extremely difficult for the Government to meet the increased expenditure on account of the demand and for higher dearness allowances and wages which was put forward by class III and class IV employees. Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh promised to send a note on the subject for the meeting of the National Development Council.

14. Concluding the discussion, the Prime Minister indicated that the papers to be supplied to Chief Ministers for the meeting of the National Development Council should set out the relevant factual information and should also frame issues which required consideration.

126. To B.C. Roy: Food Situation in West Bengal²⁵

August 25, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh²⁶ saw me this morning and talked to me of the Bengal food situation. He said that the next two months, that is, September and October, were crucial. In November, conditions ought to improve. He further said that the rice being supplied in the towns was very bad and was mixed with gravel and sand. Women in households who have to cook this rice are constantly complaining and, in fact, making the life of their menfolk miserable on this account. Apart from this complaint, there was no reasonable complaint in the city of Calcutta. It was, however, said that there were many bogus ration cards.

He said further that landless labour and those who had about two bighas of land were in a bad way and could not afford full meals. Men who own two bighas or less and probably have a family of three or four persons, could not carry on with what they produced. Apparently he thought that they should be helped in some way.

He said that there might be some variation in the quantity of rice and wheat given out in rations. At present, in Calcutta, one and a half seers of rice and one seer of wheat are given every week. The proportion of wheat might be increased here. Thus, one and a quarter seers of rice and one and a quarter seers of

25. Letter. File No. 31 (47)/57-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

26. The Congress Chief Minister of West Bengal, August 1947-January 1948; at this time a leader of the Praja Socialist Party.

wheat might be given, and there should be no reasonable complaint.

In the same way, adjustments could be made in the rural areas where one seer of rice and one seer of wheat might be given. It was important, however, that people should be told how to use the wheat, how to cook it etc. They try to cook it as rice without success.

The main point that he made was that in the next two months, that is September and October, the ration might be somewhat increased, more especially in the rural areas for landless labour etc. He added, however, that he did not want the total quantity of rice or wheat for the next few months to be increased. What he wanted was that this increase should be given in September and October, and there should be reduction in November and after. Thus, the total supplies will be the same during this four-month period, but people would get a little more during the difficult time and a little less later.

He also said that he would like our new Food Minister, S.K. Patil,²⁷ to go to Calcutta and spend about two weeks there. I told him that I was sure that Patil would go to Calcutta some time or other, but I doubted if he would spend such a long time at a stretch there.

He said in a friendly way that it would be an excellent thing if your Food Minister, Prafulla Sen, was given some other Ministry in your Government. That is, he was anxious for Prafulla Sen to leave your Food Ministry. He said this would create a very good impression on the public mind and would, in fact, be otherwise good too.

I listened to him and said that, as he well knew, we were anxious to help Bengal and, in fact, we had been helping them to the best of our ability and even a little more than that. I was sure that our new Food Minister would continue this approach to Bengal. I could not say anything definite about some of the matters he had raised with me, but I would write to you and inform you of what he had said.

There do appear to be frequent complaints about the quality of the rice being given at the ration shops. I hope you will have this matter thoroughly examined.²⁸

I am sending a copy of this letter to S.K. Patil.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

27. Patil became Minister of Food and Agriculture on 24 August.

28. B.C. Roy replied to Nehru on 28 August; see Appendix 43.

127. To S. Mohanty: MPs' Food Committee²⁹

August 28, 1959

My dear Mahanty,³⁰

Thank you for your letter without date about State trading in foodgrains, etc. I postponed the meeting of the MPs Food Committee because a new Food Minister had taken charge of this portfolio and I thought it only fair to him to let him consider this matter fully before we have this meeting. Meanwhile we have had a preliminary meeting of Chief Ministers who were here.³¹ I explained to them that in this matter there has to be the fullest cooperation between the Centre and the States and that we should consider it fully. For this purpose, a special meeting of all Chief Ministers has been convened for the 5th and 6th September. This is a meeting of the National Development Council. I imagine that it would be better for our MPs Committee to meet after these Chief Ministers have met. Our new Food Minister would also be in a better position to discuss the matter then. I am not aware of the fact that any major shift in food policy is intended, though some changes might be made. In any event, anything approved by Parliament cannot be changed without reference to Parliament.

I am sending your letter to Shri S.K. Patil.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. Letter.

30. Surendra Mohanty, Lok Sabha MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa. According to the website of the Lok Sabha, Mohanty belonged to the Utkal Congress; however, he is described as belonging to the Ganatantra Parishad in the *Statistical Report on General Elections, 1957 to the Second Lok Sabha* (New Delhi: Election Commission of India, n.d.). Here Nehru has used a different spelling of Mohanty.

31. See item 125.

(d) Irrigation and Floods

128. For Kashmir: Appeal for Flood Relief Contributions³²

अरुणाजी,³³ नौजवानों और बच्चों,

मैंने सुना था मुझसे कहा गया था कि कुछ लोग, कुछ नौजवान आज सवेरे यहाँ आयेंगे इस कश्मीर के लिए चन्दा इकट्ठा करने के सिलसिले में, और यहाँ से शुरू करेंगे। मैं समझा था कि कोई दो-चार-पाँच लोग आयेंगे यहाँ मिलने कुछ, ज़ाबिते के लिए, मुझे तो नहीं मालूम था कि एक मजमा हमला करेगा यहाँ आ के इतना बड़ा, और एक और उसमें एक ज़ाबिते से स्पीचेज़ होंगी और सब कुछ होगा।

अब एक भला काम करने के लिए, कोई खास आशीर्वाद की ज़रूरत तो नहीं है, न कोई स्पीच की ज़रूरत है, लेकिन क्योंकि आप सब लोग यहाँ जमा हुए हैं, तो इतना मैं ज़रूर कहूँगा कि हमारे यहाँ अच्छे खयाल के लोग बहुत होते हैं, अच्छी नीयत के लोग बहुत होते हैं, लेकिन उनके अच्छे खयाल और अच्छी नीयत फैली हुई होती है जो कि मिल के कुछ काम नहीं कर सकती है। हमदर्दी है, सब कुछ है अलग-अलग हैं। यह एक ज़रा हममें कमी है कि अपनी छोटी-छोटी ताक़तों को मिला के एक बड़ी ताक़त करें या छोटे काम को मिला के बड़ा काम कर दें। इसलिए कि पब्लिक की तरफ से ऐसे बड़े काम नज़र कम आते हैं और रोज़-ब-रोज़ कम होते जाते हैं, इस माने में कि हरेक भरोसा करता है कि गवर्नमेंट करे, हम क्यों करें? यह बड़ी ग़लत बात है, गवर्नमेंट के जो कुछ फ़रायज़ हैं, वो तो उसको करने ही चाहिएँ। लेकिन यह बहुत नुक़सानदेह बात होगी जब हम शख़्सी तौर से, व्यक्तिगत रूप से अपना कर्तव्य न करें और शख़्सी तौर से करने में दिक्कत होती है यही कि हरेक, अलग-अलग आदमी की समझ में नहीं आता कि हम खास करें क्या, कोई खास मौक़ा नहीं है।

अभी मैंने एक अख़बार में दिखा, उसमें एक और सिलसिले में टीका की गयी थी। एक-दो बरस बाद रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर की शताब्दी होने वाली है। ज़ाहिर है इतने बड़े आदमी वहाँ हुए हैं हमारे देश में, ख़ाली बड़े महाकवि नहीं, लेकिन बहुत बड़े आदमी हर सूरत से, तो उसको बड़े पैमाने पर हम मनाया चाहते हैं। उसके लिए चन्दे खोले गये हैं।³⁴ पार साल, क़रीब साल भर हुआ, मैंने, उन्होंने जो यूनिवर्सिटी बनायी थी उस की तरफ से एक चन्दा उठाया, इस साल एक दूसरा चन्दा भी उठाया गया और हिन्दुस्तान के लिए, अख़बार में अपील छापी गयी, और उसका नतीजा बिल फ़ेल यह हुआ है, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है तीन-चार आदमियों ने कुछ रक़मों भेज दी

32. Speech, inaugurating the "Help Kashmir Week" at the Prime Minister's House, New Delhi, 1 August 1959. Tape Nos 3748 and 3749, NMML.

33. Aruna Asaf Ali.

34. Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund was started in December 1957 to raise monies for celebrating Tagore's birth centenary in 1961.

हैं, थोड़ी सी। अब ज़ाहिर है, गवर्नमेंट खर्च सकती है उसमें, ऐसी बात नहीं। अब एक बात अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि लोग काफ़ी हैं जो उसमें देना चाहते हैं या उनकी क़दर किया चाहते हैं, लेकिन वो कुछ समझ में उनकी नहीं आता ख़ास क्या करें, कब करें, किस ढंग से करें? जब तक कि कोई उनके पास शायद जायें नहीं कहने के लिए, वो हिलते नहीं। इस माने में मैंने आपसे कहा था कि हममें, नीयत लोगों की अच्छी है, ख़याल अच्छे हैं, करना चाहते हैं लेकिन कुछ छिदरे हुए-से रहते हैं, फैले हुए-से रहते हैं जब तक कि वो कुछ मिला के उनकी ताक़त मिल के बने।

यही कश्मीर का मामला है, आसाम में बाढ़ आयी और जगह भी ख़ास तौर से कश्मीर का है सब में ज़्यादा, उससे कम आसाम का। ऐसे मौक़े पर तो ख़ास ज़रूरी होना चाहिए कि लोग, आम लोग, हम सब लोग, अलावा गवर्नमेंट के, जो कुछ कर सकते हैं करें, ज़रूरी। इसलिए महज़ नहीं कि यह काम, इस काम की ज़रूरत है, लोगों की मदद करनी जो मुसीबत में हैं, वो तो है ही, लेकिन यह ख़याल कि लोग दूर-दूर से सोचते हैं, दुखी होते हैं कि हमारे साथी कहीं और परेशान हो गये और उनकी मदद किया चाहते हैं, यह रुपये-पैसे से कहीं ज़्यादा कीमती ख़याल है और इससे एक मुल्क की ताक़त बढ़ती है, जनता की ताक़त बढ़ती है, एक महसूस होता है कि हम आखिर में हम एक बहुत बड़ा खानदान हैं, हम एक-दूसरे की मदद करते हैं, कोई भी हमारे परिवार का शख्स मुसीबत में आये तो और लोग उसकी मदद करते हैं। तो रुपये की जो कुछ मदद है वो तो है ही, लेकिन उससे ज़्यादा इस बात की है कि लोगों ने लोगों के दिलों में यह जज़्बा आया, भावना आयी, मदद करने के लिए, हमदर्दी आयी और उन्होंने कुछ तकलीफ़ उठा के भी मदद की। यह अच्छी चीज़ है। यही चीज़ एक सीमेंट होती है जो मुल्क को जोड़ती है, इस किस्म की भावनाएँ एक-दूसरे की मदद करने की, चाहे और बातों में हम आपस में बहस करें, आपस में हमारी राय अलग हो, राजनीति में, सियासत में और बातों में, लेकिन इसमें तो दो राय की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है कि जब कोई हमारा भाई या बहन मुसीबत में हो, उसकी मदद करनी चाहिए। चुनांचे यह दिल्ली में जो कि ज़रा मिल के ज़ाबिते से कोशिश हो रही है, यह अच्छी चीज़ है। अच्छी चीज़ है इस माने में कि एक भले काम में मदद की जा रही है, और एक हमदर्दी का इज़हार है, एक-दो आदमी की तरफ से नहीं, शहर दिल्ली के बहुतां की तरफ से। लेकिन उसका दूसरा पहलू यह है कि आप कश्मीर के लोगों की जो कुछ मदद करें, इसके करने में आप अपनी मदद करते हैं। आपकी हैसियत कुछ बढ़ जाती है। आपकी ताक़त बढ़ जाती है। हर मिल कर काम करने से अपनी ताक़त बढ़ जाती है और और काम करने की शक्ति आ जाती है। तो हर तरफ से इसमें फ़ायदा होता है। मैं नहीं जानता क्या इन्तज़ाम है, अरुणाजी ने अभी कुछ बताया कि लोगों ने, कारख़ाने वालों ने, उद्योग-धन्धे के मालिकों ने, सिनेमा वगैरह में मदद करने को कहा है, ठीक है, खुशी की बात है, करनी ही चाहिए। लेकिन और किस ढंग से आप करेंगे? बक्स लिये हैं, बक्स लिये-लिये फ़िरेंगे, क्या करेंगे, मुझे पता नहीं? लेकिन जो भी आपने निश्चय किया है, उसको करें, और उस करने के साथ महज़ यह नहीं कि किसी का आप पैसा-रुपया लें, बल्कि उसके दिल में भी यह ख़याल पैदा हो कि एक वो भी एक बड़े काम

में मदद कर रहे हैं अपने भाइयों की। तो उससे और एक विचार और ज़ब्बा फैलता है अच्छा।

हममें से जो यहाँ बैठे हैं, कई लोग कश्मीर जा चुके हैं अभी चन्द दिनों में, और देखा है वहाँ की हालत, मैं भी एक दिन के लिए गया था। ज़ाहिर है बहुत लोग वहाँ मुसीबत में हैं, बारह-तेरह सौ गाँव बह गये, आधे बहे, पूरे बहे, चौथाई बहे, रहने की जगह नहीं उनको, कहीं हल्के-हल्के पानी हट रहा है माना, लेकिन पानी हट रहा है तो गाँव को ले के हट रहा है, या सारे सामान को ले के, सारी खेती उस इलाक़े की खराब हो गयी, बड़े इलाक़े की, मालूम नहीं कब वो फिर वहाँ कुछ हो सके। गरज़ कि पुल, कितने छोटे-मोटे पुल बह गये, बहुत कुछ काम जो पिछले दो-चार बरसों में वहाँ हुआ था तरक्की का, वो टूट-टाट गया। यह तकलीफ़देह तस्वीर थी कि खड़े हैं कुछ कर नहीं सकते, क्या करें, वो नदी आये, हल्के-हल्के कुतरती जाये, एक मकान का एक टुकड़ा गिर गया, उसमें एक बड़ा पेड़ है वो गिर गया और कुतरा उसने पाँच मिनट बाद एक दूसरा कमरा मकान का गिर गया, इस तरह से बढ़ती जाये। अजीब तस्वीर, खैर बमुश्किल तमाम उसके बाद में उस दफ़े जो कुछ खा गयी ब्रह्मपुत्र, बाद में इन्तज़ामात बहुत कुछ हुए, उससे वो कामयाब हुए हैं और डिब्रूगढ़ का आधा हिस्सा बच गया, आधे से कुछ ऊपर। यही यहाँ महाबड़ा के पावर हाउस में और जगह कि एक दरिया आ-आ के कुतरता आये और उसके कारखाने बग़ैरह के कमरे, मशीन वग़ैरह उस दरिया में आते जायें, और कोई रोक-थाम का सवाल नहीं, सिवा इसके कि जो चीज़ आप उठा ले जायें भाग के, उठा ले जाइए, अब दीवार को, मकान को तो नहीं उठा ले जा सकते आप। तो ये तरह-तरह की बातें यहाँ कश्मीर में हुई हैं, जिससे काफ़ी नुक़सान हुआ है, परेशानी हुई। वो लम्बी बातें हैं, बाढ़ का वहाँ कैसे इन्तज़ाम हो, लम्बी हैं, इंजीनियर्स की हैं। लेकिन एक फ़ौरन बात तो यह है कि जो वहाँ लाखों आदमी परेशान हैं, उनकी मदद की जाये और उसी के लिए आप लोग यक़ीनन उठे हैं यहाँ दिल्ली में, और जितनी जल्दी और जितनी ज़्यादा मदद करेंगे उतना ही उनका फ़ायदा है और और तब आपका भी फ़ायदा है हर माने में, चुनावे इस काम में मेरी आपके साथ शुभकामनाएँ और आशीर्वाद है।

[Translation begins:

Arunaji,³⁵ Young People and Children,

I was told that some people, some young people will come here this morning to launch a drive for collecting money for Kashmir. I thought there would be four to five people as a formality; I did not know that a whole contingent would descend on me or that there would be formal speeches and what not.

There is no need for special blessings to do a good task. Nor are speeches necessary. But since all of you are assembled here, I will say this much. People with good intentions and ideas abound in India. But they are all scattered and lack coordination. Their sympathies are directed into different channels. It is a

35. See fn 33 in this section.

shortcoming in our national character that we are unable to pool together our individual strength into a larger force and achieve something big. You come across less and less meaningful activity among the public. Everyone looks to the government for everything. This is wrong. Of course, the government should discharge its duties, but it is extremely harmful for individuals not to do their bit. Individuals are not able to understand what they can do on their own. There is no special opportunity.

I saw a newspaper report recently which had a comment in another context. Tagore centenary is to be celebrated in a couple of years. It is obvious that it will be celebrated on a grand scale since he was not only a great poet but a great man in every respect. A fund has been started for the purpose.³⁶ A year ago, the Visva-Bharati University started a collection drive. This year another collection has been started and all the newspapers have published the appeal. As far as I remember, a handful of individuals have sent in small amounts. It is obvious that the government can spend money on the celebrations. It is pretty well known that there are large numbers of people wanting to give donations as a mark of respect. But they do not know how to go about it. Until somebody approaches them, they do nothing. As I told, you our intentions are excellent. But everything is so scattered that it does not amount to very much.

This is what is happening in Kashmir and Assam which have been affected by floods. At a time like this, apart from the government, the people must do what they can to help the people in distress. The fact that even at a distance people feel distressed by the suffering of their brethren and want to help is far more valuable than the money itself. It strengthens a nation when people feel that they belong to one large family and come forth with help in times of need. The money is useful of course, but much more important is the emotional oneness, the feeling of sympathy which prompts people to help others in distress. It is a cementing force which unites the nation. Everyone is entitled to his or her personal opinion, ideologies differ and go on. But there can be no two opinions about helping others in their hour of need. So the combined effort to collect money for the flood victims of Kashmir is a good thing. It shows willingness to participate in a worthwhile cause and is an expression of sympathy of a large number of people in Delhi. The other aspect of it is that in helping the people of Kashmir, you are helping yourselves. You grow a little in stature and strength by cooperating with others in a worthwhile cause. So it is beneficial all round. I do not know what arrangements have been made. Arunaji said that mill-owners, industrialists and owners of cinema houses have promised to help

36. See fn 34 in this section.

which is a good thing. What else are you going to do? Perhaps you will go around with donation boxes. But apart from anything else that you may do and the money that you collect, you must make the donors feel that they are cooperating in a great task. The outlook that such a feeling generates is a good one.

Many of us have visited Kashmir in the last few days to see the conditions in the flood-affected areas. It is obvious that a large number of people have been affected. Nearly thirteen hundred villages have been washed away fully or have been partially affected. The water is receding. But it is taking away the meager possessions of the poor villagers with it. Crops have been completely ruined in a large tract of land. I do not know when cultivation can begin again. Bridges have been washed away. In short, much of the progress made in the last few years has been wiped out. It was a painful picture to behold. They were helpless and had to stand by and watch the river swallowing houses and trees and everything else at hand. Anyhow, once the floods started receding, some arrangements were made and we succeeded in saving half of Dibrugarh or more. Take the large power house at Mahaora, for instance. The river swallowed up machines and nothing could be done. We could not lift buildings and huge machines to safety. So, there have been grave losses here in Kashmir. We have to make a long term plan for flood control which is up to the engineers. But at the moment the immediate problem is to provide relief to millions of people who are suffering. I am glad to see people taking steps to help the flood victims. The faster you give help the more useful it will be. My good wishes and blessing are with you in this task.

Translation ends]

129. To C.P.N. Singh: Preventing Floods and Drought³⁷

7th August, 1959

My dear Chandaresvar,³⁸I have just received your letter of the 4th August.³⁹

It is obviously desirable that in addition to proper drainage we should try to have water reservoirs. How far this is possible, I do not know. It will usually require some major scheme to do it. Any how, I am glad you have drawn our attention to this and I am putting this matter to our Ministry concerned.

I met the Japanese Parliamentary Delegation today⁴⁰ and had a talk with them.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

130. To Karan Singh: Relief Funds and Flood Control Schemes⁴¹

August 15, 1959

My dear Tiger,⁴²Thank you for your letter of the 9th August.⁴³

As regards the relief funds, I take it that these are chiefly meant for urgent

37. Letter, copied to Sri Krishna Sinha and Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim. File No. 17 (369)/59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

38. The Ambassador of India to Japan.

39. C.P.N. Singh suggested constructing a chain of small catchment areas from the Himalayas through Punjab to Bengal instead of the more risky large projects. Nehru copied C.P.N. Singh's letter to Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim and Sri Krishna Sinha the same day. File No. 17 (369)/59-PMS.

40. As reported in *The Times of India* of 8 August 1959, a Japanese small industries experts team led by T. Iwatake.

41. Letter. Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64: Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh* (Penguin: New Delhi, 2006), pp. 264-266. Also available in JN Collection.

42. Nickname for Karan Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir.

43. This is the date in Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64*, p. 264. The copy in the JN Collection has "19th August", which is probably a typing error.

cases of relief and not for any major schemes for the future.⁴⁴ The schemes and projects are on a much bigger scale and have necessarily to be undertaken by Governments. But Government rules and regulations are normally such that quick relief cannot be given as sanctions have to be obtained and all that. Therefore, whenever an emergency like this occurs, the money for relief is meant to be utilised with speed to remove suffering. In most parts of India the practice is for this relief to be given by District Magistrates. If I send money, it goes to the Governor or Chief Minister and part of it he sends to the District Magistrates for such relief. Part of this is sent to recognised organisations which can be entrusted with this relief work there.

I do not know what your agency for such urgent relief is or can be. It would be a pity if money is not used when most needed and is kept for some scheme or other in the future. I realise that perhaps the District apparatus in Jammu & Kashmir may not be very adequate for this purpose, but for the moment I can think of no other. It may be that in a District the District Magistrate forms a small committee including some non-officials. How Bakhshi Sahib uses the money in his fund, I do not know. But if the money is to go to the local authorities, it should go through Bakhshi Sahib and not directly through your fund. I see no harm in the money you give him being for the moment credited to his fund. In fact, there is an advantage in that because people will realise that the two are cooperating and not rival funds. There has been some propaganda both in India and Pakistan to indicate that there is rivalry in this matter. I do not understand what specific purpose you can mention to Bakhshi Sahib for the expenditure of these relief funds. You may discuss with him the manner of spending it, that is, the agencies through which relief is given to the persons actually suffering. Any specific purpose must be in the nature perhaps of rehabilitation. That is good if it can be clearly stated that the money has to be used quickly to give relief.

I am anxious to put an end to this propaganda about rivalry between the two funds.

I agree with you that it will be desirable to have some kind of formal authority or informal committee to deal with flood control schemes.⁴⁵ Bakhshi Sahib mentioned to me that insofar as the big scheme is concerned for increasing

44. On 9 August Karan Singh replied to Nehru's letter of 30 July 1959 (see SWJN/SS/50/item 108) seeking his approval for sending money to Bakhshi for a specified purpose only, lest it be seen as "a mere transfer of money from one fund to the other causing confusion in the public mind."

45. For Karan Singh's suggestion about setting up a high-powered authority to deal with flood control schemes in the state, see item 131.

the outlet of the Jhelum from the valley, he would like the Government of India to take charge of it completely. It is a very big scheme totally beyond the capacity of the State Government. I shall discuss this matter with Bakshi Sahib when he comes here, which, I understand, is going to be soon.

We are much concerned at the development near the Ladakh-Tibet border.⁴⁶ We are going into this matter fully. I think we should use the Chushul airstrip and keep up our check-post there.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Flood Control in J&K⁴⁷

August 15, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

The Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu & Kashmir, has written to me as follows:—

“I may take this opportunity to write to you about two important matters. The first is with regard to the flood control plans that are now being drawn up and are likely to involve an expenditure of several crores of rupees over the next few years. It is clear that the limited technical and administrative resources of the State are already strained to the utmost in meeting ordinary plan expenditure. As such it will not be possible for the normal administrative and executive channels adequately to cope with the enormous extra work that will be involved in the implementation of the vast flood control schemes, which in view of their vital importance deserve to be tackled on a top priority basis. In view of this I suggest that a special high-powered authority should be set up to deal with the preparation and execution of flood control schemes in the State. This should be presided over by the State Prime Minister and may consist of:—

The Chairman and a Member of the Central Water and Power Commission;

The two State Chief Irrigation Engineers;

The Secretary for Kashmir Affairs;

A financial expert each from the Centre and the State.

46. For Karan Singh's observations in his letter about the Ladakh-Tibet border, see item 180.

47. Letter.

This will ensure on the one hand full co-ordination between the Centre and the State in the implementation of these vital measures, and on the other top priority for the works. It will also raise the whole matter above the plane of routine administration and will therefore be welcomed by public opinion. If you agree, I think this suggestion should come from the Government of India. It needs to be pointed out to the State Government that this step is designed solely to help in the successful execution of a project vital to the State's economy, the bulk of expenditure on which is going to be borne by the Centre."

Broadly, I agree with him. It is obvious that the resources of the Kashmir State are not adequate to undertake any large scale schemes. In any event, we shall have to supply both technical personnel and money. It would be desirable to have some over-all authority to deal with this matter. What form that authority should take is to be considered.

When I was in Srinagar the other day,⁴⁸ Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed said to me that he would like the Government of India to take charge of the major scheme to increase the outlet of the Jhelum river from the valley at Baramula. That is a big scheme, and some special arrangement will undoubtedly have to be made.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

132. To Mothey Vedakumari: Channelizing Flood Waters⁴⁹

August 16, 1959

Dear Vedakumari,⁵⁰

I received your letter of the 5th August some few days ago. You have written it in some irritation as if it was all our fault that the floods came because some previous steps were not taken.⁵¹ The same argument can be applied, in Assam, in Bihar, in U.P. and in Jammu & Kashmir State. Surely you will appreciate that

48. On 27 July 1959.

49. Letter.

50. Mothey Vedakumari (1931-1978); elected Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Eluru, Andhra Pradesh, 1957; was Secretary of the Students' Congress, Eluru; Secretary, West Godavari Branch of All India Women's Conference; started an institution for giving free coaching to women in Hindi, tailoring, and typewriting. *Lok Sabha Who's Who*.

51. Andhra Pradesh suffered heavy rains and floods in July 1959.

it is beyond the capacity of any Government to take up all these mighty schemes together. As a matter of fact, it is not at all clear to our experts what the best way is of dealing with such situations. The more the dams and embankments we have made, the worse the consequences have been in some parts. Drainage is affected, and in protecting some area, another area becomes affected. The main thing to give thought to is to have a rapid flow-out of waters so as to prevent them collecting.

You will appreciate that floods are nothing new in India. They have been happening, I take it, for hundreds of thousands or millions of years. In fact, they have largely built up our best delta regions as well as the sub-montane tracts of Bihar, U.P., Bengal etc. It is true they do damage when they come. But they renew the soil. If we proceed hurriedly with schemes which affect the drainage, this may really lead to harmful results. I agree with you that the matter should be enquired into fully and such steps as are feasible should be taken.

I have sent Rs. 15,000/- to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Unfortunately owing to the heavy demands from various areas in India where much loss has taken place on account of the floods, the money at the disposal of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund is at a low ebb. If possible, I shall send some more money later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Industry

133. To S.K. Patil: Cloth for Uniforms, Tourist Posters⁵²

August 20, 1959

My dear S.K.,⁵³

Thank you for your letter of August 19th about tourist posters. I am inclined to think that some of the posters I saw at the Mashobra house⁵⁴ were pre-independence ones.⁵⁵

52. Letter.

53. The Minister of Transport and Communications.

54. "The Retreat," see item 97, fn 391.

55. See also SWJN/SS/50/item 135.

I have your other letter of August 19th about the substitution of mill-made cloth for khadi-cloth for the uniforms. I think this matter should be considered more fully. I should not like to bypass the Cabinet, although this is not really a Cabinet matter. Still you might discuss this formally or informally at a Cabinet meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. To M.S. Thacker: Constitution of a Petroleum Council⁵⁶

August 28, 1959

My dear Thacker,⁵⁷

I enclose a letter from the Minister of Mines & Oil.⁵⁸ I think the arguments raised by him deserve consideration. A Petroleum Council on the analogy of the Coal Council would probably overlap and might even come in conflict with the Oil Commission that we are setting up as well as various other organisations that are at present working for the development of oil.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. Letter. File No. 17 (204)/56-66-PM, Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.

57. Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director-General, CSIR.

58. K.D. Malaviya wrote on 28 August objecting to the CSIR's decision of 31 March 1959 to set up a Petroleum Council on the model of the Coal Council. In the coal industry, the Indian private sector was heavily represented; in the oil industry on the other hand, the private sector would be mainly foreign. Since there were "fundamental differences of approach and attitude" between GOI and foreign companies on exploration, distribution, exports, prices, product mix and much else, a Petroleum Council would "only create embarrassments." He had no difficulty with an agency dealing with "research, training, and documentation; but we object to the constitution of an omnibus agency with such comprehensive terms of reference—analogueous to those of the Coal Council [...]" File No. 17 (204)/56-66-PM, Vol. II.

135. To the Defence Production Conference⁵⁹

Defence Minister and officers of our Defence Services: Defence Minister reminds me I should also say civilian officers. All right.

Yesterday, in view of the fact that I was coming over here today, I tried to look through the bundle of papers that had been sent to me, about this Conference, or what you call it is – it is conference; Defence Production Conference it is. Well, parts of what I read were interesting, informing me of the many new avenues that you were exploring in working. A good part of it was very difficult for me to understand, technical parts and others. Anyhow, it produced an impression upon me that you were doing – you were trying to do a good deal. Naturally I can only judge by the ultimate results produced. Not being a technician myself, I cannot say anything about the ways you adopt to achieve results.

The major thing is that both from the point of view of the Defence Services and from that larger viewpoint of the country, it seems to me obvious that we must, first of all, try to make Defence Services self sufficient as far as one can. I do not suppose if there is anything hundred per cent self sufficient in this world, but as far as one can. At any rate, if not normally self sufficient self sufficient in the way that we cannot be held up in any emergency because of our dependence on others, because that is a fatal weakness. We cannot do that suddenly but we should aim at that.

And, secondly, that when we put up these big plants in our ordnance factories which we have, it seems quite wrong not to utilise them to their fullest extent, whether for defence purposes or civil purposes. We cannot draw these hard and fast lines; the country is one, the country's economy is one, and the more we produce the more it is, the better it is for the country. In a sense the principal problem today before us is production, whether it is production, agricultural and from the fields, or from the factories, or from small industries, village industries, whatever it is, because it is only through the greater production of wealth or the goods we produce, whether it is from the field or a factory, our wealth, it is only then that we can gain the things we are after – we achieve strength, we achieve a measure of welfare and prosperity.

Our resources are not so great as just to waste them; we cannot afford to waste them. Therefore, we have to utilise all our resources to the utmost and gradually arrive at a stage that is called “take off” into an industrial economy to achieve the type of industrial revolution that came to the Western world many long years ago and made it prosperous. I may put it in another way; you may

59. Speech, New Delhi, 31 August 1959, AIR tapes, NMML.

call it industry, you may call it what you like, but it is really taking advantage of science and technological improvements and techniques to develop that mental approach. That approach does not merely mean our using some odd things: we use the railway, which is a product of science, technology; we use aircraft; we use all kinds of odd machines, and things, and telephones, and telegraphs, and what not; we drive cars. But that is not really – that is only a sort of passive acceptance of things as they are, not an active participation in them, and producing them ourselves, producing new things by scientific research, etc. Because one thing is quite clear today, that without taking full advantage of science and technology we cannot go ahead in any direction, whether it is defence, whether it is economic betterment, welfare, whatever you like to call it. You can see for yourself that the countries that are well off today are countries which have advanced on the scientific and technological plane. You may even see a certain apprehension if they are perhaps not advancing fast enough, somebody else is advancing fast enough, on improved scientific techniques and on scientific researches and their application.

One of the good things, one of the many good things, that had happened in India during the last few years since independence is this greater attention being paid to scientific research and its applications, our national laboratories, institutes, research institutes and the rest. Of course, we are still far behind from the leading countries in science and technology; but still, we have done that, and we are gradually creating an atmosphere of science and technology. More and more young people are going for it; more and more people think on those terms. But it is a fact that, taking our people generally speaking, we are very far from that. I am not talking about the peasant in the field; I am talking about many of our even learned people who are able, learned, and yet who are still rather far removed in this approach to science and technology. In fact, you might say that a new world is being daily created before our eyes by this. We get excited by this when we hear of a Sputnik or some aircraft or something that goes through space. That has become a symbol of the new power that has come. But really, it is really much more pervasive than some fancy things like that.

An army obviously can only be a first-rate army, or defence services, or navy, if it keeps pace with these, and in fact that itself helps in evolving new techniques. An army is no good at all if it relies completely on some odd machine, or odd gun or odd ship that comes, that it buys. I attach no importance to it. [...] But it is precious little when a country has to rely on arms, etc., manufactured abroad. It should be an axiom for us that a second-rate or even a third-rate weapon manufactured here is better than a first-rate weapon which we have to get from abroad and which we may get cut off [sic], we may not

get, at the right moment.

In the ultimate analysis a country has to rely always on the human factor. That is a most important thing, of course, the human factor in the shape of courage, endurance, determination, cooperation and say, let us say, in defence of a country, the determination that they will rather die than give up. A country which has that feeling, its people, is not conquered, whatever the weapons used against it, because no weapon has yet been devised that can conquer the spirit of a man, if he is strong enough. Killing a man is not conquering; it is a brute's way of doing things. That, of course, is a basic thing – the spirit of a man or a nation – but it is obvious it will be a sheer folly if you talk about your spirit without the means to utilise it to the best advantage. After all, the whole history of warfare has no doubt many instances of supreme courage and all that, and the human spirit has made a difference in a battle or a war. It has not given in in spite of everything. Nevertheless, the main factor of the history of war is the development of new weapons, new forces, and, normally speaking, normally, almost ultimately always, it is a new weapon that has conquered, a new force. Europe conquered Asia and Africa because they have advanced technologically, scientifically, got newer weapons; so they conquered large countries in Asia and Africa. It is not so much a question of greater courage. I suppose many people in India or other countries had much or more courage, but the better weapons survived. It is the better weapon that has better science and better technology, and the moment a country begins to rely on the technology and weapons of another country by buying them up, that country is a second-rate country. It has no roots, something superficial, like a man who drives a car. He can drive the car right enough; any chauffeur can drive a car; if something goes wrong, he does not know what has happened; he cannot put right to it; he is stranded. So, in British times, as the Defence Minister just said, they deliberately did not encourage us to go ahead in these directions and we have got too much used to sending buying missions to Washington, and London, or Paris, or Berlin, or elsewhere maybe, to buy this, buy that. Gradually we are coming out of this buying spree, partly because of financial reasons; we just cannot afford it, foreign exchange and the rest; but for a much more basic reason, because we are lost if we go on buying like that – we have no real strength, it is only a showpiece which you can show, a gun or something. I'm not impressed when you show me a tank or anything which you bought from London or America or anywhere; I am not at all impressed. I can see much better tanks in London. I mean, come to Delhi to see a second-rate tank here which you have got from London. I am impressed if you produce something simple but which you produce and you go on producing it in spite of many obstructions from outside. So, for a strictly practical reason, it has become

essential for us to produce our own material, our own equipment, our own arms.

Now, it is true that in the circumstances we are, we cannot produce everything. That may come later. But we should produce everything that is more in general and common need and use here. I said, in course of time; I have not said immediately; immediately, of course, we do not. But I mean to say that our approach should be that to produce it. I know in a country, let us say, a country like Ceylon, a very fine country, it is too small – it cannot physically produce all the things that it requires. But that should not apply to a country like India. It is absurd to apply that to a great big country which has undoubtedly technical ability of a very high order, [though] potentially [it] may not be all developed. There is no doubt about it that wherever opportunity has been given we produce fine scientists, fine technicians and the rest. And it has been found, I believe, that a good handicrafts man turns into a good technician very easily. He knows his mind works, his hands work that way.

So that from the point of view of both our Army, our Defence Services, our country, we must produce the things we require, even to preserve that ultimately which we must preserve, and that is the freedom and independence of our country and people. Looked at from the economic point of view, it is equally necessary that we should produce more and more of these things which cost a great deal, and more especially when you deal in arms and the things that go with arms. They are frightfully costly. And arms dealers in various countries, well, I am just saying, are notorious, having all kinds of rackets, and they take advantage of a country's, sometimes misfortune, sometimes weakness, to make it pay through the nose. And because these things are sometimes, often rather, these deals with arms are not done in the public eye, they tend to be shady often, and that is another evil. So that, from every point of view we have to do this and do it as rapidly as possible; we cannot really afford these vast sums going away to other countries.

You hear about huge armies in some other countries like China, I do not know, four million or five million people or more. Now, it is obvious that even if we wanted to – and we do not want to have large armies – but we just cannot do it. We just cannot do it because the whole basis of our structure is so frightfully expensive. The Chinese do it because they are utilising their army for a hundred purposes, civil purposes, all kinds of things, technical purposes, roads, buildings, factories; everything is done by the army there. And so they spread out the expense of the army, and the burden does not fall so heavily. Even China's great resources could not have an army of four million after our pattern; it will collapse; it is too much for it. They have to be different. Therefore, we have to make defence, obviously we have to make it efficient, competent,

go ahead and capable of doing its job, whatever the job may be. We have also to [...].

At the same time we cannot go on pouring money into other countries so that our Army might be supplied with its essential needs. In emergency one has to do it, that is a different matter, we cannot. Thus we arrive at a conclusion, a practical conclusion, that our Army can only remain really efficient and advancing if it advances only on technical and scientific fronts and we manufacture the things that we require; if not everything, then most of it. Therefore, in the recent couple of years or so, maybe more, the particular push that has been given in defence here, in the Defence Ministry, [is] to our ordnance factories making not only their arms, etc., but even other things, that is, utilising to the best advantage the technical skill they have in machinery making. It is utter waste from the country's point of view that there should be a machine which is not being used, or a technician who is not being used, to his full capacity. A technician, or for that matter any of you sitting here, whether you are technicians or not, every officer in the Defence Services, I hope you realise, is very heavy investment by the country on every person who is trained to specialise in a job in any field. A scientist, a doctor, an engineer, a person in the Defence Services is a heavy investment by the country, and unless we get the best of him, that investment is rather wasted, if he is not fully used enough. We should get the best of him undoubtedly. You can almost measure that, when you get a machine and you are not using it, where it is a waste. You do not measure when you have got a technician who is not being fully used to the best of his capacity; you cannot measure it, but you can see it. Now, there has been this somewhat lack of [...] in our country, which is gradually being remedied, and therefore I have been glad to see these ordnance factories spreading out there, types of work they do. But what they do achieve is obstruction, instead of perfection. Mind you, the rules are good; I mean to say the motto behind the rules is good, and nothing should go wrong here or there, everywhere, checks, counter checks. And if the whole thing worked perfectly, it will be all right, with perfection. But these rules and regulations come up and, mind you, they must have rules and regulations; you cannot have rules of the government run loosely, everybody trying to do what he likes; you will go to pieces. So they are essential. But they do come in the way, as all rules come in the way, of the exceptional individual, of the genius. Normally a poor genius should be sat upon by the mediocrities in life. That is usual rule of life – first class men are sat upon by the mediocrities. We do not like first class men or women. [...] Maybe the first class man does not even fit into any rule; it is rather difficult. Well, one has to find a kind of balance between the two. We must have rules and regulations, and the Army must have rules, regulations and strict discipline.

Otherwise, it is not an army. One of the virtues of army is discipline. At the same time, the discipline must not curb the creative, inventive capacities of an individual. Otherwise, you do not grow.

Well, I suppose it is not too difficult to allow the technicians and scientists that type of scope, the creative, inventive faculties, and not to apply our rules too strictly to him which would simply crush him and prevent him from functioning, not to put him under, let us say, a stupid man who does not understand anything at all but he happens to be a senior. The result is that the poor man cannot function. This is constantly happening, like of course that a stupid man is the boss of a clever man and that clever man then cannot do anything. We want naturally that merit should be recognised and should be given opportunities. You know the normal history of wars. I am no expert on this subject, but my impression is that the normal history of wars is that the batch of generals who enter the war, who have come there by virtue of seniority and no particular merit, make a mess of the war, to begin with. When this batch is eliminated, and other persons of experience come up, they may be good; at least they function better. That often happens in war. Well, one cannot – it is not easy to judge these things: merit, efficiency, creativeness, all that, because an outstanding person one cannot [sic]. My point is that always and almost the thing you have to do [is] to balance these things. You must have discipline and order in an organisation. You must also have capacity [...] for the bright person, for the creative person, to make good opportunities for him to grow, because you profit by it, the organisation, the Defence, profits by it, and the country profits by it. Broadly speaking, it means that merit must prevail. It is always the danger that in the name of merit, nepotism may prevail. You cannot help these things; you have to take care. We have the Public Service Commission which deals with Civil Services. By most complicated procedures they have to pick out a man, and it has not gone through all those processes. I have found some time they pick out a very wrong type of person. We put up with the wrong person because anyhow that procedure is better than risking nepotism. We put up sometimes with the wrong person; generally we hope it is a right person we pick up. It is all very well in some services. But when you come to specialised jobs, scientific, technical and army – the army today is a highly specialised instrument – then it is far more fatal for the second or a third grade man normally to be picked out in preference to first rate man merely by seniority or something.

So, all these are practised, you have to bear in mind. But coming to what you have been doing in this, our Defence production, I attach great importance to it, and I have been glad that this great push has been given primarily because we want that done. Secondly, because we want that mentality to prevail, we

found it very difficult not to question the army. I remember only three or four years ago [...] I could not imagine how our railway people would happily go to Switzerland or Canada, order a hundred locomotives, and come back quite happily. It is that which angered me, that this kind of thing goes on year after year and there we have our railways, railways in India, for almost a hundred years. Though they have made undoubtedly great progress, but it is only in the last few years that they have started going ahead making locomotives, making this, making wagons. The whole conception was, it is much easier to sign an order and get the things from Switzerland, or Glasgow or somewhere. And that applies to your Defence Services because in the British time and the British days that was a deliberate policy, but you have the hangover of those policies still, lingering on; but you must get rid of. Therefore, I welcome this very much and I know that we did not start doing anything. For the first time there is always a risk of your making a mistake and a thing not coming out as you wanted to come out and then you are liable to be cursed at; there is that risk. And in our democratic system of Government any matter can be brought up before Parliament in the shape of a question or a motion or discussion or something, and it is rather unnerving, therefore, to a person who is engaged in some delicate task about which he may feel pretty sure but it cannot be absolutely certain to come [through] with, if something happens, as in every scientific experiment something happens. Then he is hauled over the coals in Parliament or elsewhere. Therefore, he thinks that it is the best thing to lie low and not do anything; why take the risk of getting into trouble? That applies to both, the civil side and the defence side. Now, it is a bad thing. If that mentality spreads then obviously you do not progress. You remain shut up in your own narrow grooves. Now, we cannot ask Parliament not to enquire, not to send for, if it wants to. That is the essence of Parliament. But we do hope and expect that a greater realisation and understanding will grow among our people generally that every forward move that involves a measure of risk, every experiment before it finally succeeds, may fail once, twice, three times. If you are afraid of failure, you will never experiment, you will never succeed. In making other things that applies too.

Here is this, a rather shocking thing that happened the other day at Bhakra.⁶⁰ It is very painful not only because, unfortunately – at Bhakra, the dam and the main things are as solid as ever; they have not been affected, and what has

60. A subterranean hoist chamber, which housed the machinery for operating the gates to regulate discharges from the Bhakra reservoir, collapsed on 21 August. Nine workers were feared drowned. Harvey Slocum, the Chief Adviser to the Bhakra Dam Project, stated at Nangal on 1 September that the accident was the first of its kind in the history of dams.

been affected is probably loss to some machinery, and possibly expenditure, to divert the water somewhere other – [...] nobody remotely thought that this might happen in this particular way and, of course, it is a matter of fact, if this wretched thing had not happened there for another five weeks, this whole tunnel through which water flows and is overflowed is [sic] going to be blocked up permanently.

You see, there are two water channels on both sides of Bhakra. One was blocked up a year or two ago and the other was going to be blocked in a month or five weeks' time completely and finally, and if that had been done, there was no question of this kind of thing happening. But it so happened, just four weeks before, this something happened, about which they are not dead sure yet, what gave way in some channel or other. As I said, it does not affect, it did not affect the dam and the main things, but every little thing like this is not only a costly thing for us to repair but much more it is hot.

Some people – some newspaper or people – will go about trying to behead or strike who is the guilty person, off with his head, and this kind of business. Well, let there be somebody, if anybody is guilty, let that person be punished. But it is a wrong approach. In these mighty undertakings, accidents happen. We can only learn from experience. Now, the engineers say, they do not yet know what has happened, but we know this, that the next dam we build, we shall have to take care of this also; we have learnt that from this lesson. So one must not be too down hearted at lack of success in an experiment or in something that we are doing, provided, of course, we know that we are doing our best and we should provide for that degree of initiative even at a risk. It is only through risk that individuals or nations grow ahead.

Anyhow, I wish you well in this new aspect of your work which you are undertaking, which is no doubt good for the Defence Services but is equally good for the country as a whole.

Thank you.

(f) Labour

136. In the Lok Sabha: Strike in the Rare Earths Limited⁶¹

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the attention of the Government of India has been drawn to the statement made in the Kerala Legislative Assembly about police protection

61. Reply, 3 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 88-91. Certain portions shown in italics in this item are as in the original.

III. DEVELOPMENT

- afforded in connection with the strike in the Rare Earths Ltd., Alwaye;⁶²
- (b) whether the Government of India have made any further enquiry into the facts of the case and if so has any reference been made to the statement on this matter;
- (c) whether the Government of India at any time, in this connection has drawn the attention of the State Government to the adequacy or inadequacy of the police protection in the course of the aforesaid strike; and
- (d) whether any action has been taken by the State Government thereon?⁶³

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) Government has seen reports appearing in some Kerala newspapers regarding a statement made by the Minister of Industries⁶⁴ in the State Legislature that the allegations made in connection with the strike in the Rare Earths Ltd., Alwaye, in the statement laid on the table of the Lok Sabha on 27th April 1959⁶⁵ are incorrect. The Kerala Government has been requested to supply a copy of this statement but the same has not been received so far.

(b) Government of India has gone into the question of police protection afforded in connection with the strike in the plant of Indian Rare Earths Ltd., Alwaye very carefully on several occasions, since the statement was laid on the table of the Lok Sabha on 27th April, 1959. No further material has come to their knowledge to disprove the facts mentioned in their statement.

(c) Yes. As already mentioned in paragraph 5 of the statement laid on the table of the Lok Sabha, the events of trespass and destruction of the Company's property occurred on 16th March and 21st March, 1959. The Company addressed letters to the local Collector and the District Superintendent of Police on 17th March, 1959 as well as the Chief Secretary to the Kerala Government⁶⁶ on 20th March, 1959 requesting adequate police protection for the Company's

62. Strike began on 31 March 1959. The IREL functioned under the Atomic Energy Commission.

63. The question was asked by K.T.K. Tangamani and A.K. Gopalan.

64. K.P. Gopalan (1908-1977); participated in the freedom movement; Secretary, North Malabar District Congress Committee; Secretary, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee; joined the CPI in 1939; elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1952 and Deputy Leader of Opposition in that Assembly; elected to the Kerala Legislative Assembly from Cannanore-II, 1957; Minister for Industries and Community Development, Kerala, April 1957-31 July 1959.

65. The company declared a lock-out on 3 April 1959. On 27 April 1959, Lakshmi Menon tabled a statement in the Lok Sabha in response to a question by Mathew Maniyangadan and five other MPs about the closure.

66. N.E.S. Raghavachari, *The Statesman*, 23 July 1959.

personnel and property. The Employees' Association called on the strike with effect from 31st March, 1959. On 1st April 1959, the Government of India sent a wireless message to the Chief Secretary to the Kerala Government requesting them to ensure that necessary and adequate action is taken to ensure maintenance of peace and protection of factory personnel. As the plant has been closed since 3rd April, 1959, there were no further incidents.

The Chief Administrative Officer of the Company who was deputed to Alwaye in June 1959 to explore the possibilities of re-opening the factory after making necessary security arrangements, conveyed to the Collector of Ernakulam, the Chief Secretary to the Kerala Government and Shri K.P. Gopalan, Minister for Industries *that the security of the plant and of the personnel at the factory could be ensured only if the area of the property was properly enclosed and that the Company could not re-open the factory unless adequate security measures were taken.* On 4th July, 1959 the Company received intimation from the local Superintendent of Police that he was reducing the strength of the Police Guard at the factory of the Company immediately by 50 per cent and that he was considering removing the Guard completely from 10th July, 1959. On 9th July, 1959 the Department of Atomic Energy wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Kerala impressing upon him the necessity for affording adequate protection to the plant and the continuance of the present strength of armed Guard at the plant. This was followed by telegrams from the Secretary, Atomic Energy Department,⁶⁷ to the Collector Ernakulam, and to Chief Secretary, Kerala Government requesting them to postpone their decision regarding the reduction and ultimate removal of the Police Guard at the factory at Alwaye. As a result of these requests of the Government of India, the Kerala Government agreed to the retention of the Guard pending alternative arrangements by the Company.

(d) The Minister for Industries, Kerala Government informed the Chairman, Indian Rare Earths Ltd., on 4th June, 1959 that the State Government was willing to use its good offices to persuade the workers to withdraw the strike unconditionally and expressed the hope that the factory would be re-opened immediately. In reply to this letter, the Chairman, Indian Rare Earths Ltd. informed the State Government *inter alia* of his readiness to re-open the factory and requested the State Government to afford police protection for enclosing the area of the land conveyed by the State Government to the Company to ensure security of the plant and personnel at the factory. In his letter dated

67. Homi J. Bhabha, Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, GOI, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

16th June, 1959 to the Chairman, Indian Rare Earths Ltd., the Minister for Industries, Kerala Government assured the Chairman that he would use his good offices to see that the public of the locality agree to the reconstruction of the demolished portion of the fence around the Company's area. On 14th July, 1959 the Minister of Industries again wrote to the Chief Administrative Officer, Indian Rare Earths Ltd. stating that he was doing his utmost to effect compromise in respect of fencing of the property of the Company in which case, he hoped, there would not be any need to call for police assistance. The Chief Administrative Officer, Indian Rare Earths Ltd., once again reiterated the Company's request on July 20, 1959 *that the re-fencing of the area in the legal possession of the Company was essential to prevent trespass of their property and to ensure the security of the plant and personnel.* The Company is in direct correspondence with the Minister for Industries in Kerala who has promised to use his good offices for a settlement of the disputes and for the re-fencing of the Company's land. Since the land in question was handed over to the Company by an order of the State Government after making the usual and necessary enquiries, the Company has the legal right to fence it in, and the only action on the part of the State Government required for the purpose is the provision of adequate police protection. This has not been forthcoming yet.⁶⁸

137. To Kesho Ram: Inauguration of the Panchet Hill Dam⁶⁹

You might reply to this letter⁷⁰ and I shall be glad to visit the opening ceremony of the Panchet Hill Dam. As for the date, perhaps early in November might be suitable but I am not sure as we are expecting some prominent dignitaries from abroad.

2. There is another point that I should like to mention. I think that in future these opening ceremonies should be performed by some ordinary worker there who has actually participated in the construction work. Some of us may

68. This answer appears to have been drafted before the dismissal of the Communist government in Kerala on 31 July 1959.

69. Note, 23 August 1959. File No. 8/127/59/PMP.

70. T. Sivasankar, Secretary in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and Chairman of the Damodar Valley Corporation, wrote to Kesho Ram on 20 August requesting Nehru to inaugurate the Panchet Hill Dam on the Damodar river at Panchet in Dhanbad district, any day after 20 October. File No. 8/127/59-PMP.

be present there and may speak, but it would be psychologically and otherwise a good gesture to choose one of the workers to perform the ceremony.⁷¹

138. To K.K. Shah: Evictions⁷²

August 26, 1959

My dear Shah,⁷³

I have your letter of the 20th August. I agree with you that we should always avoid eviction. But it is obviously not possible for me to lay down any fixed rule which can cover all manner of cases. I am sending your letter to our Labour Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda. I suppose, however, that this is essentially a matter for the State Government to deal with.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. To A.M. Thomas: Retrenchment in the Rare Earths Factory⁷⁴

August 28, 1959

My dear Thomas,⁷⁵

Your letter of the 28th August about the Rare Earths' Factory, Alwaye.⁷⁶ I am drawing the attention of Dr. Homi Bhabha to this matter. Obviously I cannot issue orders from here as to how and when the factory should open and under what conditions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

71. Budhni Mejhan, a project worker and a Santhali girl from village Karbona, inaugurated the Panchet Hill Dam on 6 December 1959 in Nehru's presence. See *The Hindu*, 2 June 2012.

72. Letter. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

73. The President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

74. Letter.

75. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ernakulam, Kerala, and Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture.

76. See A.M. Thomas to Nehru, 28 August 1959, Appendix 44.

140. To Homi J. Bhabha: Retrenchment in the Rare Earths Factory⁷⁷

August 30, 1959

My dear Homi,

Yesterday I wrote to you and sent you a letter from A.M. Thomas about the Rare Earths Factory at Alwaye. Today two representatives of the employees of this factory saw me. They appeared to be decent and intelligent persons. I told them that I could not do anything from here. All I could do was to refer the matter to you.

I hope you will look into this matter. If we are starting this factory afresh, it should be done in as favourable an atmosphere as possible and retrenchment should be avoided at this stage.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

(g) Education

141. To S.R. Das: A Donation for Santiniketan⁷⁸

August 23, 1959

My dear Chief Justice,⁷⁹

Thank you for your two letters dated August 17th and 18th.

Shri G.D. Birla saw me the other day. He mentioned to me about his talk with you and said that he would be sending a donation for Santiniketan.

As for the date of the meeting of the Samsad,⁸⁰ I mentioned the 5th of November to the Vice-Chancellor⁸¹ as an approximate date. There is no special virtue in it. He can certainly have the meeting on Sunday, the 8th November, if that is more suitable. Perhaps, you will be good enough to write to the Vice-Chancellor about it. He has not written to me on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

77. Letter.

78. Letter. File No. 40 (107)/59-69-PMS.

79. S.R. Das was the Vice-Chancellor-designate of Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.

80. The Court of Visva-Bharati University.

81. K.C. Chaudhuri, the Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University.

142. To M.S. Thacker: Heads for Educational Institutions in Assam⁸²

August 25, 1959

My dear Thacker,

The Chief Minister of Assam saw me yesterday and said that he was having great difficulty in finding heads for his two Engineering Colleges in Assam. He was also searching for a Principal for the Medical College and a Director for National Education. He was much worried about this. Can we help him in any way and find suitable persons? He even asked me if it would be worth while getting someone from abroad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Children's Welfare⁸³

As you know, I am greatly interested in children and children's welfare. I often talk about it. And yet, the feeling comes upon me that we do very little indeed for them. Our school-going begins at six or seven. The period previous to this is practically uncared for.

2. I do not remember if we said much on this subject in our Five Year Plans.

3. I do think that the Third Plan should deal with this subject a little more adequately. I know that we cannot have any ambitious schemes or find much money for it. And yet, we spend large sums on students and youth camps etc. I should have thought that children's welfare was a surer foundation for the future.

4. At present, nobody appears to be responsible for this. Probably the Health Ministry has something to do with it, but they must look at this question from the health point of view. The Education Ministry should also be interested, but I rather doubt if they know much. I suppose that the various State

82. Letter. File No. 2 (682)/73-78-PMS.

83. Note, 25 August 1959, copied to D.P. Karmarkar with the comment: "As your Ministry is in a sense connected with children's welfare, I should like you to give thought to this matter." File No. 40 (187)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Governments also rather ignore this subject. There is some talk of Bal Bhavans and the like. They are good. They do not go very far. We have had some excellent proposals for simple and cheap children's museums.

5. There is the Indian Council for Child Welfare⁸⁴ which, I think, has done good work, but naturally it functions on a very restricted scale. It seems to me that children's work especially can be done more effectively and far more cheaply through voluntary organisations rather than direct Governmental agencies. Perhaps, the Social Welfare Board⁸⁵ does something.

6. I am writing to you to draw your attention to this matter so that some thought might be given to it. We might even discuss it in the Planning Commission.

7. Recently, UNICEF, I think, have sent a specially trained young woman⁸⁶ here to help the Indian Council for Child Welfare. I gather that the French Government who have sponsored this visit, want to do something more in this connection.

144. To Humayun Kabir: India Office Library⁸⁷

August 26, 1959

My dear Humayun,⁸⁸

Your letter of August 25 about the India Office Library.⁸⁹ I agree broadly to the approach suggested in your letter.

In the attached letter you have sent, there is reference to Burma also. I had not heard of Burma's share in this Library. Are you sure about this matter?

I think that, for the present, the only question we should raise is that of ownership and transfer of ownership. The question of physical transfer of the books, manuscripts, etc. to India or Pakistan, should not be taken up. This might make it easier to come to a settlement with the British Government. I would personally agree to the Library remaining in London for a period at least.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

84. Formed in 1952. Indira Gandhi was the President of the Council, 1958-64.

85. The Central Social Welfare Board.

86. Ika Paul-Pont from France. See SWJN/SS/44/p. 470.

87. Letter.

88. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

89. For an earlier reference, see SWJN/SS/47/pp. 390-391.

145. To K.L. Shrimali: Competition between the Scouts Associations⁹⁰

August 29, 1959

My dear Shrimali,⁹¹

Your letter of the 28th August about the Boy Scouts Associations. You can certainly make an attempt to get the two associations joined together. My impression was that in this matter the Bharat Scouts & Guides took up a difficult attitude.

While as a general proposition I agree with what you say in your letter, I am inclined to think that in India it might not be a bad thing to have some competition of this kind. Otherwise, there is a tendency towards complacency and complete dependence upon Government support. But anyhow it is bad to have ill feeling between the two and attempts to run down each other.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. Letter.

91. The Minister of Education.

(h) Culture

146. To Mahavir Tyagi: Worship of Nehru by Village Folk⁹²

August 5, 1959

My dear Mahavir,

I got your note in Parliament today, with the Press clippings.⁹³ All this is, of course, ridiculous nonsense, and I have written to the Chief Minister of Bombay accordingly and asked him to convey my message to these village folk.⁹⁴ But I do not think it would be right for me to attach too much importance to it and issue a special statement.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Yogis in USSR⁹⁵

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Indian Yogis are imparting Yogic knowledge of breath control in U.S.S.R.; and
- (b) whether it is under any of the schemes of Indo-U.S.S.R. collaboration?⁹⁶

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The Government of India have seen a report in the Press suggesting that Indian Yogis are teaching prospective space travellers in U.S.S.R. the art of breathing in different atmospheres. However, our Embassy in Moscow have no such information and we do not know the basis on which the Press carried this report.

92. Letter.

93. Mahavir Tyagi suggested that Nehru might issue a statement to the effect that he did not like the PTI news that the residents of a village in Bombay state worshipped Nehru as the "tenth avatar." For details, see item 3, fn 36.

94. Nehru wrote to Y.B. Chavan the same day asking him to have word sent to the village people "telling them that I strongly disapprove of what they have done."

95. 14 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, col. 2249.

96. The question was asked by Harish Chandra Mathur and two other MPs.

148. To Begum Qudsia Zaidi: Theatre Development in Delhi⁹⁷

August 27, 1959

Dear Qudsia,⁹⁸

I have your letter of August 27. I am interested to learn that the Hindustani Theatre intend building a theatre hall. Such a hall, I think, is very necessary in Delhi, and I hope you will succeed in your endeavour. I notice that your idea is a big one and is not confined merely to the building of a theatre. You want to give classes in dramatics and to evolve gradually an indigenous style of theatre. This is certainly worthy of encouragement.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

149. To Madhav Singh "Deepak": Hindi Poetry⁹⁹

August 29, 1959

Dear Madhav Singhji,¹⁰⁰

I have your letter of the 29th August. I am glad to know about your new book of poems "Lavanya Mayee". It will be difficult for me to give any opinion about Hindi poems as I do not think I am competent to do so. I have been asked previously to give such opinion and I have consistently refrained from doing so.

97. Letter.

98. Writer, social worker and theatre person; General Secretary of the Hindustani Theatre group, which she founded in Delhi in the mid-fifties with Habib Tanvir.

99. Letter.

100. Madhav Singh "Deepak" (b. 1930); Hindi writer based in Delhi; published works include collections of poems, novels and a play; worked with the Central Hindi Directorate; correspondent and secretary of a P.E.N. journal, Bombay and Delhi. See Prem Narain Tandon (ed.), *Hindi-Sahityakar-Kosh*, Vol. 1, (Lucknow: *Hindi-Sewi-Sansar*, 1963), p. 248.

Writers certainly deserve sympathy but it is not quite clear to me in what way this can be done. Some of us who are only incidentally writers are terribly busy persons.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

150. To B.V. Keskar: On Saghar Nizami's Objections to Appointments¹⁰¹

August 30, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of August 29th about Saghar Nizami.¹⁰² What you have pointed out is valid and relevant. We cannot accept Nizami's criticism of the appointment of Abid Hussain¹⁰³ or Ravish Siddiqui.¹⁰⁴ I think, however, that in spite of what has been said in his representation, you should send for him and talk to him. That is always my practice in cases which come to me directly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

101. Letter.

102. Saghar Nizami, pen name of Sardar Muhammad Samad Yaar Khan (1905-1984); nationalist Urdu poet and dramatist; works include *Anarkali* (1963), a verse drama, and *Nehrunama* (1967), a long poem on Nehru; lyricist and screenwriter for films; wrote radio features for AIR; See Afroz Taj, "Two Anarkalis", in *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, pp. 177-192.

103. Syed Abid Hussain, Urdu scholar and writer, and Professor Emeritus, Jamia Millia Islamia.

104. Ravish Siddiqui, pen name of Shahid Aziz (1911-1971); nationalist Urdu poet; works include *Mahrab-e-Ghazal*. Ganga Ram Garg (ed.), *International Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1991), p. 188.

(i) Health

151. To M.C. Chagla: On Dorothy Norman¹⁰⁵

August 5, 1959

My dear Chagla,

Your letter of the 27th July, with which you have sent me Dorothy Norman's¹⁰⁶ long letter and other papers.¹⁰⁷ I am afraid I have not read her long letter. I have just glanced through it. But I am forwarding it to our Health Minister.

Nobody thought of accusing Dorothy Norman of any ill-will towards India.¹⁰⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

152. To D.P. Karmarkar: Visit of a Japanese Leprosy Expert¹⁰⁹

7th August 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I sent to your Ministry a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur¹¹⁰ with which she had sent me a letter from the Japanese Ambassador.¹¹¹ The Ambassador had

105. Letter. File No. 28 (68)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

106. Dorothy Norman, an American civil rights advocate, writer and photographer; worked with the Planned Parenthood Association in the USA; an advocate of Indian independence; in the 1950s, founded the American Emergency Food Committee for India.

See also SWJN/SS/50/items 142 to 144.

107. See M.C. Chagla to Nehru, 27 July 1959, Appendix 5. Dorothy Norman's letter and the other papers sent by Chagla have not been traced.

108. The same day Nehru wrote to D.P. Karmarkar: "You will remember your writing to me about the question of some oral contraceptive produced in America. I sent a copy of your letter and its enclosure to Ambassador Chagla. Apparently he communicated them to Mrs. Dorothy Norman, who wrote an indignant letter. I enclose a copy of her letter to Chagla and also some other papers." Karmarkar's letter has not been traced.

109. Letter. File No. 28 (12)/59-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

110. Former Health Minister, 1947-52.

111. Shiroshi Nasu, the Ambassador of Japan to India, November 1957 to May 1961.

written about Dr. Matsuki Miyazaki,¹¹² a leprosy expert, who wants to visit India. No cost is involved so far as we are concerned.

I find that your Ministry has written to our Ambassador in Tokyo to find out more facts about Dr. Miyazaki. I do not understand why we should carry on further enquiries into this matter. Enquiries are, of course, good and we should know the facts, but in any event we should welcome Dr Miyazaki's visit here.

I am writing to you because the Japanese Ambassador saw me today and spoke to me on this subject. It does seem very ungracious of us to delay an answer when such an offer is made and which involves no expenditure on our part except perhaps some local expenditure. We should, therefore, welcome his visit. When Dr. Miyazaki comes, he can meet our experts, discuss matters with them. This does not mean that we necessarily agree to his proposals.

The Ambassador had written to us that Dr. Miyazaki's proposal to visit India has been welcomed by the Japanese Medical Academy and the Japan's Lions Club. It would be very ungracious of us now to place difficulties in the way of his coming here. Therefore, I suggest that you write to the Japanese Ambassador and tell him that Dr. Miyazaki's visit will be welcome here. We can then fix suitable dates. While in India, we should treat him as our guest. The Council of Medical Research¹¹³ should really take this matter up.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

153. To D.P. Karmarkar: Medical Care in USA and USSR¹¹⁴

August 16, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I am sending you a brief and hurried report which was given to me today by Dr. C.H. Naik who has just returned from a visit to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.¹¹⁵

112. Matsuki Miyazaki (1900-1972); Japanese medical doctor, known for his studies on war and leprosy; director of the Kyushu Sanatorium in Kumamoto, Japan, 1934-1958; travelled to India in 1959; established a leprosy center of Japan Leprosy Mission of Asia in Agra, 1964, for cooperative basic research of leprosy among Asian nations, and served as its first director.

113. The Indian Council of Medical Research.

114. Letter.

115. See Report by Dr C.H. Naik, physician and cardiologist, Medical College, Ahmedabad, Appendix 34.

I think this will interest you, and you might perhaps share it with some of your leading doctors.

There is one point in it which I think deserves our particular attention. It is stated that in the U.S.S.R. every attempt is made to have simple hospitals without any flourishes, but the equipment is good. They save money on unnecessary flourishes and display. Most of their hospitals appear to be single storeyed buildings, apart from perhaps big ones in principal cities. I think we might very well learn from this. We spend far too much on brick and mortar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

154. To K.C. Reddy: Medical Care in USA and USSR¹¹⁶

August 16, 1959

My dear Reddy,

I send you a report which was given to me this evening by a doctor who has just visited the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.¹¹⁷ I would particularly draw your attention to what is said in it about the U.S.S.R. hospitals which are made as simple as possible, without waste of money. There are no flourishes or ornamentation. I think we might well learn from this. We still go in for imposing structures costing a lot of money.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

155. To D.P. Karmarkar: Clinical Trial on a Contraceptive¹¹⁸

Mrs. Dorothy Norman is well known to us. Her bona fides cannot be doubted, and she has done good work for India in many ways.

2. I do not think there is any question of a racial bias. Nevertheless, in this matter we should accept the advice of our experts here. You may, therefore,

116. Letter. File No. 28(64)/59-PMS.

117. See Appendix 34.

118. Note, 25 August 1959. File No. 28 (68)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

write to our Ambassador in Washington telling him that we appreciate Mrs. Dorothy Norman's desire to help us and we know that she has done good work for our country. Also that we are convinced of the bona fides of Dr. Pincus and the Worcester Foundation.¹¹⁹ We feel, however, that the first step that we should take is to try Dr. Pincus's new drug on a variety of animals here, and we are prepared to do this at the Indian Cancer Research Institute¹²⁰ and other institutes here if Dr. Pincus will be good enough to send the necessary quantity of the drug here for trial.

156. To D.P. Karmarkar: Harmful Effects of Vanaspati¹²¹

August 30, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

I am told that you made some statements in Parliament to the effect that Vanaspati was said by some experts to be harmful and possibly one of the causes of heart trouble if taken in large quantities.¹²² If that is supposed to be the medical view, then the question arises as to how we should deal with it. I am getting letters asking me why we permit Vanaspati to flourish when this is the medical view. Has this matter been considered by your Ministry and have any steps been taken about it?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

119. The Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology, founded by Hudson Hoagland and Gregory Pincus in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, in 1944.

120. The Indian Cancer Research Centre established in Bombay in December 1952 with the cooperation of GOI and Sir Dorabji Tata Trust; later renamed the Cancer Research Institute.

121. Letter. File No. 31 (76)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

122. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1877-1882.

(j) Science and Technology

157. In the Lok Sabha: Using Atomic Energy for Power¹²³

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the nature of steps to be taken during the remaining period of the Second Five Year Plan for the production of all the basic materials required for the utilization of atomic energy for power?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

1. A plant for treating monazite and producing therefrom rare earth salts and a cake containing thorium has been in operation for some years. A plant to treat this thorium-uranium cake and produce commercially pure thorium nitrate has also been in successful operation for some years. The technology of producing nuclear grade thorium oxide or metal has been developed, and the Establishment will be able to set up a plant for the purpose, whenever the need for nuclear grade thorium oxide or metal arises.

2. A plant to produce nuclear grade uranium metal was designed and constructed by the staff of the Atomic Energy Establishment, Trombay within a period of about a year, and went into operation on January 29, 1959. It has successfully produced nuclear grade uranium metal, which will be used in producing the fuel elements for the reactors now under construction. This plant could also be expanded to produce enough uranium metal for the first nuclear power station. The Chemical Engineering Division is now in a position to design any larger nuclear grade uranium metal plant, which may be required for a substantial nuclear power programme.

3. A Fuel Element Facility for converting the uranium metal into fuel elements has just been completed, and regular production of fuel elements for the Canada-India Reactor will commence shortly. A prototype fuel element was successfully produced on June 15, this year.

4. A sufficiently large deposit of low grade uranium ore has been located in Bihar to justify the setting up of a uranium mill to produce uranium concentrate in sufficient quantities for a medium sized nuclear power station. The process for the plant, with the necessary data, is being developed in the Trombay Establishment, and will be ready shortly. It will enable a uranium plant to be set up in Bihar, without any external aid.

123. 6 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 893-895.

5. Promising deposits of uranium have been located in Rajasthan, but their extent has not yet been proved to justify the setting up of plants in this area. The proving of these deposits is being pursued energetically. Should expectations regarding these deposits be fulfilled, India will become entirely self-sufficient in uranium, even for a substantial nuclear power programme.

6. A plant to treat the used fuel elements of the Canada-India Reactor and other reactors, and extract plutonium therefrom, is being designed by the Chemical Engineering Division of the Trombay Establishment, and is expected to be complete within about two years. Facilities for handling plutonium and making plutonium fuel elements are being designed, and their construction will be undertaken shortly.

7. The production of heavy water in the fertilizer heavy water plant at Nangal is expected to commence before the end of the Second Five Year Plan.¹²⁴ Additional production of heavy water by other methods is being considered in the proposed fertilizer plant at Trombay.

8. Processes for producing nuclear grade zirconium metal from zircon have been developed, and a plant could be constructed by the staff of the Trombay Establishment as soon as there is sufficient demand for zirconium metal in the country to justify such a step.

9. It will be seen that, by the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the country will be technologically entirely self-sufficient, as far as the production of basic materials required for the utilization of atomic energy is concerned.

158. To Kesho Ram: Atomic Power Stations Not Show Pieces¹²⁵

Please acknowledge this letter and in your reply state that I think that the criticism that an atomic power station in India is meant to be a show-piece is not justified.¹²⁶ We need not go rather deeply into the economics of this matter and it seems quite essential for future development of atomic power stations. Naturally a beginning has to be made. As we progress with this, it will become

124. According to an answer given in the Lok Sabha on 28 August 1959, in addition to fertilizer, 14.5 tons of heavy water would be produced annually at the Nangal plant.

125. Note, 17 August 1959. File No. 17 (278)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

126. H.M. Trivedi, a journalist from Bombay, enclosed a copy of a newspaper article, without mentioning the journal's name, on atomic power expenditures being a waste given the urgent need for housing and food. File No. 17 (278)/57-60-PMS.

less and less costly. Dr. Bhabha has explained this fully to the Press.¹²⁷ If we delay now, this will have adverse reactions in the future because all this takes time.

2. You might point out that the 'Hindu' of Madras has had articles on this subject which show an appreciation of this work.

159. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Nangal and Trombay Fertilizer Plants for DAE¹²⁸

August 26, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I think I wrote to you some time ago about a proposal made by Homi Bhabha.¹²⁹ I had sent you a copy of Bhabha's letter. Ranganathan¹³⁰ replied to that letter directly to Homi Bhabha.

The other day, Homi Bhabha was here, and he was not at all satisfied with Ranganathan's reply. He gave me a copy of the letter he had written to Ranganathan on August 24th. For facility of reference, I am sending this copy to you. I think there is a good deal of force in what Bhabha says, and I want you to look into this matter again. I am not interested in any particular Ministry having charge of something. Each Ministry wants to have as much as possible to control, and many Ministries have more than they can look after properly.

All I am interested in is that the work in hand should be done efficiently and speedily. This question of Heavy Water etc. is a highly technical scientific matter, and I feel that it would be far better for it to be supervised by the Atomic Energy Department.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. At a press conference in Bombay on 4 August 1959.

128. Letter. File No. 17 (335)/59-61-PMS.

129. Perhaps the reference is to his letter of 20 May 1959 to Lal Bahadur Shastri about the Nangal and Trombay Fertilizer Plants. See SWJN/SS/49/item 267.

130. Saurirajan Ranganathan (1908-1990); joined ICS, 1929; served in the United Provinces in various positions; Secretary, Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 1956-66; Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 1966-72; Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Tamil Nadu, 1974-80; President, Tuberculosis Association of India, 1973-88. *The Times of India Who's Who in India* 1982, *India Who's Who* 1977-78 and *Rajya Sabha Who's Who*.

160. To M.S. Thacker: Patent Laws¹³¹

August 28, 1959

My dear Thacker,

I enclose a letter which Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya has written to me.¹³² Towards the end of this letter you will find a reference to the CSIR meeting which considered an amendment of the existing patent laws. It is stated here that the CSIR opposed any amendment. That was not my direction. What exactly is the position and what did we recommend in regard to the patent laws?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. Letter. File No. 48 (25)/58-66-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

132. See Keshava Deva Malaviya to Nehru, 27 August 1959, Appendix 41.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) Pakistan

161. To B.P. Chaliha: No Complacency About Border¹

No. Primin-21118. Chief Minister from Prime Minister.

Your telegram August 1st. There is no question of Central Government taking a complacent view of what is happening on the border, and we realise fully the implications of what the Pakistan authorities are doing. Whatever action we may take has to be fully considered and consequences prepared for. Army authorities have general instructions to take necessary action. These instructions have been issued.

2. This morning's newspapers report cease-fire agreement between Deputy Commissioners of two sides.² Cease-fire is always desirable but any conditions which may be agreed to require careful consideration. We trust that any local action to be taken will be referred to us for consultation first.

162. In the Lok Sabha: Tukergram³

Shri Shivananjappa: ⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Pakistan Government are realising revenue from the villagers of Tukurgram on the Cachar-Sylhet border; and
- (b) If so, whether the Indian Government has protested against this act of Pakistan?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) There is no information that land revenue is being realised from the villagers of Tukurgram. However, Chaukidari tax from them has been demanded by the Pakistani authorities.

(b) Does not arise.

- 1. Telegram, 3 August 1959.
- 2. The ceasefire was violated on 31 July at Bakurtilla; another ceasefire agreement followed on 2 August after telephone talks between the two border Deputy Commissioners. *The Tribune*, 3 August 1959.
- 3. 6 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 854-858.
- 4. M.K. Shivananjappa, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mandya, Mysore.

Shri Shivananjappa: May I know whether the issue was discussed with Pakistan at any official or diplomatic level and, if so, with what result?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The answer to part (b) of the main question is, "Does not arise".

Shri S.M. Banerjee:⁵ In reply to a similar question the other day, the Deputy Minister replied that the Chief Secretaries of Assam and Pakistan were to meet to discuss this occupied territory of Tukergram. I want to know when this meeting is going to take place and whether it is going to take place in Assam.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I am not quite sure, but I do not think a date has been fixed. The idea is that it should be held fairly early.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether this new development in Tukergram, that is, the collection of Chaukidari tax, is rather a milestone in Pakistan's claim that Tukergram belongs to Pakistan, and all the more so after it is let out in Karachi that the Nehru-Noon agreement⁶ has lost its sanctity with Gen. Ayub's Government and, if so, what positive steps do the Government propose to take to speed up the recovery of Tukergram?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The steps can either be diplomatic or military. As I said on a previous occasion, in regard to Tukergram particularly, and generally, our policy is to avoid any large-scale military steps, not on any particular ground of, if I may use the word, 'non-violence', but because one has to think of all the consequences of military steps. Normally we want to avoid military steps. Even now, as the House knows, there have been recently totally unjustified firings on the frontier there near Dawki⁷ and other places, without the slightest justification. They have gone on, stopped, and gone on; at the present moment they have stopped. All I can say is, we are completely alive to the situation and alert, and if necessity arises, we should take action.

5. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

6. The agreement signed in New Delhi on 11 September 1958 between Nehru and Firoz Khan Noon, then Prime Minister of Pakistan; see SWJN/SS/44/items 276 and 279.

7. According to Lakshmi Menon in the Rajya Sabha on 13 August 1959, Pakistani forces were first noticed concentrating opposite Dawki towards the end of June and started firing on Dawki from the night of 31 July.

Shri Hem Barua: My question is about a particular point: it was let out in Karachi, as I said on a previous occasion also, that the Nehru-Noon agreement does not hold any force with the Pakistan Government, because of the reference of the transfer of Cooch-Bihar enclaves and the Berubari Union to the Supreme Court and all that. I just wanted to know whether this Tokergram problem is connected with this also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember that particular phrase used on behalf of Pakistan to which the hon. Member refers. But this has nothing to do with it. This is not part of any agreement. Tokergram is a village of two parts, one on this side of the river and the other on the other side, on the west, across the river, about 200 acres on what might be called the Pakistan side of the river. Pakistan occupied that, although ever since partition and independence, it has been under the occupation of India. A little more than a year ago, they occupied it. There is absolutely no justification for it all. It was pointed out at the time of the Prime Ministers' meeting – it did not form part of our discussion – and it was admitted by the other Prime Minister. But he raised another question about the Patharia Forest and said, "You are occupying some land on the Patharia Forest; if you walk out of that, we walk out of Tokergram". He wanted to make some sort of a bargain. We said, "We do not agree with what you say about the Patharia Forest. Let there be a proper demarcation of Patharia, a temporary one, and after that, we should not cross that temporary line. That has to be decided by the two Conservators of Forests." The two Conservators met, but did not agree and there the matter remains.

So, in that sense, Tokergram was talked about, but it was no part of any agreement, though it was admitted by the Prime Minister of Pakistan then that that was part of India.

Shri Hem Barua: I want to know why Tokergram was allowed to be held to ransom by Pakistan for the solution of the Patharia problem. Originally it was not associated like that. Only when Mr. Noon came and met our Prime Minister, a new situation developed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think it is quite correct to say that we linked it up. It was stated by the other Prime Minister; it is not a question of our linking it up. We go on claiming it separately, but we agreed to take up the other question also.

Shri Hem Barua: Tokergram was a separate and isolated problem altogether, but it was ultimately linked with Patharia. I fail to understand this.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister has answered that he did not bring it up but the other gentleman wanted both to be settled.

Shri Hem Barua: We are a party to that.

Mr. Speaker: We are arguing that matter ...

Shri S.M. Banerjee: Question 192 may be clubbed with this, since some portion of it relating to Patharia Forest has been answered by the Prime Minister.⁸ It is a very important question.

Shri Assar:⁹ In view of the hon. Prime Minister's reply, can it be said that the Nehru-Noon agreement is valid yet?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not prepared to answer that in any legal sense. It is difficult for me to answer.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:¹⁰ According to Press reports – I refer to the Assam Tribune editorial on June 10, 1959 – not only Tukurgram, but a few more areas which are integral parts of India are in illegal possession of Pakistan. If it is so, what measures have been taken to repel such encroachment upon our territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: According to the editorial in a paper issued in Assam, some areas unnamed are in occupation of Pakistan. How can I answer that question?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. lady Member will send it on to the hon. Prime Minister.

8. Question 192, asked by Renu Chakravartty and eight other MPs, related to the construction of bunkers by Pakistani troops in the Patharia Reserve Forest. Lakshmi Menon replied that Rajeshwar Dayal, during his visit to the border area in May 1959, did not see any bunkers being constructed by Pakistanis at Sutan-Kanchi, eight miles from Karimganj. To S.M. Banerjee's supplementary question whether the press report that the Pakistan Army had constructed bunkers there was correct, Nehru replied: "Bunkers are very temporary things which can be made, removed, filled up and opened. Even if bunkers are there, they can be hidden. Many things can happen. All that has been stated in the answer is that the bunkers were not obvious to the High Commissioner who went there."
9. Premjibhai Ranchhoddas Assar, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Ratnagiri North, Bombay.
10. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jorhat, Assam.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed: These areas are Faizali Tilla, Iliastilla and Tengarkandi in North Cachar Hill District.

Mr. Speaker: Will the hon. Prime Minister answer question 192 also?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly, Sir, if you wish.

163. To M.J. Desai: Mangla Dam¹¹

Mr. Speaker might be informed that we feel that a discussion on the subject of Mangla Dam will not, in our opinion, be advisable and may not be in the public interest. This will apply also to Unstarred Question No.660.

On the 3rd August, a full answer was given to a question in the Lok Sabha by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri¹² (Starred Question No. 16).¹³ This dealt with the Mangla Dam. We have no further information to supply. It is obvious that all we can do in the circumstances is to protest to the Security Council.

The Unstarred Question No. 660 makes some enquiry as to whether a reference to the Mangla Dam was made in talks with the World Bank Mission. It is true that a reference was made during these talks and the position of the Government of India in regard to this territory was explained to the World Bank. It was made clear that whatever agreement might be arrived at must not in any way affect or amount to a waiver of India's sovereign rights in this territory.

At the present moment discussions are going on in London in regard to the Canal Waters issue. A discussion in the Lok Sabha of a subject indirectly connected with this issue might well prove embarrassing and harmful.

It is, therefore, submitted to Mr. Speaker that this discussion and the question No. 660 might not be allowed.

11. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 9 August 1959.

12. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Gurgaon, Punjab.

13. Prakash Vir Shastri had asked: i) whether the Mangla Dam construction was continuing; (ii) what losses would India suffer; and iii) what action GOI proposed to take? Lakshmi Menon replied to i) in the affirmative; to ii), that Mirpur town and about 122 villages would be submerged, and about 1,00,000 Indians would lose their land and livelihood; to iii), that India had already protested to the Security Council.

164. In the Rajya Sabha: Shooting Down of an Indian Canberra by Pakistan¹⁴

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:

Shri Jaswant Singh:¹⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the answer given to Starred Question No. 337 in the Rajya Sabha on the 6th May, 1959 and state the present position in regard to the protest sent by India to Pakistan in connection with the Indian Canberra jet plane which was shot down by Pakistan on the 10th of April, 1959?¹⁶

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: While regarding the incident as unfortunate the Pakistan Government argue that their shooting down of our Aircraft was justified. They have so far declined to accede to our demand for compensation for loss of aircraft and injuries to the crew. Government is, however, pursuing this matter.

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान: गवर्नमेंट को मालूम है कि पाकिस्तान सरकार ने प्रोटेस्ट नोट्स को अस्वीकार कर दिया है तो फिर क्या इस के बावजूद भी सरकार यह उचित समझती है कि उनको फिर प्रोटेस्ट नोट दिया जाय? यदि हाँ, तो उस से वह क्या फायदा समझती है?

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: The Government is aware of the fact that the Pakistan Government has rejected our protest notes. Does the Government still consider it appropriate that another protest note should be sent to the Pakistan Government?

Translation ends]

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, the last reply was received on the 13th of July, and the note is under study at present.

14. 10 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 7-10.

15. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

16. On 10 April 1959, the Pakistan Air Force shot down an Indian Air Force Canberra near Gujarkhan 30 miles from Rawalpindi; for details, see SWJN/SS/48/pp. 93-94.

Shri Jaswant Singh: It is understood that we have sent more than one protest note to the Pakistan Government in regard to this incident, and it is also understood that on both these occasions they have rejected our protests. May I know, Sir, the present position – whether we are going to protest again or we are going to take some other measures to see that justice is done to our case?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There are only three ways to deal with any difference of opinion existing between the two countries. The normal way is the diplomatic way. The abnormal way is war. The third way might be an extension of diplomacy, i.e. by reference to third parties, and normally, of course, it is not referred to third parties, and the matter is dealt with diplomatically as long as one carries it on that way.

Shri M.H. Samuel:¹⁷ As far as I know, there are other methods also of either buzzing or warning a plane violating the air-space of another country. There are very many violations of air-space over Berlin by either side, but we do not hear of any plane being shot down. Is it provided in the international law that when a foreign plane violates any country's air space, it should be shot down and they say that such action was justified?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a view of international law – the hon. Member has put forward – with which I am largely in agreement.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether any communication had been sent to the United States of America in this connection, and if so, what was the reply to that communication by the United States authorities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not quite sure whether any formal communication had been sent, but informal messages were certainly sent, because we pointed out to them that not only had this tragedy occurred which was wholly unjustified attack on our aircraft – but also, it had been carried out by an aircraft which was one of those given to the Pakistan Government. They expressed their regret and they said that they were very sorry that this thing had happened. They also said that they were not responsible for this.

17. Mudumala Henry Samuel, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh.

Dr. A.N. Bose:¹⁸ Is there not some fourth method besides those just pointed out by the Prime Minister? We are very often told that the Pakistan aircraft have also similarly strayed into our territory. May I know whether there is not some fourth method which is known as reprisal, i.e. just paying Pakistan back in her own coin?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That presumably – to put it in a cruder language – is to shoot down their aircraft. Well, we do not propose to do so unless some very aggressive action is taken by Pakistan. But cases have happened where some of their aircraft have been, what is called, buzzed and followed in the air and thereby pushed out.

Shri Jaswant Singh: Sir, in our protest notes we demanded from them compensation for the loss of our Canberra and also for the injuries sustained by our airmen. And they have rejected our claim. Now I would like to know whether our airmen have, in some way or the other, been compensated by us for the injuries sustained by them while doing their duty.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. We do not compensate our people. We treat them and make them well to work again.

Shri Jaswant Singh: Then, Sir, the second question that arises is this: Is it true that in rejecting our second protest note the Pakistan authorities have blamed India for continued violence of their airspace?

Mr. Chairman: He wants to know whether they have said that we have been continuously violating their air space.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I have not got any note before me, but that is the kind of thing which they often say.

Dr. W.S. Barlingay:¹⁹ Why can't the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice?

(No reply)

18. Dr Atindra Nath Bose, PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

19. Waman Sheodas Barlingay, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: In the last session, Sir, Dr. Kunzru²⁰ made certain revelations as to the circumstances in which the attack was made by the Pakistan Air Force. May I know if that matter had been gone into by the Government in the last three months, and if so, what has been the result of that enquiry?

Mr. Chairman: He has forgotten what Mr. Kunzru said. He cannot say what action he took on that.

165. To M.J. Desai: A Documentary on Kashmir²¹

I am a very bad judge of film scripts.²² I have no experience of this kind. Looking through this script rather hurriedly, I am taken aback by the frequent appearance which I make. Also the Defence Minister. I would have preferred a little less of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister in the film. But I do not know how to deal with this matter now, and I have to leave it to you to tone it down where you can. I agree that in a film of this kind we should not pitch our theme in too melodramatic a manner.

2. I agree also that the reference to the Mangla Dam should be omitted.
3. Since we have taken this film in hand, the sooner we get through with it, the better. Therefore, payment should not be held up because of other reasons.
4. Apart from the political aspects of the film, the artist should be given freedom.

20. Hriday Nath Kunzru, Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

21. Note, 13 August 1959.

22. See M.J. Desai's note, 11 August 1959, Appendix 29. For previous reference, see SWJN/SS/48/pp. 418-419.

166. To C.P.N. Singh: Pakistan's Ambivalence on Ending Conflicts²³

14th August, 1959

My dear CPN,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th August with which you have sent a letter from the new Pakistan High Commissioner in India.²⁴

I do not quite understand what you have in mind. Naturally, we would welcome an ending of the various conflicts between India and Pakistan. In our own way we have worked to that end. Possibly, one of the major causes of conflict, i.e. the Canal Waters question, may find some solution before very long.²⁵

But so far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, every effort we have made has really served Pakistan in the sense that they have used it as a jumping off ground or something more. We came to the conclusion therefore sometime ago that we are going to make no suggestion at all for the Kashmir issue. In fact, there is nothing much that we can suggest. Gradually the realisation has come to other countries like the UK and the USA that Pakistan's aggressive attitude will lead nowhere. I imagine that this question may not even come up before the United Nations in the near future. I feel therefore that on our part there should be no attempt to raise this issue in any form.

I think it is true that President Ayub Khan wants to settle Indo-Pakistan issues. That would strengthen his position in Pakistan greatly. We have in fact had several such vague approaches from him. At the same time there has been no easing of the situation on our frontiers, more especially between Eastern Pakistan and Assam and Bengal. Repeatedly there is firing and aggression from the Pakistan side. This is exceedingly irritating.

23. Letter; copy, together with the letter under reply, sent to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, and M.J. Desai.
24. Omar Hayat Malik (b. 1894); Pakistani educationist and diplomat; an alumnus of Aligarh Muslim University; Professor of Mathematics, Islamia College, Peshawar, and later Principal, Islamia College, Lahore, 1943-48; member, Indian Constituent Assembly, 1946, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1947; Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University, Lahore, 1947; Ambassador to Indonesia, 1950, to Federal Republic of Germany, 1952-54, to Japan, 1955-58; High Commissioner to India, 1959-60. *International Who's Who 1970-71* (London: Europa).
25. William A.B. Iliff, Vice President, World Bank, said at a press conference in London on 10 August that an India-Pakistan treaty on the Indus waters was expected to be concluded in the first half of 1960.

While Ayub Khan no doubt would like a settlement, and as I have said above there might well be a settlement about the Canal Waters issue, the question is whether he is in a position to meet our wishes in these matters. It is upto him to make an advance. The slightest move on our side will be misunderstood and lead us into difficulties.

I do not understand how the Foreign Minister of Iran²⁶ or indeed anyone else can be brought into the picture. Just as we do not want the United Nations to interfere, we also do not want foreign persons to do so. Our requesting any eminent foreigner to do so will itself create fresh difficulties and weaken our position. Apart from this, however good the Foreign Minister of Iran may be, he represents a country which is politically aligned in a particular way and therefore is on that level opposed to us.

As for Malik, the Pakistan High Commissioner, surely we cannot say or do anything which indicates that we want him to mediate between us and President Ayub Khan. Our own experience of Malik on the political plane has not been at all good in the past, more especially when he was Ambassador at Bonn. But anyhow our approaches to President Ayub or the Pakistan Government will have to be through our own High Commissioner. As it happens, Rajeshwar Dayal, our present High Commissioner in Karachi, is on fairly intimate terms with Ayub Khan having known him well during the pre-independence days.²⁷ Ayub Khan goes out of his way to be friendly to him. There is a possibility of Ayub Khan stopping at Delhi airport on his way to East Pakistan. I might meet him then.

I am surprised at the criticism you mention that India had not helped Afghanistan. We have always tried to meet their wishes. Obviously we cannot do so in such a big way as the United States or the Soviet Union.

I am returning Malik's letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Ali-Gholi Ardalan, the Foreign Minister of Iran, April 1958-December 1959.

27. Rajeshwar Dayal's memoirs record their friendship when both were serving in Mathura in the 1930s. "Almost every evening he would be at our house ... and was excellent company always." See *A Life of Our Times* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1998), pp. 57-58.

167. To Humayun Kabir: Kabir's Visit to Dacca²⁸

August 15, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th August and the report of your visit to Dacca.²⁹ I have read this report with great interest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

168. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: India's Position on Mangla Dam³⁰

No. Primin-21134

High Commissioner³¹ from Prime Minister. Personal.

Your telegram 1767 August 15.³² Our protest to Security Council regarding Mangla Dam was in continuation of our previous protest and in line with our general policy in regard to Jammu and Kashmir State.³³ It had nothing to do with World Bank proposals and negotiations. We have fully explained our position regarding Mangla Dam to Black³⁴ and Iliff in connection with these proposals and negotiations. We adhere to that position and there is no question of our going back on it. But, as we have told them, our view point has to be stated clearly in any agreement arrived at so as not to affect our general position in regard to Jammu and Kashmir State.³⁵ We are anxious to have such an agreement over Canal Waters issue. Till such agreement is arrived at, we can hardly be

28. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

29. See Appendix 31 for the report.

30. Telegram, 16 August 1959. File No. 38 (1)-CWD/59, Vol. XXIV, I.T. Section, Ministry of Irrigation. Also available in JN Collection.

31. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the High Commissioner of India to the UK.

32. See telegram from Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru, 15 August 1959, Appendix 33.

33. On 7 August, India lodged her third protest with the UN Security Council over the construction of the Mangla Dam in POK; it referred to a Pakistan Radio broadcast about the speeding up of construction in 1959. The first protest was in 1957 when Pakistan announced the plan, and the second in 1958 when Pakistan entered into construction contracts. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 23 August 1957 and 21 January 1958, and *The Times of India*, 9 August 1959.

34. Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank.

35. See SWJN/SS/49/items 274 and 277 to 279.

expected to tone down our normal policies. You can certainly tell Iliff that our renewal of protest does not in any way alter understanding reached between Black and us in Delhi. At the same time, we do not wish to remain silent witnesses of Pakistan's activities which adversely affect our interests.

169. To M.J. Desai: Protocol for Ayub Khan's Stopover at Palam³⁶

I do not think we should suggest any particular time for President Ayub to start from Karachi or to reach Delhi. We should leave this entirely to him. It is of no particular significance at what time he comes here or whether he has breakfast or lunch or no meal at all at Palam.³⁷ To ask him to reach here at 9.30 means starting very early from Karachi. Anyhow, our making any request about a particular time makes us parties to his programme.

2. Therefore, we should accept whatever time he suggests. If he arrives here at 10.30, we should naturally find out how long he will stay here. On his length of stay will depend whether he has lunch at the airport or some light refreshments. If he goes a little before lunch time, we should provide lunch for him in his aircraft. We need not mention all this. All we want to know is when he will arrive here³⁸ and how long he will stay at Palam.

3. I do not think any complicated arrangements are necessary. We should treat this visit as casually, but of course courteously, as possible. If some kind of a meal is provided here, naturally this will include his entire party. We may decide later whether the party is to sit together or, perhaps, in two batches.

4. I agree that no member of the Diplomatic Corps should be invited to come to the airport. If any come, that is their look-out.

5. I imagine that a statement to the Press might be necessary. It should be very brief, briefer than the one you have suggested. We need not be in a hurry to make this statement. It can be made two or three days before he comes. We can wait till then and see what developments take place. The statement might run as follows:

36. Note, 17 August 1959.

37. Palam airport in Delhi.

38. Rajeshwar Dayal telegraphed to Nehru from Karachi on 18 August that Ayub Khan had told him that "He expects to reach Palam at about 10.30 A.M." File No. 38 (1)-CWD/59, Vol. XXIV, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section).

“His Excellency General Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, accompanied by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, His Excellency Mr. Manzur Qadir, will be proceeding from Karachi to Dacca on the 1st September. On their way they will stop at Palam airport for about an hour. The Prime Minister will meet the President and his party at Palam.”³⁹

170. In the Rajya Sabha: Dam Construction by Pakistan near Assam⁴⁰

Shri Niranjan Singh:⁴¹ Will the Minister of Irrigation and Power be pleased to state?

(a) whether it is a fact that the Government of India are in correspondence with the Government of Pakistan about the construction of a huge dam by Pakistan near the Assam border which would result in the submersion of about 2,000 acres of land on the Indian side;

(b) whether Government will lay on the Table of the House a copy of the correspondence in this respect; and

(c) when did Government learn about the intention of the Pakistan authorities to undertake the construction of the dam?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri J.S.L. Hathi): (a) The Government of India are in correspondence with the Government of Pakistan regarding construction of a high dam across river Karnafuli in East Pakistan which is likely to submerge some land on the Indian side. Surveys are under way to determine the area likely to be submerged.

(b) The correspondence being confidential, Government regret they cannot place copies on the Table of the House.

(c) About ten years back.

Shri Niranjan Singh: May I know, Sir, the reason why the Government kept silent for ten years?

39. No such statement seems to have been issued. Ayub Khan arrived at Palam airport on 1 September 1959 soon after 11 a.m. Nehru received him and they held discussions without officials for about an hour and a half at the airport. Toward the end of this meeting, Manzur Qadir, Omar Hayat Malik, Rajeshwar Dayal and M.J. Desai were also invited to join these talks. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-24, col. 2905.

40. 18 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 893-896.

41. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When this scheme was first thought over – the Pakistan Government thinking about it – the question of any territory in India coming into it did not arise. When we suspected that some Indian land might come under water, we enquired from the Pakistan Government. They said no Indian territory would come under water. Years have been passing in this way. After that a further enquiry was made by some neutral outside agency. They said that it was likely that some Indian territory would come under water. That is the present stage. Further enquiries are being made by our engineers and others.

I may add that if certain small area in India comes under water in such a scheme, that by itself is not a reason why we should refuse that. It is a common practice between two countries to co-operate or to permit some such co-operation by agreement. It depends on the agreement, the terms of the agreement, etc. This particular area, so far as I know, is an uninhabited area. The question of people or property is not involved. But, certainly, the question of our territory is involved. If suitable terms are agreed to and we know exactly what this will amount to, how much territory will be covered by that reservoir, then we can consider it.

Shri N.M. Lingam:⁴² May I know, Sir, if the area has been demarcated? If not, is there not the possibility of Pakistan annexing to itself the area to be submerged as its own?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think there is no question of any doubt about the boundary there. That is quite clear. But no one yet seems to know how much land might be under water if this dam is built. It depends on the height of the dam and various other things.

Dr. A.N. Bose: May I know, Sir, if work on the construction of this dam has started or is it waiting for an agreement?

Shri J.S.L. Hathi: The work has not yet started. The dam has not come up.

Shri Jaswant Singh: May I know, Sir, whether the Pakistan Government consulted us before taking up this project and said that some land of India is likely to come under water as a result of this project?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that when we heard about this project for the first time, we wrote to the Pakistan Government. Their first reply was

42. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

that the thought of a project was there but they did not think any part of our land would be covered or affected by it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether this matter was taken up with the present Pakistan regime. I understand that the whole thing came up when the earlier Governments were in existence, and not with this Government.

Mr. Chairman: Has the question been taken up with the present Government? That is what he wants to know.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is taken up with the Government, whoever may be at the top or behind it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It seems that in certain matters in Pakistan the successor Government does not follow what was being done by its predecessor. In view of this I asked this question. Since the matter was pending for ten years, may I know whether the matter has been reactivated with the new Pakistan Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The figure "ten years" relates to the earliest rumblings of this scheme, but actually most of the correspondence has been in the last two or three years – in fact, this year – which means since the new Government in Pakistan came into power.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether any Indian territory would come actually under the dam which the Pakistan Government is contemplating to build, or as a result of the construction of this dam in Pakistan any part of our land will be submerged by water?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The dam will be built on the river. I am not quite sure but I think the river is the boundary there. The dam will create a reservoir. It depends on the height of the dam, how big the reservoir will be. It is the reservoir that will partly cover our Indian territory.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha:⁴³ May I know, Sir, whether Indian citizens would derive any benefit from this dam and the resultant reservoir?

43. Braja Kishore Prasad Sinha, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question of agreement. We may get electric power or other things.

Shri S.C. Deb: May I know, Sir, whether our Government knows that the construction work of the dam has been already finished?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far it is not taken up.

171. To Niranjan Singh: Karnafuli Dam Construction by Pakistan⁴⁴

August 22, 1959

Dear Niranjan Singhji,

Your letter of August 19, in which you have pointed out a slight error in the reply I gave in the Rajya Sabha in regard to the construction of a dam on river Karanfuli [sic] in Assam.⁴⁵ A statement correcting the previous statement has already been made in the Rajya Sabha on the 21st August by the Deputy Minister of Irrigation & Power.⁴⁶

The correct position appears to be that Pakistan has commenced work and is continuing this construction.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. Letter.

45. J.S.L Hathi as well as Nehru had stated in the Rajya Sabha on 18 August that work on the Karnafuli Dam had not started; see item 170.

46. Hathi issued a correction in the House on 21 August : "On verification I find that the correct position is that Pakistan has commenced work and is continuing the construction."

172. In the Rajya Sabha: Cultivation of Lands in Indian Territory by Pakistanis⁴⁷

Shri Maheshwar Naik:⁴⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a recent press report to the effect that the East Pakistani cultivators under armed covers of the Pakistani forces are regularly infiltrating into the Indian side of the border and forcibly cultivating and harvesting the lands of the Indian cultivators; and

(b) what effective steps are being taken by Government to protect the life and property of the Indian cultivators along the eastern borders of India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) The Government are not aware of any recent Press report as mentioned in the question.

There have, however, been instances when Pakistani nationals backed by Pakistani Armed Forces have made fanciful claims to Indian fields mainly on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills border of Assam and also made attempts to cultivate or harvest Indian fields on that border. Some of these attempts led to firing incidents. In all cases these attempts at encroachment have been resisted.

(b) Indian authorities at the local as well as central level are constantly in touch with Pakistani authorities to prevent any encroachment from the Pakistan side. In addition, Indian border forces have standing instructions to resist encroachment into Indian territory.

Shri Maheshwar Naik: What I wanted to know was whether the encroachments which the Pakistan people were making on India, were made under cover of the Pakistani armed forces, or not.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Most of these so-called encroachments, Sir, are petty disputes between rival farmers, one on this and the other on the other side, but they become important because, sometimes, they are backed up by armed forces. Otherwise they come over during the season to a field which might have perhaps belonged to them before partition because they cannot get over the fact that partition has occurred and changes have taken place. Normally

47. 31 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-24, cols 2259-2260.

48. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

these disputes would be petty police matters in one country, but because there is an international frontier now, they become international matters.

(b) China and Tibet

173. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Trade Agency Buildings in Gyantse⁴⁹

Shri Dinesh Singh:⁵⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether the Trade Agency buildings in Igantse (Tibet) washed away by floods, have been rebuilt; and
- (b) If not, the reasons for the delay?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) Not yet, Sir.

(b) A variety of difficulties have been experienced locally which have prevented the commencement of the construction of the Agency buildings. The present Trade Agency building was washed away in floods in 1954. Our engineers were of the view that for the future safety of the Trade Agency buildings it would be necessary to construct protective works along the embankment of the adjoining river. Plans of protective works were drawn up and submitted to the Chinese for concurrence. After protracted negotiations on 2nd June, 1959, the Chinese authorities informed our Trade Agent⁵¹ that we could start construction of the buildings and also of protective works provided these were within our boundary and not likely to damage their highway or bridge further down-stream.

Accordingly preliminary construction of protective works and the Agency site was recently started but the Chinese authorities have since ordered to stop the construction.

We have assured the Chinese authorities that our plans would not cause any damage and we have suggested, if necessary, senior engineers from both sides should meet on the spot and approve agreed plans to prevent further scouring of our property. We are awaiting Chinese concurrence to this suggestion.

49. 6 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, col. 924.

50. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banda, Uttar Pradesh.

51. R.S. Kapoor.

174. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Traders in Tibet⁵²

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Braj Raj Singh about "flagrantly discriminatory practices adopted by the Chinese authorities at Lhasa against Indian traders in Tibet such as freezing of stocks of merchandise belonging to Indian traders, purchasing of stocks of Indian traders at arbitrary prices by Chinese authorities, creating payments difficulties and placing of obstacles in the transport of goods.... This constitutes a clear violation of the letter and spirit of the Sino-Indian trade agreement on Tibet... and blow to Panchsheel."

How long has this been going on?

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): This has been going on since this trouble arose in Tibet.

Mr. Speaker: How is it a matter of urgent public importance when it has been going on for some months?

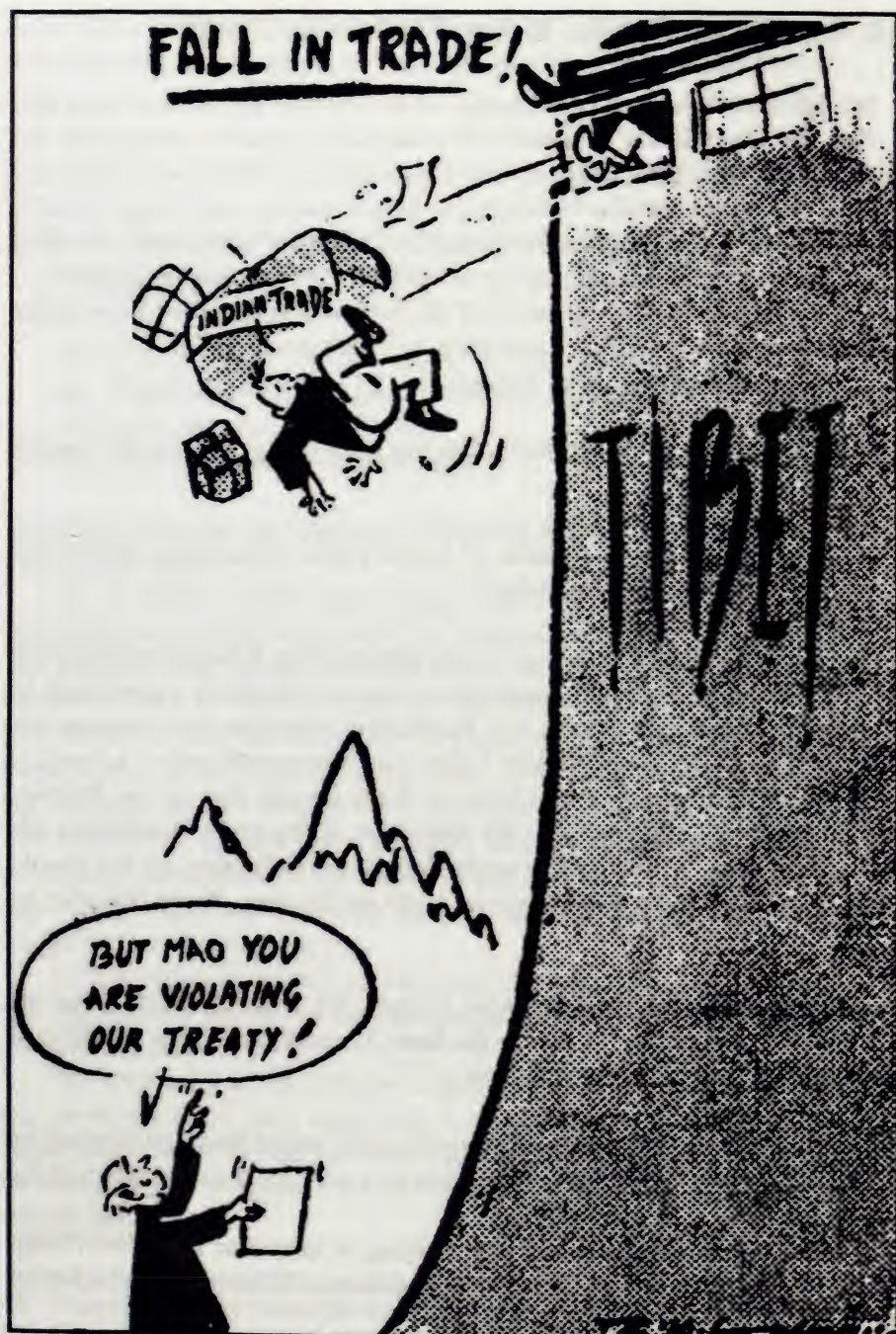
Shri Braj Raj Singh: It has been a very serious thing. It has been said by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh that our trade is shrinking a good deal. In addition to that this affects our Panchsheel principle also because our relations with a friendly country China, might be embittered on account of this. Then the economic condition of these people, that is, the Bhutias, shall become very bad due to the shrinkage of this trade. In addition this shrinking trade will affect the border supplies in India also. So this should be considered and a full statement made by the hon. Prime Minister on this.

Shri S.M. Banerjee (Kanpur): May I submit for your information that the Chief Minister of U.P. has said in the State Assembly that it has not affected the trade of U.P. It is in the papers.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I shall read from the statement of the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh where he says that it has to a very great extent affected the trade there.

"Dr. Sampurnanand, who was replying to questions from Shri Pratap Singh (PSP), said that economic conditions of Bhutias had undoubtedly

52. 6 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 930-934.



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 9 AUGUST 1959)

been adversely affected by the decline in the trade with Tibet. The Chinese policy seemed to be to discourage trade with India across this sector."⁵³

Mr. Speaker: It is not necessary to read further. He has read enough.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: "The Chief Minister said that Bhutia trade from Almora to Tibet had not completely ceased although the volume was decreasing steadily. He did not offer any comparative data to illustrate his assessment."

And so on it goes.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not think that this is a matter for an adjournment motion. But I can very well understand hon. Members being interested in these reports and in these developments. It is true that Indian trade within Tibet has suffered very considerably in the last few months, more especially since these disturbances in Tibet. I will give some figures. In February last our trade with Central Tibet was Rs. 15 lakhs imports and Rs. 10 lakhs exports. By June the corresponding values declined to Rs. 2 lakhs imports and Rs. 3 lakhs exports. So there is a big fall.

We have received many reports about the difficulties in the way of Indian traders. They cannot travel about. They cannot get transport. They cannot send their goods. All these difficulties have arisen. About another thing I do not know how far it is true, that is, as stated in this adjournment motion about the goods of Indian traders having been frozen, but the fact is that they cannot easily be moved for lack of transport.

Also, there has been a recent order – so we are told – declaring Indian currency as well as Tibetan currency in Tibet as illegal. But although the order has been passed it is not quite clear to us whether it has been enforced or not fully. Anyhow, such an order would not be in keeping with the agreement – at any rate with the spirit of the 1954 agreement.

53. According to the *National Herald* of 6 August, Pratap Singh "wanted to know the steps the Government were taking to help the Bhotiya traders of the state whose economic security had been jeopardised following the disruption of their age-old trade with Tibet;" Sampurnanand replied "that there was nothing new or urgent about the problems of Bhotiya traders. Since the Chinese occupied Tibet, he said, the Indian traders encountered many difficulties. Perhaps the Chinese wanted to put restrictions on Indian traders. But, the Chinese did not altogether stop the trade with India...."

There is no doubt that there are these difficulties. In fact, we had many other difficulties too in regard to other matters in Tibet, for example, regarding the functioning of our trade agencies. We have been communicating with the Chinese Government on this subject quite fully and repeatedly.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: What has been the result of those communications? What is the reaction of the Chinese Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have received in regard to some minor matters some replies etc. Of course, there have been local references by our Consul General in Lhasa. The results of those local references have not been satisfactory and some little time ago we sent a full memorandum to the Chinese Government in Peking about it.⁵⁴ To that we have had no formal reply except that they are considering it.

Shri Vajpayee⁵⁵ (Balrampur): May I know if our trade agents are free to move in those areas or whether certain restrictions have been placed on their movement?

Mr. Speaker: In Tibet?

Shri Vajpayee: Yes, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that normally there is some restriction about the distance, that is, about two or three miles or beyond some restrictions without a permit they cannot go. Also, there is a difficulty sometimes of transport not being available.

Shri Goray⁵⁶ (Poona): May I know whether there is any discrimination between the Nepalese traders and the Indian traders as is reported in the Press?

54. See note, the Ambassador of India to China [G. Parthasarathi] to the Chinese Foreign Office, 25 July 1959; Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959, White Paper* (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 92-95.

55. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP.

56. Narayan Ganesh Goray, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Poona, Bombay.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would not be able to say that because there are relatively few Nepalese traders. Maybe, occasionally they might have been shown somewhat different treatment, but I do not think there is any marked difference.

Shri Achar (Mangalore): Is it true that our Trade Agent had to change his route on account of a direction from the Chinese Government? Originally he was to go by a different route but he had to take a longer route which meant more delay.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is so. Our Trade Agent in West Tibet in Gartok⁵⁷ had actually gone almost to the pass through which he could enter Tibet when he was told to go across another pass which meant several weeks journey backwards and forwards.⁵⁸

Shri Braj Raj Singh: What effective steps does the hon. Prime Minister want to take?

Mr. Speaker: We are having a regular discussion on this matter. I only wanted to make up my mind as to whether this matter was of such importance, whether it arose only recently, whether it has not been going on for some time and whether it is a proper method for ventilating this grievance or having discussion. I am not satisfied that adjournment motion is the proper method of having a discussion on this subject. Restrictions have been placed from time to time. The Government is also taking steps and is doing all that is possible to do. Under these circumstances I do not feel I am competent or it will be proper that I should give consent to this motion.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Are we having a debate on foreign affairs this session? We are not.

Mr. Speaker: That is another matter. Let us see.

57. Laxman Singh Jangpangi.

58. See the informal note, the GOI to the Chinese Counsellor in New Delhi, 8 July 1959; *White Paper*, pp. 86-88.

175. In the Rajya Sabha: Dalai Lama's Press Conference⁵⁹

Dr. Z.A. Ahmad:⁶⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the press conference held by the Dalai Lama on June 20, 1959;
- (b) whether Government were informed, prior to the conference of the nature of the statements the Dalai Lama was going to make at the press conference; and
- (c) whether Government have expressed their reaction to the propriety or otherwise of making such statements?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) In a statement made on behalf of the Government of India, it was stated that the Government would not recognise any Tibetan Government on Indian soil.

Dr. Z.A. Ahmad: I want to know whether statements of the type that were made by the Dalai Lama would be repeated. I ask this question in view of the fact that the Prime Minister earlier made a statement and expressed the hope that he would not like the Dalai Lama to say or do anything in India which would embarrass the Government. Now, these statements are of that nature and if the Dalai Lama is not frankly told that such statements should not be made, I am sure such statements would be repeated causing embarrassment to the Government.

Shri V.K. Dhage: What was the question?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, I did not understand the question.

Mr. Chairman: The question is whether the Dalai Lama has been told that he should not repeat such statements since they cause embarrassment to the Government.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a difficult matter, Sir, to draw a hard and fast line. On the one hand, what the hon. Member has said is correct; on the other hand,

59. 10 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos 1-13, cols 35-37.

60. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

it did not seem proper to us to put any undue restrictions on the Dalai Lama. He is a man of note and position, ability and intelligence, and he is anxious not to embarrass us. At the same time, no doubt he suffers from inner compulsions to say what he feels. And it becomes a little difficult for any hard and fast line to be drawn.

Dr. Z. A. Ahmad: Sir, there are ways and ways of doing things. I think if the matter is considered important there are ways and ways which the Government can adopt to ensure that such things do not happen in future.

Dr. A.N. Bose: May I ask how the statement of the Dalai Lama has caused any embarrassment to our Government? All that we know is, he said that wherever the Dalai Lama is, the people of Tibet regard him as their Government. He did not even claim it to be a Government on his own; far less, did he want the Indian Government to recognise it as Tibetan Government. So my question is, why should the Indian Government take it as an embarrassment to them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because it might be misunderstood. The hon. Member is right; he did not make a claim that he was functioning as a Government. That is perfectly true; nevertheless what he said might have led some people to imagine things.

Shri Sonusing Dhansing Patil:⁶¹ Did the statement made by the Dalai Lama cause embarrassment to the Government or to the questioner and his party?

(No reply)

176. In the Lok Sabha: Tibetan Refugees⁶²

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) how many Tibetans have crossed into India so far ;
- (b) what facilities have been provided by the Government of India to rehabilitate them;
- (c) the expenditure incurred monthly on the rehabilitation of these refugees;
- (d) the names of the countries from which contributions have been received

61. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

62. 11 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1620-1627.

for their relief and rehabilitation stating the amount in respect of each; (e) the names of the agencies entrusted with the relief work; and (f) whether Government have received any communication from the Tibetan Government expressing their willingness to take them back?⁶³

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) to (f). A statement giving the information required is placed on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

The total number of Tibetan refugees who have come to India is 12,396.

Arrangements have been made for the employment of unskilled refugees on road-works in Sikkim and NEFA. Those who are old and infirm have been sent to Dalhousie and will be maintained at the expense of the Government. A number of refugees with relations in India have been permitted to join their families in the Darjeeling district.

Student Lamas are being accommodated at Buxa, where they will pursue their religious studies. Children below the age of 16 years will be sent to schools.

Refugees who are not being maintained by Government and who are being dispersed for road works are being given resettlement grant of Rs. 50 in addition to the cost of transportation and shelter at the work-sites. Arrangements have also been made to give instruction in Hindi in Camps and on the work-sites so that refugees can adjust themselves to the conditions in India. It is also intended to select some refugees for training in crafts and vocations after careful appraisal has been made of their aptitudes.

Since dispersal from Camps has begun recently, it is not possible to indicate monthly expenditure on the rehabilitation of refugees.

All voluntary relief activities are being coordinated by the Central Relief Committee for Tibetan refugees presided over by Acharya J.B. Kripalani. The Indian Red Cross Society has associated itself with the Central Committee.

All contributions coming from India or foreign voluntary agencies are received by the Central Committee. It is understood that contributions have been received from the American Tibetan Relief Committee, the

63. The question was asked by Ajit Singh Sarhadi, Congress MP from Ludhiana, Punjab, and 39 other MPs.

Catholic Relief Committee, the Indian National Christian Council and the Co-operative for American Relief Everywhere. As most of the contributions are in kind, it has not been possible to estimate their value.

The Government have received no communication regarding the return of these refugees to Tibet.

Shri Ajit Singh Sarhadi: May I know if there is any long range policy about the resettlement of the refugees and if there has been any talk with the Dalai Lama on the subject?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): In the statement the hon. Member will see the steps that have been taken. Gradually, one evolves a policy and one cannot lay down a firm and fixed long range policy; much depends upon the circumstances. It would appear that a considerable number of them will remain in India and we have to fashion our policy accordingly. Almost everything that is being done about them, the steps to be taken in regard to the refugees, etc. had been done after consultation with the Dalai Lama.

Shri Tangamani: May I know how much money has so far been spent by the Government of India on these 12,396 refugees who have crossed over to India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give any kind of an accurate figure. I believe that the Finance Minister agreed primarily to allot about Rs. 10 lakhs for this purpose but the actual expenditure is being met partly by the External Affairs Ministry and partly by the State Ministries concerned. We do not know how much the State Ministries have spent and we will get their accounts later.

Shri Supakar:⁶⁴ May I know if the present scheme is to permanently rehabilitate the refugees? How many persons will be permanently resettled here?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said that the likelihood of these refugees going back to Tibet in the foreseeable future is very small. We cannot speak of individuals but only of groups. Therefore, we must expect a great majority of them to remain here. Now, there are various types. Some are young men and boys for whom we arrange normal education. Some are young Lamas for whom also we arrange for that type of education. Then there are old Lamas

64. Shraddakar Supakar, Ganatantra Parishad MP from Sambalpur, Orissa.

and a number of them have been provided for in various places in their own profession of lamahood – if I may say so – in Sikkim, a few in Darjeeling. Some have gone to their friends or relatives round about Darjeeling or Kalimpong. The main body of them, young persons, have, for the present, been given work to do: road-making and that type of thing. Some again are being taught handicrafts.

Shri Nath Pai: We should like to have an idea as to the daily cost of maintenance of these 12,000 refugees and secondly whether the Government is contemplating making any approach to the United Nations refugees section because there is a section which contributes for this purpose and also whether the Dalai Lama is contributing to the maintenance of them and what part of the expenditure is coming by way of public contributions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not thought of appealing to the U.N. in regard to this matter.⁶⁵ Some moneys have been received from foreign sources, not by the Government, but by the Central Relief Committee here, of which Acharya Kripalani is the Chairman. There is collaboration between the Government and Acharya Kripalani's committee in this matter. I cannot say what funds are at their disposal and how much they have got from foreign sources, etc. But much of it is in the shape of goods and medicines, this and that – a good deal of it, in medicines. I do not know about the cash; perhaps not too much. I am sorry I cannot give any figure as to how much is spent.

Shri Nath Pai: Is the Dalai Lama contributing anything to their maintenance?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know he has not contributed anything to these people's maintenance but to some extent he has met his own expenditure: not, I mean, the housing and the rest, but the odd expenditure, I believe.

श्री भक्त दर्शन: मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या तिब्बत से शरणार्थियों का आना समाप्त हो गया है, या अभी भी यह क्रम जारी है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: वो तो करीब-करीब रुक गया था। लेकिन कुछ दिन हुए, कोई एक हफ़्ता हुआ, हमने सुना कि सौ शरणार्थी भूटान आये थे। भूटान की हुकूमत ने कहा कि मेहरबानी करके आप इनको ले लीजिए, तो हमने कहा, बहुत खूब, हम ले लेंगे, क्योंकि वो इस बोझ को उठाना नहीं चाहते थे।

65. See Nehru to Dag Hammarskjöld, 23 July 1959, SWJN/SS/50/item 160.

श्री विभूति मिश्रः⁶⁶ मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो शरणार्थी तिब्बत से नेपाल आये हैं उन्हें यह सेंट्रल रिलीफ़ कमेटी कुछ सहायता करती है या नहीं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जी नहीं, मेरा खयाल है कि उनकी सहायता का कोई सवाल उठा नहीं है, न किसी ने कुछ माँगा, न जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट ने कुछ किया है। जो थोड़े-बहुत आये हैं वो अपने दोस्तों और रिश्तेदारों के साथ फैल गये हैं। यहाँ से कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं हुआ है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan: I wish to know whether the influx of refugees from Tibet has stopped or this process is still continuing?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : It had almost stopped, but some days ago, about a week back we heard that a hundred refugees came to Bhutan. The Government of Bhutan requested us to kindly take them in; so, we said alright, we will take them, because they were not willing to shoulder this burden.

Shri Bibhuti Mishra:⁶⁷ I wish to know whether the Central Relief Committee extends some help with regard to the refugees who have come from Tibet to Nepal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, to my knowledge, no question has arisen regarding aid to them; neither anyone has asked for it, nor, as far as I know, the Government there has done anything. Whatever few people have come, they have spread out among their relatives and friends. No arrangement has been made from here.

Translation ends]

Shri Narayanankutty Menon:⁶⁸ May I know whether the Government have taken any decision to extend the same type of relief to a large number of Indian nationals repatriated from Malaya and Ceylon, who are still unemployed and are wandering as refugees in the South Indian States?

66. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bagaha-SC, Bihar.

67. See fn 66 in this section.

68. T.C. Narayanankutty Menon, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Mukundapuram, Kerala.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, the conditions are entirely different.

Shri Assar: Have our Government enquired from Dalai Lama or his officials about the bona fides of the Tibetan refugees to ensure that there are no Chinese spies?

Mr. Speaker: That is what he has already answered.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How can the Dalai Lama tell us about 12,000 people who have come from various parts? But, apart from that, naturally, we are interested in finding out who and what these 12,000 odd persons are. We try to make such enquiries from such sources as are available to us to get that information.

Shri P.C. Borooah:⁶⁹ From the statement it is found that most of the contributions were in kind. May I know whether any exemption from custom duty in respect of gifts received from abroad or exemption from excise duty in respect of goods received from within India was given; if so the total amount for which exemptions were allowed?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Exemptions from customs and also free passage for these goods are allowed, but there is no possibility of knowing how much by way of money it amounts to.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: In the statement it is said that those who are old and infirm have been sent to Dalhousie and will be maintained at the expense of the Government. May I know what is the number of such old and infirm refugees who have been sent over to Dalhousie, and what is the monthly expenditure incurred by the Government to maintain them?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The figure I have got thus far is that 320 persons have been sent to Dalhousie. It is not a question of old and infirm so much as the old senior Lamas who cannot be put to work; that is to say, it is practically a Lama Centre, where they can carry on their Buddhist vocations and studies in life, which has been, in a sense, created in Dalhousie, and these people have been sent there.

69. Prafulla Chandra Borooah, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed: Is it not a fact that permits were issued to the Tibetan refugees to stay at Mismari Camp only for three months; if so, may I know whether it has been extended and if so, what is the extension period?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The Mismari Camp is only a transit camp. As soon as they are found fit to be sent to any of these recognised places, work sites or other places where they can settle down, then they will be sent away and the camp will be wound up.

Shri N.R. Munisamy: As a result of our having afforded asylum to Dalai Lama and Tibetan refugees there is a good deal of anti-Indian feelings against the Indians residing in Tibet at the instance of the Chinese. May I know whether any steps have been taken by Government to clear this misunderstanding?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have mentioned, Sir, the other day that the Indian nationals there are mostly traders, apart from our own Mission folk and some few others. A number of difficulties have been placed in the way of Indian trade which is gradually vanishing, and we have drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to this matter.

177. In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Traders in Tibet⁷⁰

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the answer given to Unstarred Question No. 21 in the Rajya Sabha on the 23rd April, 1959⁷¹ and state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Tibetan Government have imposed restrictions on the movement etc. of the Indian traders in Yatung, Phari and Gyantse and that they are being compelled to come back to India; and
- (b) the number of Indian traders in Yatung, Phari and Gyantse and their number in the whole of Tibet?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Since the recent disturbances in Tibet, movement from one trade centre to another is being controlled through the Chinese Military control authorities

70. 13 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 451-457.

71. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 475-477.

and the Preparatory Committee. Although no open orders regarding restrictions on movements of Indian traders of Yatung, Phari and Gyantse have come to our notice, it is a fact that travel permits are not being given freely.

Indian traders are encountering various difficulties but it cannot be stated that they are being compelled to return to India.

(b) The total number of Indian traders keeps fluctuating at different times. At present there are 97 traders in Yatung, Phari and Gyantse. The total number of traders in the whole of Tibet at present is near about 2,117.

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान: क्या यह सच है कि बहुत-से ट्रेडर्स जो कि वहाँ पर जेनरेशनल्स से रह रहे हैं, वे हिन्दुस्तान आना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उनको इण्डियन्स नहीं समझा जाता है और उनको इजाज़त नहीं दी जाती है?

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Is it true that many traders who have been living there for generations wish to come to India, but they are not considered Indians and permission is not granted to them ?

Translation ends]

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: It is true and a statement on the subject was made yesterday or the day before in the other House and it has appeared in all the papers about the difficulties experienced by people of Indian origin, by Kashmiri Muslims and Ladakhis, who are in Tibet.⁷²

72. Lakshmi Menon informed the Lok Sabha on 11 August that a large number of persons of Indian origin who wanted to register themselves as Indian nationals faced many difficulties; that the Chinese Government's note of 17 July claimed that those who had been living in Tibet for long were in effect Chinese nationals; and that India had urged China to permit persons of Indian origin to seek the protection of the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa or to return to India. She said there were 97 registered Indian traders in Yatung, Phari and Gyantse and nearly 2,000 seasonal traders currently visiting Western Tibet; that, as far as GOI could ascertain, there were 124 families of Kashmiri Muslims with a total number of 583 persons in the Lhasa-Shigatse area; that before the disturbances nearly 400 Lama students from Ladakh were studying in various monasteries in Tibet, and approximately 40 Ladakhi Lamas were among the refugees who had come to India from Tibet. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1724-1727.

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान: क्या यह बात [सही] है कि वहाँ जो हिन्दुस्तान की ट्रेड एजेंसी है वो ठीक ढंग से फ़ंक्शन नहीं कर सकती है, क्योंकि जो हिन्दुस्तान और चीन में व्यापारिक समझौता हुआ था, उसके विरुद्ध बहुत-सी चीज़ें की जा रही हैं?

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Is it true that the Indian Trade Agency there cannot function properly because many things are being done which are opposed to the Trade Agreement between India and China?

Translation ends]

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Yes, Sir. The answer was given that many restrictions are imposed on traders and these make it very difficult for our traders to carry on their trade.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha: Under international law, a man's nationality is determined not only by his residence but also by volition, his desire to accept the nationality of the country. May I know, Sir, whether the Chinese Government or the Communist system accepts this principle of nationality or do they have some other principle of nationality?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I do not know what the Communists accept, but as far as Tibet is concerned, I have already told him.

Shri N.M. Lingam: Since this is a serious violation of the 1954 agreement between India and China in regard to Tibet and Indian traders therein, will the hon. Deputy Minister please tell us what steps Government have taken to bring this to the notice of the Chinese Government?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: From time to time these difficulties are brought to the notice of the Chinese Government through our Ambassador in Peking.

Shri M.H. Samuel: May I know, Sir, if Government have any information on the subject, as to whether there is a large concentration of Chinese troops on the Sikkim and Bhutan borders and that China has claimed these territories also as part of her territory?

Mr. Chairman: That is another question.⁷³

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: That does not arise out of this question.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether the Deputy Minister has accepted that Indian traders are facing difficulties in Tibet – both those who are residents there as well as the seasonal traders who go there and join in the summer. I would like to know what steps Government are taking to see that these Indian traders are given due relief and help.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The normal step, Sir, is to approach the Chinese Government both in Tibet and in Peking. And we have approached them and sent them full details of this repeatedly – and in some detail I pointed this out and reminded them about this.

Shri Jaswant Singh: But then I would like to know what the Chinese say in regard to the difficulties that the Indian traders are facing; whether they are prepared to help them or they have not given any reply to our representations.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not had any answer to our latest memorandum from Peking, but the local people in Tibet, the local Chinese Authorities in Tibet, give various answers to various things, which according to our opinion are not always relevant.

Shri N.M. Lingam: Since this development is a sequel to the Tibetan upheaval and since generally the attitude of China is becoming more and more hostile to India, has Government considered the question of taking up the whole question of Indo-Chinese relations, after the happenings in Tibet?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what the hon. Member means by the 'whole question'. As questions arise, they are taken up, sometimes more than one question. There are several matters like this which we have taken up with the Chinese Government and have addressed them on the subject. Some replies came sometime ago. We have addressed them again. As for the first part of his question, it is rather difficult to say what the reason is for this kind of thing. To some extent there has been pressure on the Indian traders even before these

73. See item 178.

Tibetan developments. I know that when I passed through a little corner of Tibet last year, at Yatung,⁷⁴ the Indian traders came to me and complained of various disabilities from which they suffered.⁷⁵ A year or two before they were in a much more prosperous condition, but now disabilities are gradually coming in. I had taken up the matter then. But it is true that all this has increased considerably in the last two or three months or so.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha:⁷⁶ We would like to know from the Prime Minister about the welfare particularly of our Indian nationals there. We know that they are in difficulties with regard to trade and other things as the Prime Minister has said. But do our missions there keep themselves properly informed about the welfare of our people and that they are not being harassed for one reason or the other? We are very anxious about that aspect of the question.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Apart from the traders there and apart from the people in our missions, there are two main groups, both of these groups coming from Ladakh. One is a group of Ladakhi Muslims and the other a group of Ladakhi Buddhists. The Buddhist lamas, etc. go there to study, live in monasteries, and the Muslims go there for various purposes and remain there for quite a considerable time. Now, with regard to these latter groups, there is an argument going on between the Chinese government and ourselves as to whether they are to be considered Indian nationals or not. I do not want to take up in answer to the question the story of this argument. We think they are Indian nationals; they claim to be Indian Nationals; they want to be Indian Nationals. But the Chinese Authorities in Tibet have not accepted this claim and pointed out that they have been there for a long time and they have not got their requisite papers, etc. which they did not have in the normal course previously. They were not called upon to do so. So, in so far as these people, that is, the Ladakhi Muslims, are concerned, our information is that considerable pressure has been brought to bear upon them, and they have not been easily accessible to our missions there. But for the other Indians, there are real economic troubles.

74. Nehru was in Yatung on 18 September 1958 on his way to Bhutan; on his return journey from Bhutan, he reached Yatung at noon on 29 September and left for Sikkim on the morning of 30 September.

75. See SWJN/SS/48/item 133; also SWJN/SS/44/p. 20.

76. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: Is there any restriction on other Indians visiting our missions or is there none? The other Indians, these Ladakhis, can they go freely to our Indian mission or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there are any rules prohibiting them from coming. But the fact of the matter is that it is difficult to travel without all kinds of permits. There is no conveyance available, no vehicle available. The road may be not open to traffic. So, it is not strictly speaking, easy for people to go from one town to another.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha: May I know what practical consequences will follow out of the denial of Indian nationality to these traders or other citizens of India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: One practical consequence will be that they will not be allowed to leave Tibet. Otherwise, they are entitled to leave Tibet and go back to what they consider their original homes in Ladakh.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:⁷⁷ The Prime Minister was pleased to say that they have submitted a memorandum to the Chinese Government and that they have been waiting for a reply. May I know when this memorandum was sent and whether the Government of India will think of approaching them again if they do not get an answer?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So many memoranda have been sent to the Chinese Government, formally and informally – not one, they are quite a number. I should think that one of our principal memoranda was sent about, maybe, three weeks ago.⁷⁸ But since then, other matters have been brought to the notice of the Chinese Government.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether our mission people visit our Indian nationals there. There may be practical difficulties for them to go to the mission, but what about our mission people going and keeping in touch with our nationals?

77. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh.

78. See item 174, fn 54.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not difficult within the same town, say, Yatung, where people can visit each other more or less. But it is difficult for them to go for instance, to Gyantse because of transport difficulties.

178. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Statement on Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan⁷⁹

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Sarvashri Vajpayee and U.L. Patil.⁸⁰ The grave threat to India's security and territorial integrity emanating from the offensive propaganda campaign let loose by the Chinese Communists for the 'Liberation' of Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Shri S.M. Banerjee (Kanpur): What about the other motion about the crisis in U.P.?⁸¹

Mr. Speaker: I am coming to that. Crisis in U.P. is a domestic matter.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: It is very important, Sir. All people.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I have disallowed it.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): Sir, in a House of only 431 if 97 are ...

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. If he is more interested there let him go and sit there (Interruption). Order, order. I am not going to allow this indulgence of discussing matters which I have disallowed, which according to me are domestic matters.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Sir, there was another adjournment motion on the subject of Tibet in my name also.

Mr. Speaker: Yes. Shri Braj Raj Singh also has given notice of the same adjournment motion.

79. 13 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 2243-2247.

80. Uttamrao Laxmanrao Patil, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Dhulia, Bombay.

81. Refers to dissident Congress MLAs expressing their lack of confidence in the Sampurnanand ministry in a statement in the UP Assembly; see item 77, fn 309.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It was not the same motion, Sir; there were some other matters. My point is, sometime back there was a news items in the papers, which has not been contradicted to my knowledge at least that there was some plan of forming a Himalayan Federation consisting of Ladakh, Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and parts of our NEFA area. There had been rumours of a news in the Press that there had been exhortations in Tibet exhorting Tibetans to liberate these areas. This is a very serious matter. Insecurity may prevail all over India on account of this.

Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur): Sir, there is news in the papers that on the 17th July there was a mass meeting in Lhasa in which Communist leaders in Tibet made speeches calling for the liberation of Ladakh, Bhutan and Sikkim.⁸² Secondly, there is a news that huge Chinese forces are being concentrated on the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan.⁸³ I would like to know what is the position. My adjournment motion is not in the nature of a censure motion against the Government. The only thing we want is that security of India must be safeguarded and any threat that is coming from any quarter must be met.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Sir, I submit that my adjournment motion may be read in the House so that hon. Members may know what it is.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has explained it in a much better way than what is contained in the adjournment motion.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I entirely agree with the hon. Member that the integrity of India should be

82. Basing itself on a dispatch by George Patterson, the Kalimpong correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Hindustan Times* on 13 August 1959 reported a mass meeting in Lhasa on 17 July, "Chang Kuow-Hua the head of the Chinese mission in Tibet" as saying at the meeting: "Bhutanese, Sikkimese and Ladakhis form a united family in Tibet and the great motherland of China. They must once again be united and taught the Communist doctrine."

83. In its report on the Lhasa meeting of 17 July, *The Hindustan Times* of 13 August 1959 referred to "independent evidence" of measures being taken by the Chinese in pursuance of the "new campaign:" "For instance, they are known to have concentrated unusually large forces in the strategic sector bordering on Sikkim and Bhutan. One of the points of concentration is Rinchenpong, a village on the trade route from Sikkim to Lhasa and situated on the Amo Chu river, which flows into Bhutan."

safeguarded at all costs. There can be no doubt about it; every Member in this House agrees.

Now, coming to this particular motion, it is based apparently on a news item today which itself is based on some despatch to a London newspaper. In this newspaper reference is made to a speech that Mr. Chiang-ko-Hua is supposed to have delivered on a certain day. I have not seen that report of the speech – I do not know. A report of that speech was given in the official Chinese paper called China Today. I have read that report. This particular passage is not there. That of course does not lead us to believe that it is not possible, but it is not there. Anyhow, it would be a very exceedingly foolish person who would say the remarks attributed to this gentleman about Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan. We shall try to find out whether any speech was delivered on that date and, in so far as we can, what the contents of that speech were. We have had no information from any reliable source of such statements being made by any person who can be considered reliable. Therefore, it is rather difficult for me to deal with something in the air.

As for the report that there are large forces, Chinese forces, there are Chinese forces, pretty large forces, I believe, in Tibet. It might even be called 'very large forces' all over Tibet, which came there when this rebellion started there. We have no exact information as to the extent of those forces. I do not think that any large forces are concentrated on our frontiers. Some are there, no doubt. Anyhow, we are quite awake and alert over this matter, and if we get any reliable information I shall place it before the House. I may say that in one of our last notes to the Chinese Government, which was sent I think on the 23rd July, we protested *inter alia* against the propaganda in the Chinese official organ describing Indians as imperialists.⁸⁴

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Sir, the Prime Minister may be asked to say something about the Himalayan Federation also. We just want to get some information about it.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister has placed all the available information before the House.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): May I know whether it is a fact that the Chinese Government have sent some communications to our Government, recently,

84. In fact, the note was given to the Chinese Foreign Office by G. Parthasarathi on 25 July 1959; see item 174, fn 54.

suggesting that the McMahon Line no longer prescribes or describes the international boundary as it was not ratified by the Chinese Government, and as it was only a British creation there should be some sort of redrawing of the line?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; we have received no such communication now or at any earlier stage. So far as we are concerned, the McMahon line is the firm frontier, firm by treaty, firm by usage, firm by geography. There are minor pockets, small areas in the McMahon line or elsewhere on the frontier where some arguments have occasionally arisen, where questions, sometimes of a mile or two this way or that way, have arisen in the past and discussions have taken place and will continue, no doubt. So, sometimes we have these arguments about these matters; in fact, we are having, I think, about one or two matters even now, but they do not affect the major frontier line called the McMahon line.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know from the Prime Minister that when Mr. Chou En-lai made a reference to their undefined frontiers with their southern neighbours – when he said like that – did he include India with the Southern neighbours? Did he have that in mind?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say or interpret Premier Chou En-lai's speech and what he had in mind. But the impression that was given to us by Mr. Chou En-lai some years back was, having regard to all the circumstances, they accepted this, what is called McMahon line – unfortunately we might have a better name for it; but still, they accepted that as the international frontier.⁸⁵

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy⁸⁶ (Kendrapara): Has any map been published showing some portions of India in the Chinese territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No new maps have been published; I do not know.

Shri Vajpayee: May I know whether it is a fact that as many as 20 divisions of Chinese troops are stationed in Tibet at present?

85. During Chou En-lai's visit to India in December 1956 and January 1957; see Nehru's note to N.R. Pillai, 1 January 1957, SWJN/SS/36/pp. 610-616, here pp. 614-615, and note to Subimal Dutt, 11 November 1958, SWJN/SS/45/p. 699.

86. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not say; I do not know that exactly.

Mr. Speaker: In the circumstances, I do not think it necessary to give my consent to this adjournment motion.

179. In the Lok Sabha: Expenditure on the Dalai Lama⁸⁷

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the total amount of money which was spent in receiving the Dalai Lama at the Indian border and bringing him to Mussoorie for his stay;
- (b) the amount of money which the Government of India have spent so far in making all arrangements for the Dalai Lama and his party's stay and boarding at Mussoorie so far;
- (c) and whether Government of India have given some officers special responsibility to look after the Dalai Lama and his party at Mussoorie?⁸⁸

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) The exact expenditure is not known, as information from Assam and West Bengal Governments, who have incurred the expenditure is still awaited. The information so far available indicates that a sum of approx. Rs. 23,089 was spent while the Dalai Lama and his Party were in NEFA, Varanasi and Sarnath including the cost of his special train and catering from Varanasi to Dehra Dun.

(b) The exact expenditure is not known. Some bills are yet to be paid and some are expected. The amount spent till 15-6-1959 is approx. Rs. 85,217 and the monthly estimated expenditure thereafter is likely to be Rs. 29,256.

(c) Yes. A liaison officer has been attached to the Dalai Lama's party.

180. To Subimal Dutt: Ladakh-Tibet Border, Chushul Airfield⁸⁹

I give below an extract from a letter from Yuvaraj Karan Singh of J&K State:-

"The second matter is with regard to our Laddakh [sic]-Tibet border. Recently a patrol party of C.R.P. was kidnapped by the Chinese while they

87. 14 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 2445-2446.

88. The question was asked by Chintamani Panigrahi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Puri, Orissa, and three other MPs.

89. Note, 15 August 1959.

were on our side of the border, and I learn that the Chinese have built roads, check-posts, bunkers and other fortifications well inside Indian territory. As you know, the border with Tibet is still undemarcated, but that does not mean that gradual encroachment and occupation of our territory can be countenanced. I submit that this is a matter of grave concern and deserves to be looked into carefully and expeditiously. I understand that the Chusul [sic] airport,⁹⁰ upon which you will recall we landed in 1952, is now out of commission. This is close to the border and hence strategically very important. Psychologically also, both vis-a-vis the Chinese and the local population, it would be a good move for us to use this airport at least occasionally. It is important that the Laddakh-Tibet border should be strengthened, for unless adequate measures are taken at this stage we may have to face a very serious problem in a few years when the Chinese have consolidated their positions in our territory. The situation appears to be developing into something more than mere 'cartographical aggression'."⁹¹

2. The other day I wrote on a file that we should use the Chusul airport and send a military detachment to the check-post nearby. Last night I had a talk with the Defence Minister. I have used the word 'military' there rather vaguely. What I meant was an armed detachment. I have no idea what kind of people are at present at our check-posts in Ladakh. Presumably they go from Leh and are part of our Army. Or are they armed police? Anyhow, this area is wholly different from the NEFA areas where the Assam Rifles function.

3. I have suggested to the Defence Minister to find out about these check-posts of ours on the Ladakh border.

Who are they?

How do they go to the check-posts, that is, do they go on foot from Leh or by air?

How are supplies sent to them, by air or by the bridle path?

How many are they? and such other information.

4. It seems to me clear that we should use the Chusul airport from time to time and that our check-posts there should be strengthened. To what extent, I cannot say. It is not necessary to keep very large bodies of men at these check-posts, but they should not be too small either.

90. The Chushul airfield, located close to the border with China at a height of over 13,000 feet in the Chushul Valley in Ladakh.

91. The extract is from Karan Singh to Nehru, 9 August 1959; for the full letter, see Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64: Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh* (Penguin: New Delhi, 2006), pp. 263-264.

181. To Tan Yun-Shan: Strained Relations with China⁹²

August 15, 1959

My dear Professor Tan,⁹³

Thank you for your letter of the 11th August. I am indeed myself distressed at many recent developments which have resulted in some strain on the friendly relations between India and China. As you know, I have always attached great importance to these friendly relations both in the present and for the future. We are two great countries, neighbours of each other, and it would be a tragedy if we do not have those friendly relations.

I am glad you are going to China. I am sure your talks there will be helpful. Should you wish to come to New Delhi, I shall gladly meet you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

182. To V.K. Krishna Menon and MEA: US Attitude on Tibet⁹⁴

Mr. Winthrop Brown,⁹⁵ the U.S. Chargé d'Affaires came to see me today. He said that he had been instructed to see me to let me know the attitude of his Government in regard to the Tibet issue being brought up before the UN General Assembly. His Government realised that India had a special interest in Tibet. The US Government had on the whole avoided saying much on the subject. They felt, however, that if a proposal was made to discuss Tibet in the UN, they should support it. He was anxious to see me today to inform me of this as there was a resolution in Parliament tomorrow on this subject.

92. Letter.

93. Founder-director of Cheena Bhavana at Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

94. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt, and M.J. Desai, 20 August 1959.

95. Winthrop Gilman Brown (b. 1907); US government official and diplomatist; served in US Embassy, London, and State Department, 1941-57; Minister-Counsellor, New Delhi, 1957-60; Ambassador to Laos, 1960-62, and to Republic of Korea, 1964-67; Special Assistant to Secretary of State for Liaison with Governors, 1967-72; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 1968-72. *International Who's Who 1977-78* (Europa).

2. I told him that in the course of press conferences and elsewhere, I had indicated that we did not think it necessary or desirable to take this matter of what had happened in Tibet to the UN and I intended taking up broadly this attitude in Parliament if the Resolution came up for discussion there.⁹⁶ I asked him in what way this might come up before the UN. There will have to be some resolution or motion in the UN. He said that he did not know nor had this question been considered in detail by his Government. But they felt that if a motion for discussion was brought up or if the Dalai Lama himself wished to appear to state his case before the UN, the US Government should support this.⁹⁷ In doing so, they were anxious to make it clear that it was not their desire to make this in any way a cold war issue. I said that whatever their desire might be, this would inevitably become in some way or other a cold war issue. Presumably the motion would be to condemn the Chinese Government. I pointed out that the Soviet Government and indeed their press etc. had not taken up the Tibet issue at all. Indeed there was very little said about it in the Soviet Union. This was surely not due to any sympathy on their part for the Dalai Lama or for Tibet. Whatever the reasons were, they had kept rather quiet about this matter. The Chargé said that he realised this though he did not know why the Soviet Government had adopted this attitude.

96. On 21 August, Atal Bihar Vajpayee moved the resolution in the Lok Sabha regarding reference of the Tibet issue to the UN; discussion on the resolution was not concluded that day. Nehru spoke on it on 4 September 1959; see *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 3682-3690, and SWJN/SS/52/item 97.

97. At a meeting in the US Department of State on July 28, it was decided to inform the Dalai Lama of the US Government's intention "to do whatever we can" to assist him in connection with submitting Tibet's case to the UN General Assembly if he made a public appeal for UN action. Accordingly, he was informed that they would so assist him; that his initial public statement of appeal for UN action should be made in the near future; that this appeal should make mention of the suffering and denial of human rights endured by Tibetans and avoid charges of aggression; and that thereupon the US would consult with governments of friendly countries in his behalf. Following up the recommendation of the US Embassy in New Delhi that before encouraging other countries to support the Dalai Lama's appeal for UN action the US Government should approach Nehru and inform him of their intentions, the meeting decided that Nehru should be so informed immediately after consultation with the British had been initiated and their reaction to US plans obtained. On 30 July, Allen Dulles, the Director of the CIA, told a meeting of the National Security Council: "He [the Dalai Lama] is trying to get his case before the United Nations on the grounds of genocide. The U.S. has put out feelers in Buddhist countries about accepting the Dalai Lama, but no country has been receptive, probably because there is reluctance to alienate Communist China and because there are so many different sects of Buddhism." *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960*, Vol. XIX, Documents 382 and 383.

3. I pointed out that our basic objection to this matter being raised in the UN was that the People's Government of China was not represented in the UN and it did not seem to us to be proper to deny them that representation and, at the same time, to condemn them. So far as we were concerned, we did not at all like much that had happened in Tibet during recent months, and we had expressed our views in Parliament and elsewhere clearly, though in restrained language. I further added that our information was that the Secretary-General of the UN, Mr. Hammarskjöld, was also of the opinion that it would not be proper to bring up this issue before the UN for the two main reasons. One was that the Chinese Government had not subscribed to the Charter and was not in the UN and, secondly, it could not be said that there had been an invasion of Tibet by the Chinese authorities as Tibet was considered to be a part of the Chinese State.

4. Mr. Brown again repeated that his Government did not want to make this a cold war issue. But they felt that if this question was brought up, the US Government would support a discussion in the UN.⁹⁸

183. To Suniti Kumar Chatterji: The Chinese National Day⁹⁹

August 21, 1959

My dear Shri Chatterji,¹⁰⁰

I have your letter of August 20th.¹⁰¹ I do not understand why at any time it should be necessary to celebrate the Chinese National Day by meetings etc. lasting a month. Even normally this would be odd. To do it in present circumstances would be odder still and, in fact, it would only be interpreted as some kind of a direct censure of our present policy.

There is no harm in your celebrating the day by some kind of a meeting on that day, but I would not recommend any exuberance on that occasion.

98. On 28 September 1959, the representatives of the Federation of Malaya and Ireland asked for inscription of the question of Tibet in the agenda of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly. *The Yearbook of the United Nations 1959*.

99. Letter.

100. The Chairman, Legislative Council, West Bengal, and the President of the Calcutta branch of the India-China Friendship Association.

101. See Suniti Kumar Chatterji to Nehru, 20 August 1959, Appendix 35.

So far as our National Day is concerned, that is, January 26th, there was a normal celebration at our Embassy. A reception was given by our Ambassador and the Foreign Minister of China¹⁰² attended it. It should be remembered, however, that this was before the recent developments in Tibet and the reactions in India and China.

I suggest, therefore, that you might have a more or less formal celebration on the 1st of October without any great fuss.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

184. To Subimal Dutt: Dalai Lama¹⁰³

Broadly, I agree with FS's note. We should allow these people to go to Manila.¹⁰⁴ I do not like the idea of a spread out tour.¹⁰⁵ We should discuss this matter with the Dalai Lama when he comes here.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps, these people might go to Burma en route as it is on the way and is a Buddhist country.

2. There is one other matter which should be enquired into. Is it possible for the Magsaysay Award to be given by proxy to someone else? I have a vague idea that this is not permitted by the Manila authorities.¹⁰⁷

3. A similar Award was made to Acharya Vinoba Bhave.¹⁰⁸ He said he could not go, and no question arose of someone else going on his behalf.

102. Chen Yi, the Foreign Minister of China, 1958-72.

103. Note, 21 August 1959.

104. The Ramon Magsaysay Award of 1959 in the Community Leadership category was to be conferred on the Dalai Lama in Manila on 31 August 1959. *The Tribune*, 17 August 1959, and the website of the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation (RMAF): <http://www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/Citation/CitationDalaiLam.htm>, accessed on 1 June 2013.

105. See also Nehru's note to Subimal Dutt, 22 July 1959, SWJN/SS/50/item 159. According to a PTI report in *The Tribune* of 28 August 1959, the Dalai Lama himself intended to visit Buddhist countries, like Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Japan, to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the Tibetan question in those countries.

106. The Dalai Lama arrived in Delhi on 2 September 1959; see also item 190.

107. Gyalo Thondup, the brother of the Dalai Lama, received the award deputing for the Dalai Lama. The RMAF website.

108. Received the Magsaysay Award for Community Leadership in 1958.

185. In the Lok Sabha: Indians in Tibet¹⁰⁹

Mr. Speaker: I have received another adjournment motion from Shri Vajpayee which reads:

“This grave situation arising out of the hostile attitude of the Chinese Communists towards Indians as evidenced from the warning contained in a recent note to the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa and also the virtual house arrest order served on Indians residing in Tibet under the pretext of a safety warning to keep within doors.”

May I know whether the hon. Prime Minister is willing to make any statement?

Shri Vajpayee: May I make any [sic] submission first? News emanating from Tibet is very disturbing. It has been reported that the Indians in Tibet have been asked not to leave their homes without permission, which means that they are virtually under house arrest. They are not even free to go to the Indian Consul-General, where a police picket is still there. And any Indian who goes to the Indian Consul-General is being cross-examined by the police. In addition to that, it has been reported that the Chinese authorities have asked our Consul-General to advise the Indians not to visit Tibet even on pilgrimage. Are we to understand that the national uprising in Tibet has still not been crushed and there is no peace, even the peace of the grave, and so new restrictions have been imposed on Indians? I want that the situation should be clarified so that our friendly relations with China may not still further be impaired.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The hon. Member has said many things just now for which I do not know what support and evidence he has. So far as this motion for adjournment is concerned, I have read it two or three times without being able to understand exactly what the hon. Member means by it. It says:

“The grave situation arising out of the hostile attitude of the Chinese Communists towards Indians as evidenced from the warning contained in a recent note ...”.

I take it that the note referred to is the one issued about intending pilgrims. I do not know why that should be taken to mean a hostile attitude to anybody. It may mean, as he himself has hinted, that conditions in certain parts of Tibet

109. 24 August 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4073-4077.

are so insecure that pilgrims are not safe. I shall read out the exact message that we received in regard to this matter.

The Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa conveyed to our Consul-General there the following message. I am giving it as received. The English is not sometimes very clear.

“In view of that, at present the PLA ...” that is, the Chinese Army ...

Shri C.D. Pande (Naini Tal): People’s Liberation Army to liberate Tibet.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: People’s Liberation Army.

“In view of that, at present the PLA are launching a punitive expedition towards, a tiny minority of remnant rebels at Ari area, the Consulate-General would be kind to tell the Indian pilgrims that for the sake of safety it is better for them not to come for pilgrimage or come as fewer as possible this year. If they insist to come the responsibility of safety should be borne by themselves.”

Now, the meaning is quite clear that they are carrying on expeditionary or other hostile activities there and conditions are not safe for people and for pilgrims and they warn pilgrims that they should not come or, if they come, they should come as few as possible at their own risk.

It is true that under the terms of our agreement with China, pilgrims are allowed free access,¹¹⁰ but where conditions become bad internally, whoever may be responsible for it, we can hardly go on saying that we will go and you will be responsible for it. Technically it may be true. Anyhow, this indicates that conditions are not normal there and that some kind of conflicts are proceeding.

Shri Vajpayee: May I know the date on which that note was received?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I should imagine – I do not know – about two or three days ago or just in the last few days. It is quite recent. I am not sure of the date but I saw it, I think, about two days ago, probably.

As for the reference to Indians being kept within doors, I am not aware of that at all or of any order to the effect that Indians should keep within their houses.

Shri Naushir Bharucha¹¹¹ (East Khandesh): It has appeared in the papers.

110. Under the Agreement of 29 April 1954.

111. Naushir Cursetji Bharucha, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry that I am not aware of that fact in spite of what the papers say. In other words, what the papers say, so far as I am concerned, is not correct. I cannot guarantee everything, but we are likely to have more correct information of the international conditions in Tibet. After all, we do get messages from our Consulates and Trade Agents. I cannot say about what happens in the interior, somewhere there is no Consulate or Trade Agent, but we have not received any such information from our Consulate or Trade Agents.

What has happened is that sometimes, when the disturbance took place in the cities there,¹¹² for a few days or maybe, two or three weeks, people were not encouraged to go out from certain areas in the cities, in Lhasa from the Consulate area to other areas. They were not allowed and movement in these areas was restricted. But that was at that time. So far as I know, no such house arrest business is taking place and movement is not restricted except outside the city area, that is, probably some kind of a permit is required to go outside the city areas or outside a certain major part of the city to certain other part of the city, like at Yatung.

So, I do not think that this motion of adjournment ...

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that all attempts made by our Ambassador in Peking to meet Mr. Chou En-lai to discuss the position of Indians in Tibet have so far not succeeded? If it is so, what is the information with the hon. Prime Minister about it?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Chou En-lai is the Prime Minister of China. Most Prime Ministers normally do not discuss these matters with foreign Ambassadors. It is the Foreign Ministers who discuss these matters. I may discuss them in my capacity as Foreign Minister. Prime Ministers are not easily accessible. They are more accessible in India than in most other countries.

Shri Hem Barua: Did our Ambassador make certain attempts to discuss the matter there? That is what I wanted to know.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of our Ambassador discussing it with anybody. Our Ambassador, at our instance, handed certain memoranda and notes to the Chinese Government and we expect from them formal replies. There is no question of having a casual conversation with our Ambassador.

112. In March 1959.

Shri Vajpayee: May I know if it is a fact that the Police is still posted in front of the office of the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa and the Indians who go there are being interrogated by the Police?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. I am not quite sure exactly what the position now is, but there were some sentries posted in front of the Consulate-General, who checked people without permits trying to come in. In particular, the report we got was that some of those Ladakhi Muslims, who wanted to come to consult our Consulate-General, were stopped from coming.

श्री भक्त दर्शन (गढ़वाल): इस काम रोको प्रस्ताव का विरोध करते हुए मैं आपकी आज्ञा से प्रधान मन्त्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि चीन की सरकार ने जो भारत के तीर्थ यात्रियों को सलाह दी है कि कम-से-कम संख्या में आयें, क्या भारत सरकार ने उसे स्वीकार कर लिया है और क्या भारतीय यात्रियों के वहाँ जाने के रास्ते में रुकावटें डाली जा रही हैं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: उसके स्वीकार करने या अस्वीकार करने के तो कोई मानी नहीं हैं। हम ने उत्तर प्रदेश के शासन को सूचना दे दी है कि वहाँ से यह इत्तला आयी है और यात्रियों को बता दिया जाये कि वहाँ जाने में खतरा है। फिर भी अगर कोई यात्री जाना चाहते हैं तो उनको कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं रोकेगा।

[Translation begins:

Bhakt Darshan (Garhwal): Opposing this adjournment motion I wish to know from the Prime Minister with your permission that whether the Indian Government has accepted the advice given by the Chinese Government to Indian pilgrims to come in as small numbers as possible, and whether impediments are being put up before the Indian pilgrims going there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no sense in accepting or not accepting it. We have informed the Uttar Pradesh Government that this message has come from there and pilgrims should be informed that there is danger in going there. Still, if some pilgrims wish to go, no one will stop them.

Translation ends]

Mr. Speaker: In view of the statement of the hon. Prime Minister, I do not think it is necessary for me to give my consent to this motion for adjournment.

186. To Mohammad Mujeeb: Tibetan Students at Jamia Millia Islamia¹¹³

25th August, 1959

My dear Mujeeb,¹¹⁴

Your letter of August 24th about Tibetan students at the Jamia. Will you please let me know (1) what the normal expenditure of these students is and (2) what your immediate need may be?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

187. In the Rajya Sabha: Activities of Chinese Authorities against India¹¹⁵

V.K. Dhage: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the report which appeared in the 'Hindustan Times' (Delhi Edition) of the 13th August, 1959, to the effect that the Chinese authorities in Tibet have begun a war of nerves against the people of the Himalayan region bordering on Tibet and, in particular, against the people of Bhutan and Sikkim;¹¹⁶

(b) whether Government are aware that, in a pamphlet issued by the Chinese authorities, Indians have been described as inheritors of British regime, and that a cry has been raised for the 'liberation' of the Bhutanese, Sikkimese and Ladakhis from their capitalistic oppressor, namely India; and

(c) if the answer to parts (a) and (b) above be in affirmative, what steps Government propose to take in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (c). Government have seen this report; they have however no information about the contents of the speech by the General referred to in this report. They have also no information about the pamphlet to which

113. Letter.

114. Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

115. 25 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1702-1705.

116. See item 178, fns 82 and 83.

reference is made.

Instances of anti-Indian propaganda in the Tibetan region have however come to the attention of Government and Government have drawn the attention of the Chinese authorities to this.

Shri J.C. Chatterji:¹¹⁷ As a protest against the fact that our Lhasa Consulate office is being kept under restraint by the Chinese, are we also going to put the same sort of restrictions on the Chinese Consulate office at Kailmpong?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not quite correct to say that our Consulate General is under restraint. There are some difficulties there in regard to people who want to visit the Consulate General. Sometimes they do not find easy access to it. Some of them, more especially those people who are Ladakhi Muslims, who want to come there are not permitted to do so usually by the sentry. But the people in the Consulate can go about in Lhasa at any rate, not outside Lhasa; for that they require permit.

Shri J.C. Chatterji: Is there any truth in the newspaper reports that the Chinese are trying to extend their influence in Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh and the border areas of Nepal?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the main question. It has been answered. There are some reports of these things. We have no information as to their validity or of any responsible person having said this. But the fact remains that so far as Bhutan and Sikkim are concerned, they are in treaty relations with us and we are responsible for their defence. I cannot imagine any foreign authority doing anything which is an infringement of their sovereignty. In any event any such infringement would be an infringement of our undertakings with Sikkim and Bhutan, and we shall certainly resist every such intrusion.

Shri J.C. Chatterji: Are the Government thinking of devising ways and means for encouraging our people particularly of the border areas so that they may not be cowed down by the aggressive moves of any foreign power?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what he means. Ways and means to, what shall I say, to raise the morale of the people there? I hope the morale of the people in the border areas is good.

117. Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

Shri J.C. Chatterji: It has been reported in the papers recently that some Chinese gold bars were recovered from some Assam tribals. Has it anything to do with the Chinese aggressive moves?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What did they recover from the Assam people? Gold bars?

Shri J.C. Chatterji: Chinese gold bars were recovered from some tribals in Assam.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know nothing about this. I hope no gold bars will come from outside to India.

Shri V.K. Dhage: Is it a fact that on the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan military concentration is taking place by the Chinese?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not know, Sir.

Shri V.K. Dhage: Is it a fact that there is a certain sort of concern in the minds of the people in Bhutan and Sikkim with regard to the Chinese activities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, that is natural. Ever since the troubles in Tibet, as refugees are coming in, there has been a measure of anxiety in the minds of the people and the authorities in Bhutan and Sikkim.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know whether there has been any proposal from the Prime Minister of Bhutan to interview our Prime Minister here?¹¹⁸

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not require any proposal. Whenever he comes here, he is our guest, and I see him frequently. There is no very great formality about these things, and I believe he is coming here soon.

श्री पाँ. ना. राजभोज: क्या प्रधानमंत्री जी यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि भूटान सरकार ने सुरक्षा के लिये इंडो ब्रिटिश ट्रीटी फार परपीचुअल पीस एंड फ्रेंडशिप [sic] जो सन् 1949 में की गयी थी, उसके अनुसार भारत सरकार से कोई मदद माँगी है?

118. *The Hindustan Times Weekly* reported on 23 August that Jigme Dorji, who "returned recently from Bhutan to Kalimpong, where he spends part of the year," was expected to visit New Delhi in the near future for consultations with Nehru.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कोई खास मदद, फौजी मदद, माँगने का प्रश्न नहीं उठता। हाँ, पिछले ज़माने में कभी-कभी भूटान वाले कुछ छोटा मोटा फौजी सामान हमसे लेते और खरीदते रहे हैं। लेकिन वे भी जानते हैं और हम भी जानते हैं कि अगर कोई उस पर हमला हुआ तो यह हमारी ज़िम्मेदारी है उनकी मदद करना।

[Translation begins:

Shri P.N. Rajbhoj: Will the Prime Minister kindly inform whether the Government of Bhutan has requested for aid from the Indian Government for its security under the Indo-British Treaty for Perpetual Peace and Friendship [sic] which was signed in 1949?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of a request for any special aid, military aid. Yes, the Bhutanese have been taking, purchasing, some small amount of ordinary military equipment from us in the past. But they, too, know this and we also know it that if any invasion takes place against them, then it is our responsibility to help them.

Translation ends]

Shri Jaswant Singh: The Indian traders of the Bhotia class who used to trade in Tibet have had their business practically suspended and we have not been able to safeguard their interests. I would like to know whether any action has been taken to protect their interests or whether the Chinese authorities did not permit us to take such action.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The next question deals with this point, Sir.

188. In the Rajya Sabha: Indo-Tibetan Trade¹¹⁹

Shri Maheswar Naik: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Indo-Tibetan trade has been affected by the political disturbances in Tibet;
- (b) what was the volume of trade between India and Tibet prior to the Tibetan upsurge; and
- (c) what is the latest position?

119. 25 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1706-1710.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir. The Indo-Tibetan trade has suffered considerably during the last few months especially since the disturbances.

(b) and (c). The total volume of Indo-Tibetan trade during the quarter Jan-March, 1959, was Rs. 81.98 lakh approximately. The figure, however, declined to Rs. 26.82 lakhs approx. during the quarter April-June, 1959.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know whether Government have taken any measures for the restoration of normal trade between the two countries?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, Sir, I do not recall all the measures but we certainly want normal trade to be restored and we are pointing out to the Chinese authorities in Tibet the difficulties that have arisen in regard to it. For instance, one of the major difficulties is the question of payment and the currency. Many of our traders cannot deal in the goods there except in Chinese currency and they find it difficult to dispose of the goods there. All these difficulties have arisen and we are pointing out these things as much as we can because we cannot interfere in the internal trade arrangements otherwise.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know whether it is a fact that all sorts of impediments are being put against the Indian trade being run smoothly and that particularly the Indian traders who are engaged in trading in Tibet are not allowed to even borrow money from the local moneylenders?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what I said, Sir, that there are difficulties. I do not know whether one such relates to the question of borrowing money but I imagine it is difficult to borrow money.

Shri Jaswant Singh: The question is not only of the Indian currency being made legal tender or not. The Indian traders who have been doing business in Tibet have had to completely suspend their business and I would like to know what the Government is doing either to restore normal conditions there or to rehabilitate the traders. This is a very serious matter because a very large number of people are affected by this.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just answered, Sir.

Shri Jaswant Singh: There is a second part to my question, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We cannot force trade on another country. If a country

deliberately wants to stop it, it can do a hundred and one things over-hand and under-hand to make it difficult for the trader to function. We cannot deal with such a matter. If there is any breach of treaty regulations, then we can take up that matter.

Shri Jaswant Singh: The main question was, Sir...

Mr. Chairman: "Did they suffer? Do you rehabilitate them?" That is the second part of the question, is it not?

Shri Jaswant Singh: Yes, Sir. I want to know whether Government is taking action to rehabilitate them.

Mr. Chairman: Yes, have the Indian traders there suffered? Are any measures taken to rehabilitate them? That is what he wants to know.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: None whatsoever. We have absolutely no such idea and we are not thinking of any such action. First of all, such a question does not arise and secondly these traders in the past have not done badly at all. It is only in the present that they are not well off.

Shri Jaswant Singh: It is their misfortune to be Indians, Sir.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: May I know whether the Government of India was consulted or at least was informed by the Chinese authorities of their intention to declare the Indian rupee as not legal tender in Tibet?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no mention of this in the Treaty. All that the Treaty says is that customary rules will continue to prevail. You can interpret that as you will but there is no special reference in the Treaty to the rupee being legal tender or not.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: The first part of my question has not been answered, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: Were we consulted? That is number one.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: Was it unilateral? That is the second part of the question and the third part is, was it in the trade agreement? One question in three stages, is it?

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: Yes, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, we were not consulted and we can hardly raise an objection to the fact we were not consulted by them before they made changes. The point is that where such changes are made, they must not in the interests of the countries concerned, have an immediate upsetting effect on past transactions. It is open to any country to make a change for the future so that the traders and others know where they stand but making a change which applies to past transactions does create a tremendous amount of difficulty because after they have paid for some goods, then let us say, 50 per cent or 75 per cent of the value suddenly disappears. Therefore, normally it should not apply to past transactions.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: But are they applying to past transactions?

(No reply)

Shri Maheswar Naik: It is reported that Indian traders resident in Tibet are not being allowed to enter the Indian Consulate-General. Is it a fact and, if so, have the Government thought it necessary to take any action in that regard?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there is any difficulty in regard to the Indian traders coming to the Consulate-General but some people like the Ladakhi Muslims who claim to be Indian nationals and whom we are prepared to accept as such but who are not accepted as Indian nationals by the Chinese authorities at present have difficulties in coming to the Consulate-General.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: I want the Prime Minister to inform us on this point. The Treaty obligation was that the customary rules and customs will prevail. One of the customary rules was that the Indian rupee will be the legal tender in Tibet. Now that unilateral action has been taken by the Chinese authorities to declare it as not legal tender, will the Government of India take up this matter with the Chinese authorities? That is number one. Number two is

Mr. Chairman: You are putting a series of questions.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha: Have the Government any information about the amount of Indian rupee involved in this, the extent to which the Indian

traders there have suffered?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We are constantly taking up this and like matters with the Chinese Government, putting to them whatever we think were the errors committed in regard to their obligations arising out of the Treaty. This is being constantly placed before them. I have no idea of the amount involved.

189. To Subimal Dutt: Lala Lajpat Rai, Dalai Lama¹²⁰

I have read this report.

2. Shri Purushottam Trikumdas¹²¹ is not quite correct in his reference to Lala Lajpat Rai. It is true that he carried on some kind of a propaganda for Indian freedom but this was on a very limited scale and in effect reached very few people. Even so, he had to pull himself up in the United States and in Japan.¹²² That was the wartime and his activities were strictly limited. As it happens, I have been reading recently his own account of his stay in the United States then.¹²³

120. Note, 25 August 1959.

121. Purushottam Trikumdas (1897-1969); founder-member, Congress Socialist Party, and member of its National Executive for several years; chairman, Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet appointed on 21 August 1959 by the International Commission of Jurists. Bimal Prasad (ed.), *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Works*, Vol. 1, (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000), p. 88.

122. Lala Lajpat Rai first visited USA in 1907; the second time he sailed from London for New York in November 1914, but was not allowed to return to India until the end of 1919. This period included his sojourn in Japan, July-December 1915.

Adward Freehafer, the Director of the New York Public Library (NYPL), was reported to have presented a manuscript deposited by Lala Lajpat Rai to M.C. Chagla in April 1959. According to a statement laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha by K.L. Shrimali on 28 August 1959, the manuscript titled "Recollections of Life and Work for an Independent India while living in the United States during 1914-17," being a condensed account in Lala Lajpat Rai's own handwriting of his visits to USA and Japan "and a record of his doings and those of his compatriots who were promoting the cause of India's freedom in the United States," had been entrusted by the author to B.W. Hubesch of the Viking Press Inc., New York, for safe custody in 1919; in 1943, Mr Hubesch transferred it to the NYPL requesting it to hold it in its custody till India became free when the Library was to present it to the Indian Archives. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, cols 2093-2097.

123. Nehru was apparently referring to Lala Lajpat Rai, *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impression* (1916).

3. As for the Dalai Lama issuing some kind of a statement giving his views, as you have said, he is free to do so.¹²⁴

190. To Subimal Dutt: Dalai Lama's Visit to Delhi¹²⁵

The Dalai Lama should be received at the station by the Chief Commissioner,¹²⁶ Deputy Minister and some officials of the EA Ministry.

2. I do not think it is necessary for any formal functions to be organised on behalf of Govt. He may be invited to private informal meals. I shall certainly invite him to such a meal.

3. It is likely, however, that some non-official organisations might want to organise some functions in his honour. If such a request comes, we shall have to examine it on its merits.

4. Intimation might be sent to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs about the time of arrival of the Dalai Lama. This is just by way of information in case some MPs wish to be present at the station then. We do not suggest that people should be sent for this purpose.¹²⁷

124. According to *The Statesman* of 31 August, the Dalai Lama, in a signed statement brought from Mussoorie by a messenger and distributed to the press in Delhi on 30 August, stated that the situation in Tibet had become "immeasurably darker and gloomier" since his press conference in June 1959 and the sufferings of the people there were "beyond description;" announced his firm intention to raise the Tibetan issue in the UN; and appealed to "all civilized countries of the world" to lend their fullest support to "our cause of freedom and justice."

125. Note, 25 August 1959. File No. 29 (19)-BST/59, MEA.

126. A.D. Pandit, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

127. The Dalai Lama, accompanied by eight ministers and advisers, arrived in Delhi by train on 2 September. He was received at the railway station by Lakshmi Menon and A.D. Pandit as a guest of the GOI. Also present there to greet him were Sucheta Kripalani, the Congress General Secretary; Ganga Saran and N.G. Goray, the PSP leaders; Balraj Madhok, the Delhi Jan Sangh chief; Shiv Charan Das Gupta, the DPCC President; the local municipal councilors; and Miguel Serrano Fernandez, the Ambassador of Chile to India. A large crowd, including workers belonging to the Congress, the PSP and the Jan Sangh, greeted the visitor with the cries of "Dalai Lama Zindabad." In the evening the Dalai Lama had a 90-minute meeting with Nehru. *The Times of India*, 2 and 3 September 1959.

191. In the Lok Sabha: The Bara Hoti Plateau¹²⁸

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 2337 on the 8th May, 1959¹²⁹ and state:

- (a) whether the negotiations with the Chinese Government regarding the occupation of the Bara Hoti Plateau and other places situated on the border of Tibet adjoining Uttar Pradesh by the Chinese soldiers have since been concluded; and
- (b) if so, the outcome thereof?¹³⁰

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon); (a) and (b) The negotiations have not yet been resumed.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know since when this area is under the control and occupation of the Chinese Government?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: It is neither under the control nor occupation of the Chinese.

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know if the Government is aware of the approximate number of the Chinese soldiers who are stationed on this border between Tibet and U.P.?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): How can we say the numbers of Chinese forces on the other side? But at these places, that is, the Hoti border, thus far, in the past years I mean, small patrols have come - may be, 10, 20, 25, 30 not more than that - and on our side also relatively small patrols of police have gone; there have been no large numbers involved anywhere.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : क्या यह सत्य है कि इन गर्मियों में बरफ़ गलने के बाद जब हमारे सैनिक इस स्थान पर पहुँचे तो वहाँ पर चीनी सैनिकों का पता नहीं था? क्या इसका यह अर्थ है कि चीन सरकार नअपना दावा वापस ले लिया है?

128. 28 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4756-4760.

129. Bhakt Darshan asked about talks regarding the Chinese occupation of the Bara Hoti plateau and some other places on the UP-Tibet border the previous winter. Lakshmi Menon replied that the talks were inconclusive and would be resumed later.

130. The question was asked by Ram Krishan Gupta and seven other MPs.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है। इस साल पिछली गर्मियों में जब हमारी पुलिस पार्टी वहाँ पहुँची तो वहाँ चीनी नहीं थे। यह सही है। लेकिन उसके मानी क्या हैं, यह तो मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ।

डॉ. राम सुभग सिंह: इस वक़्त हालत क्या है, बाराहोती गाँव किस के कब्ज़े में है? हम लोगों की पेट्रोल पार्टी वहाँ है या नहीं है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह याद रखा जाना चाहिए कि यह जो मैदानी हिस्सा है, यह कोई डेढ़ स्क्वेयर मील का है, छोटा-सा यह मैदानी इलाक़ा है और सर्दियों में वहाँ जा भी नहीं सकते हैं। गर्मियों में वहाँ भेड़ें, बकरियाँ, वगैरह चरने के लिए, ग्रेज़िंग के लिए आती हैं और वो ज़्यादातर तिब्बत की तरफ़ से आती हैं, क्योंकि इधर तो बहुत बड़े पहाड़ हैं। इस जगह इस वक़्त हमारी उत्तर प्रदेश की पुलिस पार्टी बैठी हुई है और कोई नहीं है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Is it true that during this summer when our soldiers reached this place after the snows melted, there was no trace of Chinese soldiers there? Does this imply that the Chinese Government has taken back its claim?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as I know last summer when our police party reached there after the snows melted, the Chinese were not there. This is true. But what it implies I cannot say.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: What is the situation now? Under whose occupation is Bara Hoti village? Is our patrol party there or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It should be kept in mind that the flat area there comprises of about one and a half square miles. It is a small plain area and in the winter one cannot even go there. During summers goats and sheep, etc., come there for grazing and come mostly from Tibet because there are very big mountains on this side. Only our police party from Uttar Pradesh is present at the spot now, no one else.

Translation ends]

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:¹³¹ The hon. Deputy Minister said that negotiations with the Chinese Government have not yet concluded. May I know whether we sent any letters to them; if so, whether those letters have been replied or even acknowledged by them?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: On this particular matter, I do not think many letters have been sent; maybe, perhaps, it might have been mentioned in some communication, but we had those discussions and they were adjourned saying that there will be a future meeting. Since then, as the House very well knows, so many other things have happened, so many other developments have taken place that, that rather minor matter has gone into the background.

श्री भक्त दर्शन: पिछले वर्ष बरफ़ पड़ना जब प्रारम्भ हुआ और हमारी पुलिस के सिपाही वापस आये, उसके बाद चीनी सैनिकों ने आ करके वहाँ कब्ज़ा कर लिया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था की जा रही है कि अब के जाइनों में भी वहाँ पर हमारे सैनिक रह सकें ताकि अगर चीनी सैनिक आयें तो वे हटाये जा सकें?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इसको करने की मुझे कोई खास वजह तो मालूम नहीं देती है। आप यह सही कहते हैं कि पिछले वर्ष, कोई डेढ़ वर्ष हुआ, वहाँ सर्दी में हमारे लोग वापस आ गये तो कुछ थोड़े-से चीनी सिपाही सर्दी में भी आ गये। अब इसके लिए हम अपने लोगों को बहुत ज़्यादा तकलीफ़ दें, वहाँ बिठा कर रखें सर्दी में, जाइनों में, ज़ाहिरा तौर पर तो मुझे कोई खास वजह मालूम नहीं देती।

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakta Darshan: Last year when it started to snow and our policemen returned, the Chinese came and occupied that spot. I wish to know whether some such arrangement is being made to enable our policemen to remain there even during winter so that if Chinese soldiers come, they may be removed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I see no special reason to do so. You are right in saying that last year, about one and a half years ago, when our people came away from there, a few Chinese soldiers came there even during winter. Now, apparently, I see no special reason to make our people suffer miserably for this, to make them sit there in winter, in the cold.

Translation ends]

131. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Baloda Bazar-SC, Madhya Pradesh.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: In reply to a previous question it was stated that negotiations shall be carried on with the Chinese Government on this, and now it is stated that the negotiations have not yet come to any conclusion. Are we to presume that the negotiations have now been abandoned?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, they have not been abandoned. May I say this in answer to the previous question that it was decided at the time of those negotiations that no fully armed party should remain there and that that area of 1¼ square miles should be considered, well, if you like, a neutral territory till a decision is made. So it is still pending a final decision. Our police party that is there has not, in accordance with that decision, taken even the normal arms which, I think, may be required to scare away wild animals, etc., because the decision was that no party, either Indian or Chinese should go there with guns and the like.

Shri Vajpayee: May I know if the Government have any information in regard to the strength of the Chinese forces who occupy Bara Hoti and if there is any likelihood of further encroachment into our territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think I have answered that question. It was in Hindi which I think is sufficiently understood by the hon. Member.

श्री भक्त दर्शन: कुछ दिनों पहले, शायद दो या तीन वर्ष पहले, चीन की सरकार ने यह मान लिया था कि उस का एक प्रतिनिधि और भारत सरकार का एक प्रतिनिधि वहाँ पर आ कर इस क्लिस्ते को खत्म कर देंगे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि चीन सरकार ने यह विचार छोड़ दिया है या अब भी वो अपना प्रतिनिधि भेजने को तैयार है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: चीन की सरकार के प्रतिनिधि से बातचीत हुई थी, लेकिन वहाँ नहीं, दिल्ली में हुई थी। यह तजवीज़ उसमें हुई थी कि वहाँ जा कर वे उसे देखें। लेकिन मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आया, और न अब ही समझ में आता है कि पहाड़ की चोटियों पर बैठ कर कोई कैसे इसको तय करेगा। वहाँ कोई आबादी तो है नहीं। यह नक्शे की बात है। उनके पास जो कागज़ात हों या हमारे पास जो रिपोर्ट्स हों, उनसे तय हो सकता है। वहाँ पर बैठ कर या पहाड़ों पर घूम कर यह कैसे तय होगा?

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Some time back, perhaps two or three years ago, the Chinese Government had agreed that a representative from its side and a

representative of the Indian Government will go there and put an end to this matter. I wish to know whether the Chinese Government has given up that idea or it is still ready to send a representative there from its side.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Talks were held with the Chinese representative, but in Delhi; not there. It was agreed in that meeting that the place be visited and surveyed. But I could not understand, and even now I cannot understand that how will anybody decide this matter sitting on the mountain peaks. The area is not populated. It is a matter of maps. It can be settled with whatever papers they may have or whatever reports we may have. How will it be decided sitting there or walking about on the mountain?

Translation ends]

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: The hon. Prime Minister has just now said that it has been decided between the Government of China and the Government of India that no armed forces will be allowed at Bara Hoti plateau. If this plateau is within our boundary, may I know the reason why we accepted the condition of the Chinese that our forces also will not go there with arms?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is in our territory; nevertheless, it was a small disputed area. For three or four years, small groups, platoon of the Chinese and platoon of our forces sat there, both facing each other; not exactly coming into conflict but they were sitting there, both of them, and they were camping in the same place. We were discussing, according to the maps and charts what should be the future of this little strip. We agreed that neither party should sit in armed troops to occupy it while we were discussing it.

192. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Occupation of Ladakhi Territory¹³²

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state;

- (a) whether it is a fact that a portion of the Ladakhi territory has been recently occupied by the Chinese forces; and
- (b) if so, the action taken in the matter?¹³³

132. 28 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4793-4800.

133. Question by Radha Mohan Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from UP, and six other MPs.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). There is a large area in Eastern and North-Eastern Ladakh which is practically uninhabited. It is mountainous, and even the valleys are at a high altitude generally exceeding 13,000 ft. To some extent, shepherds use it during the summer months for grazing purposes. The Government of India have some police check-posts in this area, but because of the difficulties of terrain most of these posts are at some distance from the international border.

2. Some reports reached us between October, 1957 and February, 1958 that a Chinese detachment had crossed the international frontier and visited Khurnak Fort, which is within Indian territory. The attention of the Chinese Government was drawn to this, and they were asked to desist from entering our territory. They were also informed of our intention to send a reconnaissance party in that area. It may be mentioned that there is no physical demarcation of the frontier in these mountainous passes, although our maps are quite clear on this subject.

3. Thereafter, at the end of July, 1959, that is, last month, a small Indian reconnaissance police party was sent to this area. As this party consisting of an officer and five others was proceeding towards the Khurnak Fort, it was apprehended by a stronger Chinese detachment on the 28th July, some miles from the border inside our territory. It appeared that the Chinese had established a camp at a place called Spanggur well within Indian territory.

4. On learning of this, a protest was immediately lodged with the Chinese Government of the violation of our frontier and the release of our reconnaissance party was asked for. In their reply, the Chinese claimed that that part of the territory was theirs, but added that they would release the persons who had been apprehended. We sent a further note to them expressing surprise at this claim and giving them the exact delineation of the traditional international frontier in this sector. We urged once again that the Chinese party well within our territory should be withdrawn. No reply has yet been received to this note. Our party was released on the 18th August.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether this place is about fifteen miles within our territory and also whether this is the only place which is under occupation by the Chinese troops or they have occupied some other areas also?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is somewhat difficult to deal with this question, as an adjunct to the main question. Of course, there have been some frontier troubles in two or three places widely separated; and it would be hardly correct to say that our area is under occupation of the Chinese, that is, under any kind of a

fixed occupation. But their patrols have come within our territory two miles or three miles or thereabouts. That is our knowledge, so far as we know.

Shri P.C. Borooah: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the news item published in the Assam Tribune of 26th inst. that one thousand Chinese troops equipped with the most modern weapons entered Indian territory in the NEFA, and the Chinese flag had been hoisted there?

Mr. Speaker: The main question refers to Ladakh.

Shri Goray: On this issue, there is an adjournment motion.

Mr. Speaker: That is all right; but that does not refer to Ladakh. There is no meaning in expanding a particular question.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say that there is likely to be very considerable confusion if we mix up these various areas?

Mr. Speaker: I have got an adjournment motion here on that, and I shall presently be asking the hon. Prime Minister as to what he has to say on that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What the hon. Member has just referred to is an entirely different area, and the statement in the Assam Tribune is entirely wrong, if I may say so.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members will kindly confine themselves to the occupation of the Ladakhi area. There are other questions with respect to the other areas, and we shall come to them.

Shri Goray: May we know whether the Chinese had built a road across this territory joining Gartok with Yarkand and whether this road has been there for the last year or so? It passes through the Ladakhi territory.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, that is in northern Ladakh, not exactly near this place but anyhow in the Ladakhi territory.

About a year or two ago, the Chinese had built a road from Gartok towards Yarkand, that is, Chinese Turkestan; and the report was that this road passed through a corner of our north-eastern Ladakhi territory.

The House will appreciate that these areas are extraordinarily remote, almost

inaccessible, and even if they can be approached, it takes weeks and weeks to march and get there.

In that connection, a reconnaissance party was sent there. I cannot exactly say when, but I think it was a little over a year ago, some time last year; I could give the exact date, but that is immaterial here; this reconnaissance party was sent there. In fact, two parties were sent; one of them did not return and the other returned.

An Hon. Member: What happened to them?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When it did not return, we waited for it for two or three weeks, because these were remote areas. When it did not return, we suspected that it might have been apprehended or captured by Chinese authorities on the border.

So, we addressed the Chinese authorities; this was more than a year ago; we addressed them about a month after this incident; and they said, yes, some of our people had violated their border and come into their territory, and they had been apprehended, but because of their relations with us etc. they were going to release them, and they did release them afterwards, that is, after they had been with them about a month or so. That is concerning this road about which the hon. Member was enquiring. In all this area, there is no actual demarcation. So far as we are concerned, our maps are clear that this is within the territory of the Union of India. It may be that some of the parts are not clearly demarcated or anything like that. But obviously, if there is any dispute over any particular area, that is a matter to be discussed.

I may say that this area has nothing to do with the MacMahon Line. The MacMahon Line does not extend to the Ladakh area. It is only on the other side. This was the boundary of the old Kashmir State with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Nobody had marked it. But after some kind of broad surveys, the then Government had laid down that border which we have been accepting and acknowledging.

Shri Goray: Does it mean that in parts of our country which are inaccessible, any nation can come and build roads and camp there? We just send our parties, they apprehend the parties and because of our good relations, they release them. That is all? The road remains there, the occupation remains there and we do not do anything about it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know if the hon. Member expects me to reply to that. There are two or three types of cases here. These are border and

frontier questions. In regard to some parts of the border, there can be no doubt from any side that it is our border. If anybody violates it, then it is a challenge to us. There are other parts regarding which it is rather difficult to say where the immediate border is, although broadly it may be known. But it is very difficult even in a map to indicate it; if a big line is drawn, that line itself covers three or four miles, one might say, in a major map. Then there are other parts still where, there has been no demarcation in the past. Therefore, it is a matter now – it should be a matter – for consideration of the data etc. by the two parties concerned and decision taken in a normal way, as and when there is some kind of a frontier dispute.

In this particular matter, we have been carrying on since then our correspondence, concerning this particular North-East area, and suggesting that this should be considered by the two Governments.

Shri Vajpayee. The hon. Prime Minister just now said that if anyone occupies our territory, it is a challenge. May I know what positive steps are being taken, or have been taken, to enforce security measures on this border area?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Which border area?

Mr. Speaker: The Ladakh area. All the questions now will be confined to this area.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There are thousands of miles of border. The hon. Member should be a little more specific in his question. If he is referring to this particular corner, the Achin [sic] area, that is an area about some parts of which, if I may say so, it is not quite clear what the position is. It is not at all that particular area. About other area, the position is quite clear. The difficulty comes in regarding some places where there is no absolute certainty about it; in other places, we are quite clear and certain about it. The border is, I believe, 2500 miles long.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed: May I know whether Government's attention has been drawn to a statement of the President, 'Azad' Kashmir, blaming India for the Chinese occupation of Ladakh and urging the Security Council to take over the responsibility of the frontiers of Jammu and Kashmir? If so, what is the reaction of Government to that?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe I did hear about it. I attach no importance to it.

Dr. Sushila Nayar: I would like to know if these troubles on the border are over the same areas of our territory which the Chinese had indicated as their territory in their maps, and if so, the implication thereof.

Mr. Speaker: Any further encroachments within the limits of the map?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This particular question that I answered related to one area. There are other areas too where we have had, and we are, in fact, having some trouble now. I do not want to mix it up with this. Then there will be confusion in one's mind. This is a frontier of over 2,000 miles.

Shri Vajpayee: What is the use of repeating that it is a long frontier? Are we not in a position to defend it?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. No harsh words need be used.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I was only venturing to say that by putting two or three places together, there would be confusion in the Members' minds. Let us take them separately so that they may be separate compartments. There is no question of defence or not. For instance, take the *Assam Tribune's* statement. There is utter confusion in the *Assam Tribune's* mind about various territories which are thousands of miles apart which have nothing to do with each other. It has lumped them up and said – I believe in the statement in the *Assam Tribune* – that 1,000 Chinese came over the Nathula Pass in the Kamerg Frontier Division. It shows utter confusion in the mind of the writer of this. He does not know his geography, although he lives in Assam. It has nothing to do with it. The Nathula Pass is between Sikkim and Tibet and nothing has happened there. Nobody has come across there. It is said that a thousand men came there and put up the Chinese flag. It is completely baseless – I am referring to the statement so far as Nathula Pass is concerned. So far as I know, I have not heard of a Chinese flag being hoisted anywhere there.

As I was saying, there have been cases, and there are continuing cases in one or two places, of Chinese aggression. Therefore, I want to keep these separate so as not to produce confusion in the mind of hon. Members here. If this question is over, I shall proceed to the other question and deal with as they come.

Mr. Speaker: I thought the hon. lady Member wanted to know if any portion of Ladakh is included in the map prepared by the Chinese Government and if this is beyond that line even with respect to Ladakh. That was that [sic] I thought when I allowed the supplementary.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese Government's maps are on such a small scale and in broad splashes that some parts of Ladakh appear to be included in them. But they are not accurate enough. What we are discussing, and the question which I have answered, relates to about two or three miles. Two or three miles are not visible in those maps. But it is a fact that part of Ladakh is broadly covered by the wide sweep of their maps.

Some Hon. Members rose.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I know if the camps that have been put up by the Chinese have been removed?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Next question.

193. In the Lok Sabha: Situation on the Northern Border¹³⁴

Mr. Speaker; I have received notices of some adjournment motions from Shri Hem Barua, Shri Goray, Shri Braj Raj Singh, Shri Harish Chandra Sharma,¹³⁵ Shri Vajpayee and another hon. Member. Shri Hem Barua's motion relates to this.

"The serious threat to peace and solidarity of our North-East Frontier arising out of the reported entry of about 1,000 Chinese troops into the Indian territory through Nathu La Pass on the Kameng Frontier Division, NEFA, and the hoisting of the Chinese Flag on the Indian side, recently."

Now, the other four relate to the same matter.

Shri Vajpayee: (Balrampur): My adjournment motion does not relate to this matter because it has already been contradicted by the hon. Prime Minister.¹³⁶

Mr. Speaker: Very well, Shri Goray's is the same thing.

134. 28 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4860-4871.

135. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Jaipur, Rajasthan.

136. See item 192.

Shri Goray (Poona): It is different, Sir. As the Prime Minister has pointed out, there were some mistakes about location and all that. I have said that in the Subanseri and Kameng division [sic] of Nepal there have been incursions of Chinese troops. Some of our patrols have been pushed back. My information is that they were disarmed and thrown out. We want to know what is the policy of the Government because it is a very grave question and it is likely to affect the politics not only of this country but other countries also in South-East Asia. So, I would like this whole question to be discussed. Let the House know where it stands. The Prime Minister said that if we want to take any firm action, this House will have to bear the burden. We are ready to bear the burden but let us know for what we are asked to bear it.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Hem Barua refers to the NEFA territory and the Kameng Frontier Division and the hoisting of the Chinese Flag on the Indian side. Shri Goray included Subanseri and Kameng Division of Nepal adjoining Tibet. He also says:

“It would appear that the Chinese troops have undertaken a systematic probing of our frontiers in Ladakh and Nepal.”

Shri Braj Raj Singh has included Ladakh and says:

“...unless checked might prove harmful to the country's safety.”

Shri Vajpayee's motion reads:

“To discuss the explosive situation arising out of the reported exchange of fire between Chinese forces and Indian border pickets in NEFA area recently.”

Then, there is another one. I did not even propose to read this but all the same it is connected with this.

Shri Kamble's¹³⁷ motion reads:

“Alleged extensive probing by Chinese forces of India's defences and the vacillating and indeterminate attitude of Union Government (Ministry of Defence) resulting in (i) complete absence of policy and (ii) not taking the Parliament into confidence.”

137. There are two persons with the name Kamble in the Lok Sabha: Bapu Chandrasen Kamble, Independent, MP from Kopergaon-SC, Bombay; and Dr Devrao Namdevrao Pathrika Kamble, Congress, MP from Nanded-SC, Bombay.

So, they are all related to the alleged disturbances and incursions by the Chinese troops in many places in the NEFA area. In one or two motions, Ladakh and Nepal are also included. We had enough discussion regarding Ladakh and Nepal. Now, the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): About the Nathu La Pass...

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. After all, the hon. Member can depend only on newspaper reports. Let us hear the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Hem Barua: I just want to say a word. I am very happy the Prime Minister has contradicted this news, because we do not want this sort of awkward interventions. About the Nathu La Pass the Prime Minister said that it does not lie there. The newspaper also has not mentioned that the Nathu La Pass is lying there. The only thing that that newspaper has said is that it has to pass through the Nathu La Pass, and that is the Pass which was used by Dalai Lama while he entered into this country.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Hem Barua: That might be a mistake, but the paper has not said that it is lying there.

Shri C.D. Pande (Naini Tal): Some mistake in geography.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I can very well understand the anxiety of the House to have information as fully as possible about this situation on our border areas. It is rather difficult for me to deal with these various adjournment motions as they are often based on wrong names, wrong areas, wrong locations. So instead of my endeavouring to deal with each adjournment motion, I shall give some specific information.

Shri Hem Barua's motion is completely upside down – one name here, one place there – and has no connection with the events or anything. He has derived it from some paper. (Interruption). Sir, may I continue?

In the course of the last two or three years, sometimes, not very frequently, there have been cases of some kind of petty intrusion on our border areas by some platoon or something of the Chinese troops, which was nothing very extraordinary, because there is no demarcation at all and parties sometimes may cross. We drew the attention of the Chinese Government in 1957-58 to this and they withdrew; there the matter ended.

One instance I have already quoted, which was a more serious one. In Ladakh last year, a small police party was apprehended by them, and that matter is still under dispute or under correspondence. Now, in June this year, the Chinese Government protested to us that Indian troops had shelled and intruded into Chinese territory by occupying a place on the border, Migyitun, and some other place along the frontier – this is Tibet-NEFA – and they accused us that our troops had entered into some kind of collusion with the Tibetan rebel forces or “bandits”, as they call them, carrying on illegal activities against the People’s Government of China. We replied that there is no truth in this allegation, and we expressed surprise that the Chinese Government should give credence to these wrong allegations. Ultimately nothing happened there. We stayed where we were, and there was some dispute about the line.

Now, there are two matters that I would particularly like to mention; one, of course, is of very considerable importance and it is topical now. I shall come to it later. The first one is that on the 7th August an armed Chinese patrol, approximately 200 strong, violated our border at Khinzemane north of Chuthangmu in the Kameng Frontier Division. When requested to withdraw, they pushed back, actually physically pushed back, our greatly out-numbered patrol to a bridge at Drokung Samba. Our people consisted of ten or a dozen policemen and they were about 200, about ten times us. They actually physically pushed our men back. There was no firing. Later on, the Chinese detachment withdrew and our forces again established themselves. All this was over a question of about two miles. I might say, according to us, there is an international border. Two miles on this side is this bridge and two miles on that side is our picket or the small force. So, our patrol party was pushed back to the bridge and two miles away they stood facing each other. Then both retired. It is not quite clear to me why they did so; it is a mountain and perhaps during night time both the forces retired. Whatever it was later on the Chinese withdrew and our picket went back to the frontier and established a small picket there. The Chinese patrol arrived later and demanded immediate withdrawal of our picket and lowering of our flag there. This request was refused. Then there was some attempt by the Chinese forces to outflank our people, but so far as we know our people remained there and nothing further happened; that is, on the border itself. That is one instance which happened about two weeks ago.

The present incident I am talking about is a very recent one and, in fact, is a continuing one. On the 25th August, that is three days ago, a strong Chinese detachment crossed into our territory in the Subansiri Frontier Division at a place south of Migyitun and opened fire. Hon. Members will remember, I just mentioned Migyitun in connection with the Chinese protest that we have violated their territory and were in collusion with some Tibetan rebels. That was their

protest made in June last, and there the matter ended. Now, round about that area, a little further away but not far from it, this Chinese detachment came and met, some distance away, our forward picket of about a dozen persons. It is said that they fired at our forward picket. They were much larger in numbers; it is difficult to say in what numbers, but they were in some hundreds, 200, 300 or, may be, even more. They surrounded this forward picket which consisted of 12 men – 1 N.C.O. and 11 Riflemen of the Assam Rifles. They apparently apprehended this lot. Later, apparently, 8 of these 11 Riflemen managed to escape. They came back to our outpost. The outpost is at a place called Longju. Longju is about 3 or 4 miles from our frontier between Tibet and India as we conceive it. Longju is five days' march from another post of ours in the interior, a little bigger post called Limeking. Limeking is about 12 days' march from the next place behind it. So, in a way, this Longju is about three weeks' march from a road-head. I merely mention this to give the House some idea of communications, transport, distance and time taken. I was saying, on the 25th they captured this forward picket of ours, but 8 of them, having been captured, apparently, escaped and came back on the 26th the next day. The Chinese again came and opened fire and practically encircled this picket and the post. In fact they came forward and encircled this post, Longju, and although there was firing for a considerable time, we had no account of any casualties. Our people apparently fired back too. When those people were more or less surrounded at Longju they left that picket and withdrew under this overwhelming pressure. This has happened only the day before yesterday evening. So, we have not been able to get any exact particulars of what has happened.

The moment this information came, we immediately protested to the Chinese Government about it and took certain other steps in that area to strengthen our various posts, Limeking and others, as we thought necessary and feasible. We have, in fact, placed all this border area of NEFA directly under our military authorities. That is to say, it was dealt with by the Assam Rifles under the Assam Rifles Directorate which has been functioning under the Governor and the Governor was the agent of the Government of India in the External Affairs Ministry. The Assam Rifles will of course remain there and such other forces as will be necessary will be sent but they will function now under the army authorities and their headquarters.

All these have taken a little time. As I pointed out, it takes weeks. In this particular place, Longju, I imagine that this small picket of ours – it was probably altogether about 38 – may have run short of ammunition because there was no supply coming in. We tried to send supplies by air. They were dropped but they missed them. It is a mountainous area; it is not easy. It is slightly risky to send para-troopers there, risky to the men in those mountainous areas. We do not

think it was desirable or worthwhile to do so at that place, – dangerous. Anyhow, we have taken such steps as were feasible.

In fact, while I was sitting here, I have heard from our Ambassador from Peking. When he handed over this note to the Chinese authorities, the reply was that their information was different. The Director said that the information that the Chinese Government had received was contained in the note handed over to Kannampilly,¹³⁸ one of our men there. Regarding the incident at Migyitun according to their report, it was the Indians who fired first; the Chinese frontier guards had opened fire only in self-defence. They had received no information yet of the clash at Longju on the 26th August. This is the Chinese answer. The Director said that the situation in this sector of the border was tense because Indian troops were continuously pushing forward. We see here the same kind of language, repetition of the reports we have, say, between India and Pakistan; that is, we make a statement and an exactly opposite, contrary statement is made by the other side, as to who started firing.

I confess that in these matters I give credence to our own reports and I believe it is true because I would rather believe my own men who are there and who are trained men not used to exaggeration and also because the circumstantial evidence also supports their account. In fact, our Ambassador pointed this out to the Chinese people. So, that is the position. While I do not wish to take an alarmist view of the situation – in themselves these are minor incidents [–] it is a little difficult to understand what lies behind these minor incidents. In any event, we have to be vigilant and protect our borders as best as we can.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): I think we must have a two hour discussion for this subject.

Shri Goray: The point is this. It is not a question of taking any alarmist view of the position or anything like that. The real issue is about what is happening in Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and in NEFA. The Prime Minister said that these localities are separated from each other by hundreds of miles. It is true, but it seems that the guiding hand behind them is the same. Therefore, the question is, what is our evaluation of the Chinese policy towards us. As I said, it is not a question of the effect it produces on us. If India fails to do its duty, I suppose the next will be Burma. After that, it will be Indonesia. It may then be Laos. All these South-East Asian countries look to us for guidance and if we fail to protect our borders, do you mean

138. Karunakara Menon Kannampilly, Counsellor, Indian Embassy, Peking, 1958-61.

to say that smaller countries will derive encouragement? Therefore, I want this House to discuss this matter thoroughly and the House should be taken into confidence.

Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar): Are all these incidents an indication that there is a Chinese design to determine the border as is shown in the map of theirs by saying that they have come under their occupation? If one studies all the incidents – I have tried to study them – it is an indication that this is part of such a design. Their maps show that all these portions are theirs, – a transgression of the so-called MacMahon line. So, is it an indication of the Chinese design to occupy them and say, “This is the border between India and China?”

Shri B. Das Gupta¹³⁹ (Purulia): In view of the incidents off and on in Ladakh, etc., may I ask whether any proposal has been sent to the Chinese Government for any talks regarding this matter between the two Governments?

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Sasaram): Regarding the check post, the Prime Minister said that it is very difficult to drop paratroopers. May I know whether it is possible – I do not want to suggest that it should be done straightaway – to bomb that area in order to extricate it from Chinese heads?

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): May I know whether this incursion into NEFA which has been repeated in quick succession is due to the cartographic inaccuracy in the maps about which we have complained to the Chinese Government and the Chinese Government have told us that this is the handiwork of the Chiang Kai-shek regime?

Mr. Speaker: That is the same as Shri Khadilkar's point.

Pandit Govind Malaviya¹⁴⁰ (Sultanpur): Our Prime Minister has clearly indicated the general attitude of the Government in this matter. We are in a delicate situation where, on the one hand, China is a friend of ours and we have a broad foreign policy which has the approval of every section of the

139. Bibhuti Bhushan Das Gupta, Manbhum Lok Sevak Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Purulia, West Bengal.

140. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

House, and on the other, we have got to safeguard our frontiers. I wonder whether this going into minute details will help anybody or the Opposition. Why should we raise questions about these details and small things here and there? The problem is a big one. Can we not at present leave matters to the Government in such big questions and can we not have one policy on such big matters? In internal matters, we may have different policies but on matters of national honour, let us maintain a unanimous stand.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member may kindly leave it to the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: On the question of broad policies, well, broad policies are in our mind. We have to face here a particular situation. Any country which has to face that situation has to stand up to it. There can be no doubt about it. There is no alternative for us but to defend our country's borders and integrity [sic] having said that, at the same time, we must not, as often happens in such cases, become alarmist and panicky and thereby take wrong action.

Obviously, apart from some past information, I have given the latest information to the House, including the telegram, which came to me while I was sitting here. In this telegram, apart from other things, our ambassador has said:

"I pointed out that four persons" – it is really three – "were still missing as a result of the incident of the 25th August and that on the 26th August, Chinese troops had overrun Longju, which the Chinese knew very well to be within Indian territory. I reiterated our Government's wish that the Chinese Government should take immediate steps to see that there was no assertion of supposed claims by force. Differences should be settled by negotiations."

We have taken the line that minor border incidents and border differences should be settled by negotiations. We must distinguish between this and that broad approach of the Chinese maps which have with a stroke of the brush coloured hundreds of miles of Indian territory. That is totally and manifestly unacceptable and we have made it clear. We stick to the MacMahon line. But it is quite another thing that in this long line there may be minor arguments about a mile here or a mile there. Those arguments have been there before the Chinese came to Tibet. Even with the Tibetan authorities, these arguments about a mile of grazing ground here or there have been there. We admit that these are differences which exist and which should be settled. We think we are right but let us sit round a conference table and settle them. We are prepared to take up any matter like that, but when it comes to huge chunks of territory, it is not a

matter for discussion.

The one or two instances that I have stated are, again, according to us, clearly intrusion into our territory. But suppose that there is some question of a Tibetan or Chinese case about a mile here or there well, we are prepared to discuss it. But from such information as we have received and which I have placed before the House, when their forces come, envelop our check-posts and capture them after firing, it is not the normal peaceful way of approaching these questions, even if there is a dispute. Therefore, this matter becomes a much more serious one than some incidental or accidental border affray.

I think Shri Khadilkar or someone else asked about what lies behind this. I cannot say. It is not fair for me to guess – it will be guess work, of course – but I cannot imagine that all this is a precursor to anything more serious. It seems to me so foolish for anybody, including the Chinese Government, to function in that way, and I do not give them the credit or rather the discredit for folly. Therefore, I do not think they will do it. But so far as we are concerned, we should naturally be prepared for any eventuality and without fuss or shouting keep vigilant.

Some hon. Member, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, I think, gave me some advice and gave some advice to our military as to how they should act, where they should air-drop and where they should not. These are things for them to consider, not for us, as to where it is possible, where it is desirable or where it is not.

An hon. Member suggested a discussion on this. I am always in favour of a discussion in this House, but I do not see how a discussion in this case will serve anyone's purpose. When things are happening, I shall place the facts before the House as they take place and if any step is to be indicated, I shall place that also before the House.

Shri Vajpayee: May I suggest that the Government should issue a White Paper detailing all these developments, our border dispute with the Chinese and this cartographic aggression, so that world opinion may be well-informed?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am prepared to consider that. It will take a little time to issue such a paper.

Mr. Speaker: In view of the elaborate statement made by the hon. Prime Minister, I do not think it is desirable that I should give consent for discussion on these adjournment motions. Consent is refused.

194. To Subimal Dutt: Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong¹⁴¹

I have read these notes. The Chinese Chargé complained about not being permitted to buy a house in Kalimpong.¹⁴² That is correct. He also said something about the plans for building their Chancery in the Diplomatic Enclave in Delhi which, according to him, were sent four or six months ago. All the answer he got was that the plan was not approved for want of Government concurrence, whatever that might mean. I think this matter should be inquired into. There is no reason why we should come in the way of their building their Chancery or Embassy. If there is any technical hitch, this should be removed.

195. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: China, Eisenhower, Macmillan¹⁴³

No. Primin-21138.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit from Prime Minister.

You must have received full text of my statement in Parliament about Chinese intrusion on our frontiers adjoining Tibet.¹⁴⁴ Also telegram from Foreign Secretary explaining our position. No further developments have taken place on the frontiers. We shall keep you informed. What has happened is no doubt serious and we are taking such measures as we can. We should avoid treating it as immediate grave crisis.

2. I see from newspapers that you are meeting President Eisenhower tomorrow.¹⁴⁵ Please convey my greetings to him and repeat our invitation to him to come to India whenever it is convenient to him.¹⁴⁶ You may also briefly tell him about our frontier developments on basis of information you possess.

3. Please convey following message on my behalf to Macmillan.

141. Note, 29 August 1959.

142. See also SWJN/SS/50/item 158.

143. Telegram, 30 August 1959.

144. See item 193.

145. President Eisenhower arrived in London on 27 August on a five-day visit to the UK. *The Times*, 28 August 1959.

146. See item 210.

Begins.

My dear Prime Minister,

Day before yesterday I made a full statement in our Parliament about certain developments on our northern frontier with Tibet. This must have come to your notice. These recent happenings are really culmination of progressive Chinese unfriendliness towards India. The situation is causing us concern but I do not expect any major crisis arising in the near future. It is very difficult for us to know what the Chinese authorities may have in mind except that they are angry with us chiefly because of our treatment of the Dalai Lama and our general attitude about Tibet. I do not think, however, that they are likely to take any extreme step.

Our frontiers with Tibet are remote and difficult of access from our side. It takes nearly a month to reach the affected regions by bridle path through forests and across high mountains. To some extent, it is possible to airdrop men and supplies in places not too far from the frontier though even this can be done only in a limited number of places because of the difficult terrain. We are, however, taking steps to guard our frontiers.

While we shall take a firm line on this issue, we shall try to avoid any step which might lead to a break with China. We have to keep in view not only present but the future also and it would be most unfortunate if the relations of India and China became permanently hostile to each other. Our frontier with the Chinese State extends to about 2,500 miles.

The question of taking the Tibet issue to the United Nations has been raised. Some people may even say that the present Chinese intrusion across our borders might also be taken to the United Nations. We do not propose to do so as we feel this will not serve any useful purpose and might only make matters worse. I shall keep you informed of important developments directly or through your High Commissioner here.¹⁴⁷

Kind regards,

Jawaharlal.

Ends.

147. Malcolm MacDonald.

196. In the Rajya Sabha: Chinese Road Construction in Ladakh¹⁴⁸

Shri D.P. Singh:¹⁴⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased, to state:

- (a) whether the report which appeared in the Times of India (Delhi edition) of August 26, 1959, that the Chinese have built a road across Indian territory in Ladakh,¹⁵⁰ is correct;
- (b) if so, when the road was built and how much Indian territory is involved in the construction of the road;
- (c) when Government learnt about this encroachment by the Chinese on Indian territory; and
- (d) what steps have so far been taken by Government to drive out the Chinese from the Indian territory occupied by them?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) to (d). According to an announcement made in China, the Yecheng-Gartok Road, which is also called the Sinkiang-Tibet Highway, was completed in September 1957. Our attention was drawn to a very small scale map, about $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, published in a Chinese newspaper, indicating the rough alignment of the road. It was not possible to find out from this small map whether this road crossed Indian territory although it looked as if it did so. It was decided, therefore, to send reconnaissance parties in the following Summer to find out the alignment of this road. Two reconnaissance parties were accordingly sent last year. One of these parties was taken into custody by a superior Chinese detachment. The other returned and gave us some rough indication of this newly constructed road in the Aksai Chin area. According to their report, this road enters Indian territory in the south near Sarigh Jilganang lake and runs north-west leaving Indian territory near Hajilangar in the north-west corner of Ladakh.

2. Representations were made to the Chinese Government in a note presented to the Chinese Ambassador at New Delhi on the 18th October, 1958, drawing their attention to the construction of the road through Indian territory and the arrest of 15 members of the Indian reconnaissance party within the Indian border. The Chinese Government in their reply, presented on the 1st

148. 31 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-24, cols 2281-2288.

149. Devendra Prasad Singh, PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

150. The newspaper reported Chinese construction of a road in Aksai Chin in 1958 linking Gartok in western Tibet with Yarkand and Kashgar in Sinkiang, and GOI's first information about this when an Indian party were arrested and released in 1959.

November, 1958, notified the release of the party and claimed that the road ran through Chinese territory. A further note expressing our surprise at the Chinese contention was presented to the Chinese authorities on the 8th November, 1958. Reminders have been given subsequently. No further answers have been received.

3. The Aksai Chin area has a general elevation of over 17,000 ft.

The entire Ladakh area including Aksai Chin became a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State as a result of a treaty signed in 1842 on behalf of Maharaja Gulab Singh on the one side and the Lama Gurusahib of Lahsa [sic] – this is the name written in the agreement which I am quoting – and the representative of the Emperor of China on the other. Ever since then this area has been a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Various attempts at demarcating the boundary between J&K State and Tibet were made subsequently by British officers. The Chinese Government was asked to send their representatives to co-operate in this work. They did not take part. The Chinese Commissioner, however, stated on the 13th January, 1847 as follows:-

“I beg to observe that the borders of these territories have been sufficiently and distinctly fixed so that it would be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement, and it will prove far more convenient to abstain from any additional measures for fixing them.”

The British officers were also of the same opinion. Although no actual demarcation was made on the ground, maps were prepared on the basis of old usage and convention. These maps have been used in India for the last hundred years or so. They include the Aksai Chin region as part of Ladakh. Since the boundary of the Aksai Chin region with China-Tibet has not been marked on the ground, once or twice questions have been raised about the exact alignment of this boundary. Old Chinese maps have shown a different alignment.

Shri D.P. Singh: May I know, Sir, why Parliament was not taken into confidence earlier in regard to this matter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There was not much to take into confidence about, Sir. This was – I gave the date – about November last, and we sent them our protest and subsequent reminders. This is an area peculiarly suited, obviously, for some kind of consultations and decision as to the facts, because the facts are very complicated, the Chinese claiming that area. In fact, without our knowledge they have made a road in that extreme corner and we have been dealing with it in correspondence. No particular occasion arose to bring the matter to the House, because we thought that we might make progress by correspondence and when the time was ripe for it we would inform Parliament.

Shri D.P. Singh: In view of the fact that the Chinese claim that this admittedly Indian territory is within their frontier and that our protest was lodged as far back as July or August 1958, and in view of the fact that the Chinese claim is unjustified and no reply has been sent to the Indian Government, does not the Government contemplate ousting the Chinese from this Indian territory by force? Will not the Government of India at least consider the advisability of bombing the road, built in our territory, out of existence?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. Government will not consider that course, because that is not the way Government would like to function in such matters. The hon. Member started by saying that this is admittedly Indian territory, but the Chinese would not agree to it. That is a contradiction in terms. As a matter of fact, it is Indian territory and we claim it so because we think that the weight of evidence is in our favour – maps etc. But the Chinese produce their own maps, equally old, which are in their favour. And the territory is sterile. It has been described as a barren, uninhabited region without a vestige of grass and 17,000 ft. high.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: And the hon. Member wants it to be bombed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In places like this, decisions can only be made by conferences by agreement. Countries do not – should not go to war without proceeding in those other ways over such matters.

Shri D.P. Singh: What are we to do when the Chinese Government does not even answer our protest sent as far back as August or so.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member's dates are not quite correct. They did send an answer, and we sent an answer to that.

Mr. Chairman: The last was on 8th November, 1958. After that did you send any reminders?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: After that we sent them reminders to which they did not send an answer. That is true.

Shri V.K. Dhage: In spite of reminders?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In spite of reminders. We can only send further reminders.

Dr. Raghubir Sinh:¹⁵¹ The hon. Prime Minister said there are some old Chinese maps in which this territory has been shown to be our territory ...

Several Hon. Members: No, as their territory.

Dr. Raghubir Sinh: Oh, then I am sorry.

Shri T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:¹⁵² Pending their reply, Sir, may I know whether the building of this road has been stopped?

Mr. Chairman: The road has been built, I think.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The road was built. Roads in these areas, Sir, are rather of a peculiar type. In these very high areas the ground is so hard, harder than normal cement, and the only thing you have to do to build a road is to even the ground a little and remove stones and shrubs. I cannot even now say when it was built. But reports about it, as I said, reached us from a small Chinese map two years ago. There is also from the Chinese point of view, another question that arises, i.e. whether it is part of Chinese Sinkiang or part of Tibet, because according to some Chinese claims, it belongs to Chinese Sinkiang – some old claims which were advanced later on.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know whether there are any persons under arrest with the Chinese still?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: They have all been let off.

Shri D.P. Singh: May I know whether Government have received any further reports to say that the Chinese have extended their occupation and control over larger areas than when we got information first about this road?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Not about that particular area, Sir, but I think there is another question, I am not quite sure ...

Mr. Chairman: There is another question?

151. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

152. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is different. There is no question about that. There was a report this month, in August, not about this area, but an area near Ladakh, a considerable distance away from this area, on the eastern area of Ladakh border of Tibet, where a Chinese detachment was seen by a reconnaissance party, a small Indian patrol in that area; and ultimately I think 7, 8 or 10 persons – I do not remember the number – were apprehended by the Chinese and later released. The same claim arises here, they say it is their territory and we say it is ours. And the matter arose, as I said, this month and we are carrying on correspondence about that territory. These places are not demarcated on the land. We go by our maps which the Chinese do not recognise and they go presumably by their maps, whatever they have. And this was four or five miles according to our maps, may be seven or eight miles, I am not sure, where the Chinese patrol came. And we are told that they have established a small check post a little within our side of the international border there, just on the eastern Ladakh border of Tibet. This is near a place called Chusun near which we have one of our own check posts.

Shri Jaswant Singh: The Prime Minister stated a little while ago that this portion of Ladakh is absolutely desolate and unfertile and that not even a blade of grass grows there. Even then, China is attaching importance to that area and is building a road there. I would like to know, when China is attaching so much of importance to this desolate bit of land, why, when the territory is ours or is under dispute even, we do not attach any importance to this area?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I talked only about the Yehcheng area, not about the whole of Ladakh although the whole of Ladakh, broadly speaking, is 11,000 to 17,000 and 20,000 feet high. Presumably the Chinese attach importance to this area because of the fact that this route connects part of Chinese Turkestan with Gartok-Yehcheng. This is an important connection.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Singh: May I know whether Government has any check posts on that Ladakh border?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have some check posts. For instance, I have just mentioned a check post called Chusun. It is not only a check post but is an improvised airfield where some four years ago I happened to go also.

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान: क्या यह सच है कि यू. पी. के अलमोड़ा साइड पर जहाँ तिब्बत का बॉर्डर मिलता है वहाँ भी चीनियों ने भारत की सरहद पर एक-आध जगह पर कब्ज़ा

कर लिया है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जी नहीं, हमारे इल्म में नहीं हुआ।

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Is it true that even on the Almora side of U.P., which borders Tibet, the Chinese have occupied one or two places on the Indian border?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, sir, in our information this has not been done.

Translation ends]

197. In the Rajya Sabha: Chinese Incursion in NEFA¹⁵³

Diwan Chaman Lall:¹⁵⁴

Shri V.K. Dhage:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether there have been any incursions by Chinese nationals on Indian territory in North East Frontier Agency during the last few days; and if so, what is the position in regard to this matter?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): On the 7th August 1959, an armed Chinese patrol entered Indian territory by crossing the border at Khinzemane in the Kameng Frontier Division of N.E.F.A. They pushed back our patrol, which was greatly out-numbered, a mile or two to a small bridge at Drokung Samba. Later the Chinese detachment withdrew.

2. On the 14th August another Chinese patrol tried to out-flank Khinzemane, but did not succeed and withdrew. We have had no further reports from this area since then and it may, therefore, be assumed that our position at this border remains undisturbed.

3. There was another Chinese incursion into Indian territory in a different area in the N.E.F.A. on the 25th August. This was in the Subansiri Frontier Division a little south of Mygitun and slightly beyond Longju where there was

153. 31 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 14-24, cols 2288-92.

154. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

an Indian outpost. This Chinese detachment came up against an Indian forward picket and opened fire on them. This Indian picket consisted of 1 N.C.O. and 10 Riflemen of the Assam Rifles. Our picket was apprehended by the Chinese, but later eight of the eleven Riflemen managed to escape to our outpost at Longju. On the 26th August, the Chinese troops approached Longju and opened fire on our post. It appears that our men at this post had to abandon their position on being encircled. We have had no further information of subsequent developments in this area.

4. We protested immediately to the Chinese Government about this intrusion of their troops into Indian territory and their opening fire on our men. The Chinese Government have themselves lodged a protest with us based on the allegation that our armed troops intruded into their territory south of Mygitun and opened fire on their guards at this place. According to this Chinese note, the Chinese frontier guards fired back in self defence. In this Chinese note it is also mentioned that the dead body of an Indian was recovered by them. I may add, Sir, that since this reply was drafted, the reply that I have just read out, we have received some little further information from two of our men from Longju who were contacted and, according to them, our party had come away from Longju, about two days' march from Longju and had established a forward post at Gallen. It is not clear whether the Chinese patrols have occupied Longju or are merely moving round about it.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask whether it is a fact that some more incursions have taken place recently? There were some reports in the press to the effect that some more outposts belonging to the Assam Rifles have been occupied. Is that statement correct?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have no information on that subject and on the whole, we get fairly quick information about the N.E.F.A. border and I should imagine that these reports are not correct.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know what steps are being taken to prevent such incursions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is hardly possible for me to tell the House what military or like steps we have taken in such matters. It is not possible, if I may put it that way, to prevent an incursion over a two thousand mile frontier but it is possible to take some steps to repulse that incursion or to strengthen our defences but the House should remember that while it is our duty, of course, to defend our borders and to strengthen them and thus protect the integrity of

India, one does not normally, in the case of big countries, suddenly start as if there was a war between them and hit out all round. One considers these things and one tries to settle matters by talks etc. At the same time, one defends oneself at the time of an attack. It does not obviously make very much of a difference physically to China or to India whether a mile or two in the high mountains belongs to them or to us but it does matter very much if a treaty is broken or an aggressive attitude is taken. Where these matters occur, we have to follow a double policy, one, of course, of defence, and the other, always to settle these matters by conferences.

Shri H.P. Saksena:¹⁵⁵ May I know, Sir, if the Government of India look upon these unprovoked incursions by the Chinese into our territory as friendly acts?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Prima facie, it would appear that they are not very friendly.

Shri M.H. Samuel: Is there any information about the eight men who escaped from Longju? Have they reported back to any of our outposts?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that two of them were contacted and they gave us some information. I do not quite know where the remaining six are. It is possible that they may be with our other men. It is very difficult. We can get information from an outpost but people in between two outposts cannot send messages.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether, in regard to this particular territory where incursions have been made by the Chinese, there is any doubt about the ownership of the territory, or, are we certain that it belongs to us?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, the Chinese not only doubt it but claim ownership of that particular strip. I do not know how far it is correct but they claim that particular strip and they said to our men that that strip belongs to them. Whether they are justified in doing so or not is another matter.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask whether it is possible for the Prime Minister to indicate the reasons why the Chinese have taken to this aggressive action

155. Har Prasad Saksena, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

against us in these areas at this time?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obviously a matter of conjecture. First of all, I would like to distinguish between the position in the North-East and the position in Ladakh. The position in Ladakh is different from the position in the North-Eastern Frontier Agency and these borders. All these borders are parts of the so called MacMahon Line. If you accept the MacMahon Line you accept all that frontier really from Burma onwards to a good long way, to Nepal. That does not apply to the Ladakh border which was for all these long years under the Jammu and Kashmir State and nobody knew exactly what was happening there although some British officers went a hundred years ago and drew a line and the Chinese did not accept that line. That matter is clearly one for consideration and debate but that does not apply to this area. Here there was a MacMahon Line and undoubtedly this is in our view a clear case of aggression. Why they have done so, I cannot naturally say exactly. It is a conjecture.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: May I know whether the hon. Prime Minister agrees with the impression of the Communist Party in India when they say that they are only acts of slight misunderstanding between the two countries and they are nothing unfriendly or nothing over which we should be worried – these incursions into NEFA borders?

(No reply)

(c) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

198. To Swaran Singh: Soviet Credit¹⁵⁶

August 1, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,¹⁵⁷

When you and Manubhai Shah went to Moscow,¹⁵⁸ you discussed with the Soviet authorities the question of Soviet credits for our Five Year Plan and also related matters, such as our supply of goods etc. Since then, as you know, the Soviet have agreed to give us a credit of Rs. 180 crores. They have agreed to

156. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

157. Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

158. In May 1959; see SWJN/SS/50/item 163, fn 64.

describe this as some kind of an initial help. B.K. Nehru will be going to Moscow some time later this month to discuss certain terms of this credit. Before going to Moscow, he will come to Delhi and will discuss these matters with us. His talks with Moscow will principally relate to terms of the credit, that is, conditions of re-payment etc.

The real question, however, is how we are to utilise this credit, and how we are to fit it in with our major developmental schemes. Obviously, the Soviet credit will be in the shape of capital goods supplied. What thought are we giving to this matter and what are we doing about the goods that we might supply? I suppose the Planning Commission comes into the picture as well as our Commerce & Industry Ministry.

K.D. Malaviya was telling me a day or two ago that the Soviet Ambassador¹⁵⁹ referred to this subject and asked if a part of this credit could be utilised for oil development. I think he even hinted at the figure of Rs. 40 crores.

I am writing to you just to find out how we are approaching these questions. There has to be naturally a joint and coordinated approach and, a little later, probably some person or persons will have to go to Moscow to discuss these matters.¹⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

199. To N.S. Khrushchev: Soviet Offer of Credit¹⁶¹

3rd August, 1959

My dear Mr. Khrushchev,

Your new Ambassador in Delhi, Mr. I.A. Benediktov, gave me your letter of June 15, when he came to see me on arrival here towards the end of the month of June.¹⁶² You will, I hope, forgive me for this delay in answering that letter. I was hoping that we might make an announcement first about your generous offer of credit to India, before I sent you an answer. That announcement was made a few days ago.

We are very grateful to you for your offer to grant India a new credit of 1.5 thousand million roubles (Rs. 1.8 thousand millions) in connection with

159. I.A. Benediktov.

160. See Swaran Singh's reply, 4 August 1959, Appendix 17.

161. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

162. See SWJN/SS/49/item 168.

our Third Five Year Plan. This generous credit will be of great help to us in implementing some of the many schemes that we are including in this plan. This also will further consolidate the friendship and cooperation between our countries.

We hope to send our representative before long to Moscow to discuss some of the details connected with this credit. We look forward with pleasure to this continuing and ever-growing cooperation between our countries. As you know, we are anxious to build up an independent national economy which can develop enough dynamism for it to become a self-generating one. We hope also that we shall be able to bring about a considerable expansion of trade between our countries.

I am very grateful to you and your Government for the hospitality and courtesy shown to my colleagues Mr. Swaran Singh and Mr. Manubhai Shah. On their return, they told me of their talks in Moscow and of their visits to various industrial enterprises and collective farms in the Soviet Union which impressed them greatly. It is our hope that we shall be able to profit in our own development from the great experience of the Soviet Union.

We have followed with anxious interest the talks of the Foreign Ministers at Geneva. They do not appear to have been as satisfactory as we had hoped. Nevertheless, I feel that they have served some good purpose and that they may lead to a further relaxation of tension and a meeting of the Heads of Governments of the Great Powers.

We have welcomed your new Ambassador, Mr. I.A. Benediktov, who is an old friend as he was in Delhi previously for some time.¹⁶³

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

163. He was Ambassador to India briefly in 1953.

200. To MEA: Conversation with the Soviet Ambassador¹⁶⁴

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me this afternoon. He gave me a cheque for Rs. 80,000/- on behalf of the Soviet Red Cross Societies for flood relief.¹⁶⁵ I have passed this cheque on to my PPS.

2. The Ambassador then referred to UNESCO and said that the present Director-General, an Italian,¹⁶⁶ was very ill and not expected to recover or, at any rate, to do any further work there. Therefore, the question of his successor was going to arise soon. On the last occasion, an Indian name had been put forward.¹⁶⁷ The Soviet Government would be glad to support Indian candidature for this post. If an Indian did not stand, they would like to support any other person recommended by India and coming from some Asian country, preferably a neutral Asian country. I told the Ambassador that I did not even know that the present Director-General of UNESCO was ill and, therefore, the question of his successor had not come up before me. Naturally when it comes up, we shall have to give consideration to this matter. He asked me to inform him of our decision whenever it was taken. I agreed to do so.

3. He then asked me what subjects we were bringing up before the United Nations General Assembly in September. He had heard that among these subjects were treatment of Indians in South Africa, the question of representation of the Chinese People's Republic in the UN, and Algeria.

4. I told him that it was true that we were bringing the South African question and the Chinese question before the UN and we had given notice accordingly.¹⁶⁸ As for Algeria, we were in favour of a discussion in the General Assembly and we had joined a number of other countries in making this request. Some Asian-African countries had also made a request for the Algerian question to be taken up by the Security Council. We had not joined this request though we had not opposed it. We felt that if the Security Council took this up, this

164. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 4 August 1959.

165. The money was meant for relief work in Jammu and Kashmir; see SWJN/SS/50/item 108.

166. Vittorino Veronese; elected for a period of six years starting December 1958. *Yearbook of the United Nations* 1958, p. 454.

167. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's name was tentatively considered in November 1958; see SWJN/SS/45/pp. 783-784.

168. India asked for inscription of the item "The question of the representation of China in the United Nations" on 13 July and for the item "Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa" on 14 July.

might come in the way of the General Assembly dealing with it and we preferred the General Assembly as a forum for this discussion.

5. The Ambassador then said to me that the Soviet Government was anxious to have an agreement with India about cultural and technical cooperation. He asked for my opinion about it. I said I was in favour of it. Then he said that he hoped that I would inform our officials dealing with this matter about my opinion. I said naturally they would know my opinion.

6. I then mentioned to him that I was gratified to learn that Mr Khrushchev was going to visit the United States and Mr Eisenhower would later visit the Soviet Union.¹⁶⁹ I thought that these were good moves and likely to yield some happy results.

7. He referred to the old Geneva meeting of the heads of governments¹⁷⁰ and how he was present in the London House of Commons when Sir Anthony Eden reported on it.¹⁷¹ This led me to tell him of my own talks with Sir Anthony Eden after my return from the Soviet Union¹⁷² when he had discussed with me the prospects of the forthcoming Geneva meeting. Later, that is, after the Geneva top-level meeting, Sir Anthony Eden had written to me that he had found my appraisal of the situation to have been justified at Geneva.¹⁷³

8. I told the Ambassador also that Mr. Macmillan had informed me of Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower exchanging visits. Thereupon the Ambassador said that no doubt Mr. Macmillan must have thrown his weight in favour of such visits. He had been working for a Summit meeting ever since he visited Moscow.¹⁷⁴

169. See item 3, fn 7.

170. The Four Power Conference held in Geneva, 18-23 July 1955, and attended by President Eisenhower of USA, Prime Minister Anthony Eden of Britain, Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin of USSR and Prime Minister Edgar Faure of France.

171. On 26 July 1955.

172. 8-10 July 1955, in London.

173. See SWJN/SS/29/pp. 377-378.

174. In February 1959.

201. To Swaran Singh: Utilisation of Soviet Credit¹⁷⁵

August 4, 1959

My dear Swaran Singh,

Thank you for your letter of August 4.¹⁷⁶ I agree to a small ad hoc informal committee being formed to consider the question of utilisation of the Soviet credit. The committee might consist of yourself, Morarji,¹⁷⁷ Lal Bahadur¹⁷⁸ and V.T. Krishnamachari.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

202. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Utilisation of Soviet Credit¹⁷⁹

7th August, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th August¹⁸⁰ about the utilisation of the Soviet credit of Rs. 180 crores. The projects you have mentioned are no doubt important, but you have made no reference to development of the oil industry in India. Surely that should be given prominent place. Mikoyan,¹⁸¹ I am told, said to our people in Moscow that the oil industry should be developed in India.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

175. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

176. See Swaran Singh to Nehru, 4 August 1959, Appendix 17.

177. Morarji Desai.

178. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister of Commerce and Industry.

179. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

180. See Appendix 25.

181. Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, 1955-64.

203. Interview to *Pravda*¹⁸²

Mr. Pastukov: Mr. Prime Minister, will you please tell me the main objectives of the Third Five Year Plan in strengthening the national economy of the country through the Public Sector?

P.M.: First of all, the main objective of our planning is obviously to create better conditions for our people and to raise their standards of living, etc. That means that we should not only improve our agriculture greatly, but industrialise. In order to industrialise, we have to lay stress on basic industries. So the main objective of the Third Five Year Plan is to make our agriculture better and more scientific and more productive and to lay the foundations of basic industry, that is, heavy industry, and of course to build up our secondary industries, etc., small and middle, partly because we want goods and partly for employment purposes. Then, of course, we have to build up the technical personnel. Education comes in and Social Services. Ultimately we hope to have the beginnings of a self-generating economy, a self-feeding economy, by the end of the Third Plan.

Mr. Pastukov: How Soviet Technical Assistance and credits, especially the recent offer of assistance, will help India in her bold efforts to reconstruct the country and achieve national economic independence?

P.M.: The Soviet credits have been used in the past chiefly for development of heavy industries, our big machine building plants, for the development of oil industry and a number of such industries. That is our broad approach.

Mr. Pastukov: Do you consider the favourable character of Soviet credits is the sign of friendly attitude of the Soviet people and Government to the Indian people and Government?

P.M.: Certainly, we think so. The terms are in many ways very good. There is one thing we are aiming at. Whenever we get money now, we aim at a long period for repayment, because otherwise the repayment comes soon.

182. Interview to N. Pastukov [Pastukhov], the Delhi correspondent of *Pravda*, 11 August 1959.

Pravda published an article based on the interview, on 15 August 1959. See Appendix 32. The interview itself however was not published. On 17 August 1959, newspapers in India published despatches from Moscow based on the *Pravda* article.

Mr. Pastukov: Yes. For example, for the Rourkela Plant, the period is very little.

P.M.: In many cases, we are aiming at 15 or 20 years. The details of this, we have to consider. We are sending one of our financial officers to Moscow in about ten days.¹⁸³

Mr. Pastukov: Sir, as you know, for the successful implementation of your Third Five Year Plan and our Seven Year Plan, there is necessity of everlasting peace in world and this is the common task of both India and the Soviet Union. Do you think that the exchange of visits by Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower would lessen international tension and strengthen mutual goodwill between nations?

P.M.: Yes. I have expressed myself on that question recently more than once, and I have also ventured to send my congratulations to Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower, both,¹⁸⁴ on this development, because I think this is a very good development. I do not look upon it as something which will suddenly solve any problem, but rather to create conditions which make solution easier.

Mr. Pastukov: Of course, it would help to lessen international tension and lead to a Summit meeting.

P.M.: Yes, lessening fears and suspicions and tensions and, therefore, making it easier for the matter to be discussed later at a Summit Conference and the like.

Mr. Pastukov: Sir, in 1955 I accompanied you in the Soviet Union when you visited our country. My countrymen had friendly meetings with you. I think you remember those meetings in many towns and cities. What would you like to convey to them on the eve of your National Holiday, the twelfth anniversary of Independence. Of course, they wish you every success and your name is very popular among them.

P.M.: The people in the Soviet Union struck me, when I went there, as extraordinarily warm-hearted, friendly and affectionate, and I carry that impression with me still, because that comes from deep down a person. It is not a superficial thing. I was very happy at that, and because of that I feel that

183. B.K. Nehru.

184. See items 238 and 239.

our relations basically are friendly, of the people's [sic] and of the Governments, and they will continue to be so. I hope that there will be more and more avenues of cooperation between them. We have to face great problems and difficulties which the Soviet Union has surmounted in the past, and we can profit often by their experience.

204. To MEA: Khrushchev's Correspondence and Talks with US Leaders¹⁸⁵

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me this evening. He said that he had been asked by his Government to inform me of the correspondence that had passed between Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower. Also to give me particulars about the talks Mr. Khrushchev had had with Vice-President Nixon.¹⁸⁶

2. He said that the initiative in regard to the exchange of visits came from President Eisenhower, who wrote to Mr. Khrushchev inviting him to go to the United States for frank and friendly and rather informal talks. The President suggested that Mr. Khrushchev might visit some parts of the United States to get to know the States to some extent. The visit was not to discuss problems formally, though of course they could have informal talks about many matters. President Eisenhower also said that he would be glad to visit the Soviet Union later in the year. These visits would, he hoped, help in lessening tension and advancing the cause of peace.

3. Mr. Khrushchev sent a friendly letter in reply accepting the invitation and inviting President Eisenhower to come to the Soviet Union.

4. President Eisenhower had suggested in his letter that if the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva made sufficient progress, a Summit meeting might be held in Canada at Quebec. (It is not clear to me whether the idea then was to hold the Summit meeting in continuation of Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the U.S.)

5. Mr. Khrushchev replied that he would be prepared to have the Summit meeting at Quebec and that such a meeting should take place whether the Foreign Ministers' Conference yielded any result or not.

6. I have written the above from my memory of the talk I have had with the Ambassador and, therefore, the actual words used may not be accurate.

185. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 13 August 1959.

186. Richard Nixon, US Vice-President, arrived in Moscow on 23 July 1959 on an eleven-day visit to the USSR.

7. Then the Ambassador went on to tell me of the talks Mr. Khrushchev had with Mr. Nixon. He said these talks were frank, witty, and some times a little sharp.¹⁸⁷ Mr. Khrushchev informed Mr. Nixon of several secret processes and advances that the Soviet Union had made. They discussed almost every subject of interest to them, including the question of Germany and Berlin. Mr. Khrushchev said that his attitude was flexible in regard to every matter, but it was rigid insofar as the present occupational status of Berlin was concerned. He could not accept this status.

8. Mr. Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union had now perfected a rocket which could be sent to Outer Space and which could weigh up to one hundred tons. Thus this rocket would have plenty of room for people and laboratories to go in it, and it would be expected to come back to earth.

9. Further, Mr. Khrushchev said that now a rocket had been made which could be sent 7,000 kilometres with a large degree of accuracy. Indeed, in a recent experiment this rocket went 7,000 kilometres and landed within one mile of the target. A previous experiment of such a rocket was not a success in regard to accuracy. In fact, it went up much further than the 7,000 kilometres aimed at; it went 9,000 kilometres and nearly landed in Alaska. Fortunately it just missed Alaska and fell into the sea; otherwise the Americans would have thought that the Soviet was deliberately hitting Alaska.

10. The range was broadly limited to 7,000 kilometres chiefly because that was the biggest distance they could experiment with within the Soviet Union. This rocket was, I think, a big one, probably weighing one hundred tons, if I remember rightly, and it could carry an enormous amount of destructive material. Mr. Khrushchev told Mr. Nixon that his scientists had calculated the cost of making enough such rockets to be able to destroy every important centre in the United States as well as all their bases elsewhere. The cost, as calculated, was 30 billion roubles, which was not very great.

11. In view of these developments, Mr. Khrushchev had said that they were no longer interested in fighters and bombs which were out of date and they were practically giving up their manufacture. Also they were no longer interested in cruisers and aircraft carriers which would offer sitting targets.

12. Mr. Khrushchev's disclosures evidently had a considerable effect on Mr. Nixon who, a little later, spoke strongly against the possibility of war in which nobody could be a victor.

187. These included an impromptu exchange between Khrushchev and Nixon on 24 July at the venue of an American trade exhibition in Moscow; it became famous as "kitchen debate" as it took place in front of a stall of kitchen gadgets.

13. I have written the above from memory, but the Ambassador, before leaving, gave me a full verbatim transcript of the talks between Mr. Khrushchev and Vice-President Nixon. After looking through it, I shall send it to the Ministry.

14. As the Ambassador was leaving, he informed me that the Soviet Union was going to celebrate my 70th birthday.

15. I am having copies of this note sent to the Home Minister, Finance Minister and Defence Minister.

205. To Morarji Desai: Instructions for the Indian Delegation to Moscow¹⁸⁸

August 20, 1959

My dear Morarji,

The other day I drew your attention to the brief of instructions which had been prepared for B.K. Nehru. There were some parts of it which did not seem to me quite right. I spoke to Bijju¹⁸⁹ about these matters last night. He tried to explain the reason for that, but that reasoning appeared inadequate to me. Bijju himself said that perhaps too much stress had been laid on those aspects in the note.

The two points that I did not like were: (1) that in coming to an agreement about the supply of Indian goods to the Soviet Union, we must take particular care to see that our existing lines of export are not affected, and (2) that the Soviet Union should give an assurance that they would not re-export our goods.

I think that this approach, though it has something to be said for it of course, is based entirely on a static view of our economy and of our export trade. In discussing these matters with the Russians, we would naturally try to get them to buy things that are more convenient for us to supply. But, in effect, we should be prepared to supply them with anything that we can make. If we have not got enough, we should have more of it. We should make it. To ask them not to buy something because we sell it elsewhere, indicates a pessimistic view of what we can grow or make, as if we cannot make more of it. Surely our effort should be to make more and more even of our conventional items of export, if we can find a market for them. Trying to limit that market because of some apprehensions lest it might affect some other market, is not a dynamic view. I do not see how we can ever really increase our exports if we approach

188. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

189. Nickname of B.K. Nehru or Brij Kumar Nehru.

this matter in this way.

As for our asking for a guarantee from the Russians not to re-export our goods, I do not see why we should ask for this guarantee and why they should give it. As a matter of fact, if they want to pass on those goods to some other countries, these countries can only be some of the East European Communist countries. It does us no harm if they are sent there. Possibly we can develop separate trade with them. We should try to do so. But if there is a little overlapping like this, I see no harm at all. It really comes to this, that we do not accept an offer now lest it might come in the way in future of some extension of our trade elsewhere. That is hardly an adequate reason.

I am very worried about our exports. We have made every effort and we have shouted a lot about increasing them, but progress has been exceedingly slow. I am told by Lal Bahadur¹⁹⁰ that things are looking a little brighter now. But the question is that, in spite of our efforts, the results have been so poor. We should really examine our entire approach to this problem. Is it restrictive, as I fear it is?

I discussed this matter with Lal Bahadur today and he entirely agreed with me that we should not put any such restrictions in our directions to B.K. Nehru or any other person who deals with this matter with Moscow.¹⁹¹ We should go ahead aiming at the largest measure of exports wherever we can find a place and without asking for guarantees and without restricting our progress in any way.¹⁹²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

190. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

191. K.B. Lall, the Director-General of Foreign Trade, GOI, was to join B.K. Nehru in the negotiations at Moscow. *The Hindustan Times*, 21 August 1959.

192. In his reply on 22 August, Morarji Desai agreed with Nehru saying that "our effort should be to produce more and grow more of all items" for which markets could be found and that "there should be no question of our restricting any line of production, so as to cater only to a few limited and 'traditional' markets." However, he sought to clarify that: "the safeguards were put in the brief only to ensure that in the process of our selling something more to the Soviets towards repayment of their credit we did not in fact find ourselves in the position of having taken on an additional debt but not earned anything more or added to what we were selling to the outside world wherewith we could service the debt. It was not the intention at all to be restrictive with our exports, or ask for any unnecessary guarantees or assurances." File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

See B.K. Nehru to S.A. Skachkov, 12 September 1959, confirming the agreement reached with the USSR on that date, Appendix 48.

(d) United States of America

206. In the Lok Sabha: US Military Aid to Pakistan¹⁹³

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of India have studied the report of a Presidential Committee of U.S.A. which was asked to find out if the Pakistan Army was being built up with United States assistance against the Soviet Union or India, and which found that "certainly some part of Pakistan's fears had to do with India"? and
- (b) if so, the reactions of Government thereto?¹⁹⁴

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) The Presidential Committee in question was appointed to study U.S. Military Aid Programmes. The two Interim Reports which this Committee have issued deal with general policies and do not refer to Pakistan specifically by name.

According to Press reports, in the course of his testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, the Chairman of this Committee, Mr. William H. Draper stated on July 23, 1959, that Senator Fulbright,¹⁹⁵ Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee had asked the Draper Committee to ascertain whether or not the Pakistan army was being built up with U.S. assistance against the Soviets or against India; and that, after a visit to Pakistan early this year, the Draper Committee had found that "certainly some parts of Pakistan's fears had to do with India".

(b) Government have stated on a number of occasions that this obsession on the part of Pakistan about a military threat from India is entirely baseless.

The strong adverse reaction among the people of India to U.S. Military aid to Pakistan has been made clear on numerous occasions to the U.S. authorities.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether any categorical assurance has been given in the reply received, that this military equipment will not be used against India in any case?

193. 3 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 10-13.

194. This was Question No. 45, asked by D.C. Sharma and five other MPs. Earlier, Nehru had agreed to answer this question along with Question No. 3, asked by Ram Krishan Gupta and five other MPs, about US Jet bombers for Pakistan.

195. J. William Fulbright.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Various statements have been made on behalf of the United States Government more or less to that effect. It is rather difficult to say categorically what they amount to, but as just now stated in answer to another question, in fact, it has been used against India.¹⁹⁶

Shri Hem Barua: In answer to this question, the Deputy Minister said that the United States has informed Pakistan that so far as the use of the United States military aid is concerned, it is limited to certain occasions.¹⁹⁷ May I know whether in using the United States fighter for shooting down our Canberra they fulfilled these conditions or not? Whether that has been found out from the United States Government by our Government by now is the question.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, Sir, that can fulfil no condition at all. It is without condition.

Shri Hem Barua: My question is whether it has been ascertained from the United States Government or not. This is our opinion, namely, that it does not fulfil any condition whatsoever and this was misused, when it was used against us in shooting down the Canberra. I want to know whether it has been brought to the notice of the United States Government and whether they have replied to our question.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. It been brought to the notice of the United States Government more than once and with considerable clarity, if I may say so.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Nath Pai.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know what they have said about this? The question is whether they have said that the United States' bomber was used in shooting down our Canberra.

196. To Mahavir Tyagi's question whether Pakistan had used US equipment to shoot down an Indian Canberra in April 1959 Nehru replied: "It is fairly well known that the aircraft used for this purpose was of the type that is supplied by the United States of America."

197. To Question No. 3 about the US response to adverse reactions in India over US military supplies to Pakistan, Lakshmi Menon replied: "The general line of reply of the U.S. authorities has been that military assistance under the Mutual Security Act, 1954, as amended, limits the use of the military aid solely for the purpose of internal security and legitimate self-defence of the receiving country."

Mr. Speaker: I have called Shri Nath Pai.

Shri Nath Pai: I am referring to Question No. 45 since you have been pleased to admit that question also to be answered with Question No. 3. In the testimony led before the Senate Investigation Committee, the leading military authorities in the United States stated that Pakistan's present military and defence build-up is far in excess of her legitimate military requirements. In the light of this and of the fact that they have been supplying Pakistan with military equipment, are we taking adequate steps to see that our defence is adequate too?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a question of our defence being adequate or not. Naturally, Government is interested in keeping the defence adequate and to take steps to that end.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know if, after this evidence before the Committee there, the Government of India have further pursued this matter and, if so, to what effect?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a matter for the Committee of Congress there. How we can pursue, it in that Committee or in Congress, I do not know. But the general question is always there for us to take up.

Shri Kasliwal: As some hon. Members said there were some debates in the United States Congress about military aid to Pakistan and it appears also from press reports that the President of Pakistan had protested against the limitation of military aid to Pakistan. May I know whether Government have any information as to what is the reaction of the United States Government to the protest of the Pakistan President to this?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer a hypothetical question, — of what private reactions there may be.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: In view of the statement made by the United States Ambassador that military supplies given to Pakistan would not be used against India, may I know whether a formal protest has been made to the United States Ambassador regarding the shooting down of the Canberra bomber by the aircraft and ammunition supplied to the Pakistan Government by the U.S.A.?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just stated that this was done.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed: Is it not a fact that Pakistan is also being supplied by the United States with 400 military amphibious trucks and if so, may I know whether any clarification was obtained from the U.S. Government as to how these amphibious trucks are going to be utilised by the Pak army, as there is no waterways between Pakistan and Soviet Russia or between China and Pakistan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have received reports about these amphibious vehicles. At one time these reports were denied by the United States authorities. But at the same time, from some other sources, it does appear that some amphibious vehicles have been received. As to for what purpose they are received, it is not normally likely that these amphibians are going to climb the Himalayas, either to the east or to the west.

207. In the Rajya Sabha: US Military Aid to Pakistan¹⁹⁸

Shri Ram Sahai:¹⁹⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a statement made by the President of Pakistan on 22nd June, 1959, in which he gave an estimate of the strength of the Indian forces;²⁰⁰ and

(b) whether there has been any change in military aid given by the United States of America to Pakistan or it is being given to her as usual even after the violation of the agreement between Pakistan and the United States of America regarding military aid to the effect that these arms will not be used against India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Details regarding the present extent of U.S. military aid to Pakistan have not been officially released.

198. 10 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 37-39.

199. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

200. For Ayub Khan's statement of 22 June 1959, see SWJN/SS/50/item 150, fn 7.

श्री राम सहाय: क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूँ कि अमेरिका की जनता को इस बात का दिग्दर्शन कराने के लिए [कि] उनकी सरकार द्वारा जो सहायता दी जा रही है उसका दुरुपयोग हो रहा है, भारत सरकार की ओर से कोई प्रयत्न हो रहा है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: भारत सरकार की ओर से इसके लिए कोई एक आन्दोलन तो अमेरिका में चलाया जाना न तो उचित होगा और न हम ऐसा कर सकते हैं। हमारी राय का इज़हार काफ़ी अखबारों में छपता है और जो लोग इसमें दिलचस्पी लेते हैं, वे यक़ीनन उसको पढ़ते हैं।

श्री पी. एन. राजभोज:²⁰¹ पाकिस्तान ने भारत के खिलाफ़ यह मिलिटरी एड इस्तेमाल की है, क्या इसका सरकार ने अमेरिका को पॉज़िटिव प्रूफ़ दिया है? क्या यह मैं जान सकता हूँ?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: जैसा कि मैंने अर्ज़ किया, इसकी इत्तला उनको होती रहती है और हमारी तरफ़ से इत्तला जाती है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Ram Sahai: May I know whether there has been any efforts on the side the Indian Government to elucidate before the American people that the aid being given by their Government is being misused.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It would not be proper for the Indian Government to start a movement in America about this, nor we can do so. Our views are reflected in many newspapers and those who take interest in it must be reading it.

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj:²⁰² Has the Government given positive proof to America that Pakistan has used this military aid against India? May I know about it?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As I stated, they are kept informed of this and information goes from our side also.

Translation ends]

201. P.N. Rajabhoj, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

202. See fn 201 in this section.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the Government has tried to make any estimate of the military aid given to Pakistan during the last few months when these border firings have been going on, and if so whether the Government has any definite idea about the quantum of assistance likely to have been received by Pakistan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, Sir, attempts are always made to make these estimates and I believe some of the estimates are not far from the truth but because they are such estimates, it would not be proper for me to state what they are.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether I would be considered to be wrong if I say that during this period the quantum of aid by the American authorities to Pakistan has continually gone on increasing?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, I would not be able to say that. My own broad impression was that it has lessened somewhat.

208. To Adlai E. Stevenson: Honouring Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt²⁰³

August 13, 1959

Dear Mr. Stevenson,²⁰⁴

You were good enough to write to me on July 10, 1959 and to tell me about the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Cancer Research²⁰⁵ and of a special project in this connection. I must apologize to you for the delay in answering your letter. I was trying to find something suitable which we could send on this occasion.

I need not tell you how much we honour and respect Mrs. Roosevelt, and all our good wishes go out to her on the occasion of her 75th birthday.²⁰⁶

I am having sent to the American Medical Centre at Los Angeles two small paintings representing Moghul art in the 16th Century. We are also sending something which perhaps is rather unique in its own way. This is a Steatite seal

203. Letter.

204. The US Democratic politician; also a close personal and political friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of USA, 1933-45.

205. At Denver, Colorado, founded in 1959, on her 75th birthday.

206. On 11 October 1959.

from Mohenjodaro showing a unicorn to the left with a trough in front of it below its head. There is a pictographic legend on top. This seal is an original one dating back to the period 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C.

Mohenjodaro is now in Pakistan. It represents the Indus Valley Civilization which flourished in a large part of Northern India from about 3500 B.C. onwards.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

209. To M.C. Chagla: Gifts for the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Cancer Research²⁰⁷

August 13, 1959

My dear Chagla,

Nearly a month ago, I received a letter from Adlai Stevenson informing me of some kind of a joint celebration of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's 75th birthday and the inauguration of a new centre for Cancer Research to be called the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute for Cancer Research. In his letter he suggested that some items of interest and historical import might be sent. These would be auctioned, the money going to the Cancer Research Institute.

I have now arranged to send two old Moghul paintings and a Mohenjodaro seal. These are being sent directly to the American Medical Centre at Los Angeles as suggested by Adlai Stevenson. I enclose a copy of my letter to Adlai Stevenson.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

207. Letter.

210. To M.C. Chagla: Invitation to Eisenhower to Visit India²⁰⁸

No. Primin-21131.

Chagla from Prime Minister.

Your telegram 376 August 13th.²⁰⁹ You can certainly convey our invitation to President Eisenhower to visit India whenever convenient to him. I do not think that an official invitation should be issued at this stage. That can come when something has been informally decided upon. It will not be desirable to mention his Moscow visit in this connection. The invitation should be just to come to India at a convenient time. The exact time will have to be settled later. If there is mention on his side of his coming here from Moscow, we can certainly agree to it.²¹⁰

(e) Nepal

211. To B.P. Koirala: Aid to Nepal²¹¹

August 17, 1959

My dear B.P.,²¹²

Bhagwan Sahay brought me your two letters of August 2.²¹³ With one of these you enclosed a memorandum on the various schemes which your Government should like to undertake and for which you would like aid from us on a long term basis. I have requested our Planning Commission to examine the memorandum immediately. I am told that more details would be necessary and we have asked Lall to secure these from your Government. You can rest assured that we shall examine your memorandum sympathetically and we shall do the best we can to come to your aid.

208. Telegram, 14 August 1959.

209. Chagla had written: "Have just learnt most reliably that President Eisenhower at his private dinner with newspaper correspondents on Monday 10th August told them that he would like to visit India and Middle East after his visit to Moscow on his way home. Would you consider issuing an official invitation to him at the earliest opportunity."

210. Eisenhower visited India, 9-14 December, as part of his tour of eleven European and Asian countries, 3-23 December 1959.

211. Letter.

212. B.P. Koirala, the Prime Minister of Nepal.

213. Only one of the two letters has been traced; see Appendix 13.

In your letter dealing with the Kosi Project you have referred to a scheme for an additional canal which would irrigate a large area of land in Biratnagar. I am advised that this particular project will be discussed in the next meeting of the Kosi Coordination Committee. I have asked our Ministry of Irrigation and Power to consider the proposal also urgently.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) Ceylon

212. In the Lok Sabha: Migration of Indians from Ceylon²¹⁴

Shri D.C. Sharma: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of Indians who have migrated from Ceylon to India upto the 30th June, 1959?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): 75,650 Indian nationals have left Ceylon upto the end of May 1959. Out of these 38,159 Indian nationals left Ceylon on being served with quit notices by the Government of Ceylon, and 37,491 persons left the Island voluntarily.

Later figures are not available.

213. In the Rajya Sabha: Incident at the Indian High Commission²¹⁵

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): Sir, I would like to place before the House the facts regarding the incident on the premises of the Indian High Commission, Colombo, on 10th August, 1959.²¹⁶ On the evening of August 9, our High Commission in Colombo received

214. 3 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, col. 63.

215. 19 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 1109-1115.

216. Fourteen persons were injured when Ceylonese Police baton-charged a group of Malayalees demonstrating within the precincts of the Indian High Commission against the dismissal of the Communist Government of Kerala.

private information that there was going to be a demonstration before the Chancery the next morning. Our High Commissioner²¹⁷ informed the Ministry of External Affairs of the Ceylon Government about this and said that he had no details as to what shape this demonstration might take. Probably, they would present some memorandum of protest which he would receive and forward to his Government.

Later, the Deputy Inspector General of Police telephoned to our High Commissioner to enquire about this matter. The High Commissioner repeated what he had previously said and added that he had no reason to expect any serious trouble and he did not think that it would be worthwhile having a counter show of force by the police. The D.I.G. of Police said that he would have the Embassy and the Chancery duly watched.

At about 10.30 A.M. on August 10, about 200 demonstrators carrying placards and shouting slogans entered the Chancery compound from one gate. As previously arranged, the Deputy High Commissioner²¹⁸ and other officers went down to the entrance of the Chancery building and met them and tried to calm down some rowdies among the demonstrators. The Deputy High Commissioner offered to take five or six representatives to the High Commissioner to discuss matters and to hear their grievances. At this stage, half a dozen demonstrators rushed to the building entrance. When demonstrators rushed to the building entrance, the police suddenly entered from the other gate of the Chancery compound and began a baton charge on the demonstrators. The crowd began to disperse from the other compound gate from which they had entered. In the melee, one man received a head injury and four or five other received minor injuries. The injured persons were immediately taken to hospital accompanied by the Third Secretary.

Later, the High Commissioner persuaded seven of the remaining demonstrators, who were still in the Chancery compound, to come up and talk to him. They said they first wanted to lodge a protest against the High Commissioner's conduct in calling in the police to beat up their peaceful demonstrators. The High Commissioner told them that it was most unfortunate that this incident should have occurred in our Chancery and assured them that the police had not been called in by him or his officers.

217. Y.D. Gundevia.

218. B.K. Sanyal.

Thereafter, a memorandum was given to the High Commissioner by those representatives.²¹⁹

Immediately after this incident, the High Commissioner rang up the Permanent Secretary²²⁰ of the Ceylon Government and gave him the facts stating that it was unfortunate that the police should have rushed in and intervened at such a stage when this did not seem quite necessary. The Permanent Secretary said that this episode was unfortunate and he was sorry that this should have happened in our embassy.

In a statement on the subject on the 13th of August, the Prime Minister of Ceylon²²¹ said: "The action of the Police who might well have had a reasonable fear when a number of the demonstrators rushed into the premises that damage or other mischief might be caused by them cannot be considered as anything but bona fide. It is regretted that such an incident should have taken place but it is not possible to attach blame to anyone in the circumstances of the case."

Shri Bhupesh Gupta (West Bengal): Sir, I gave notice of a Motion for Papers in regard to this matter. I wish an advance copy of the statement was given to me, so that I could ask for one or two clarifications. Now, Sir, I ask from memory from what I have heard. What was the High Commissioner doing exactly at the time when the police was beating up these people within the precincts of the High Commission, and whether he lodged any official protest, normal protest, with the Ceylonese authorities against the action of their police? It is most regrettable that the Prime Minister said that it was not a matter of high importance. It is unheard of. Our nationals are being beaten up. I hope we are not discriminated against. Even abroad our nationals have been beaten up within the precincts of the High Commission, which has an extra-territorial right. They are being called 'rowdies' and they do not express regret. The Ceylonese Prime Minister has not yet apologised to the Government of India or to our country or expressed any regret over this matter. Therefore, I should like to know as to where we stand in regard to this matter.

Mr. Chairman: I should like to read the last portion of the statement here once again for his benefit.

219. Two resolutions were reported to have been passed by the Ceylon Malayalee Mahajana Sabha on 9 August.

220. The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of Ceylon.

221. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

The Prime Minister of Ceylon said: "The action of the Police who might well have had a reasonable fear when a number of the demonstrators rushed into the premises that damage or other mischief might be caused by them cannot be considered as anything but bona fide. It is regretted that . . ."

This is the Prime Minister's statement: ". . . such an incident should have taken place but it is not possible to attach blame to anyone in the circumstances of the case."

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Since, Sir, you have read it out, that point is relevant. I submit that international law does not demand of him only this kind of statement. Let us go into this matter. It is our territory, Indian territory in international law. It was entered upon by a force which would be called, in that context, foreign which assaulted our nationals and then he said it was only 'bona fide'. How, Sir, are bona fides to be judged unless we go into the very modus operandi of the whole thing?

Mr. Chairman: That will do.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I think that the statement that you have been pleased to read out again, which the Prime Minister of Ceylon made after some kind of enquiry, must necessarily be accepted by us. I see nothing at all basically wrong in what the Ceylon Police did, except, as I said earlier, that they may have got a little excited. Here is a situation when they suddenly see the Chancery building being rushed into by a number of people . . .

Diwan Chaman Lall (Punjab): Trespassed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ... a number of trespassers.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: They went on deputation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Three hundred people with placards and shouting – the report goes on – rather aggressively at the Police, not a quiet deputation to do anything, and suddenly there was this rush. Now, the hon. Member talks about international law. International law also requires the Government of the host country to protect the foreign missions. Now it may be that in protecting them they may sometimes do something which is not absolutely necessary. That is a matter of minor judgment. But it is absolutely their duty if some kind of aggressive action took place which might endanger the foreign Mission to

protect them. I cannot judge these details. The Ceylon Government have enquired and given that statement.

The hon. Member asked what the High Commissioner was doing. Now the whole thing as far as I know lasted between one and two minutes. Then the thing was over. The High Commissioner who watched immediately came down. In fact as the statement says, he talked to the remaining demonstrators and took them to the room. He telephoned immediately to the Ceylon Government's Foreign Secretary, Permanent Secretary. He acted immediately in both ways. He informed the Ceylon Government and secondly he talked to the demonstrators. He could do nothing more. But I do submit what I said previously elsewhere that this incident cannot be magnified as if the Ceylon Government had offended against the international law and done something very improper.²²² The situation arose largely because of the action of some people or the beating of a crowd rushing in with violent slogans when the police could certainly not have gone, as far as I am concerned should not have gone. That does not help much. Here is a situation when people rush in suddenly and it is natural for them to protect them.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, it is most unfortunate because I have been following what has been happening in the Press. They were carrying only posters. They were not carrying weapons, and they made it clear that they were going to meet the High Commissioner to present something to him, and there was no reason to believe that they were going to violate the law.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: They were shouting anti-Government slogans.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Don't get excited about it.

Mr. Chairman: What she said was they were shouting slogans.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Shouting slogans is now taken exception to after all that has happened in Kerala. Does shouting of slogans mean destruction of property for which the police should go there and beat up our people?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question of shouting slogans. It is rushing into a building, trespassing and rushing in. When they are being invited, actually they suddenly rush in and push people.

222. Nehru spoke in the Lok Sabha on 12 August in response to notices of some adjournment motions on this matter; see *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1984-1993.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: How were they rushing in?

Mr. Chairman: It all depends upon the manner, the aggressive or the peaceful character – ‘We want to see the High Commissioner and will he kindly give us permission to come and will he look into our memorandum?’ Between that and three hundred people shouting slogans and aggressively rushing into the building without the permission of the High Commissioner. . . .

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The High Commissioner’s permission is not necessary under the Ceylonese law.

Mr. Chairman: Under the Ceylonese law?

(Interruptions).

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: If they are supporters of the Communist Party, they are to be beaten, and we cannot expect protection from this Government. This is what I understand.

(g) Indo-China

214. For Selwyn Lloyd²²³

No. 3972.

Mehta²²⁴ from Desai.

Please convey the following message from Prime Minister to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd:²²⁵

223. Telegram, M.J. Desai to A.S. Mehta, 4 August 1959.

224. Amrik Singh Mehta (b. 1921); commissioned RIAF, 1943; appointed IFS, 1947; served in MEA, in Indian Missions in Prague and Kathmandu, and the Permanent Mission of India to the UN; Consul-General at Geneva 1959-64; Ambassador to Syria, 1964.

225. Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, was in Geneva to attend the Foreign Ministers’ Conference.

Begins.

Thank you for your message about the new developments in Laos.²²⁶ Some time ago, I received the message from the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference in regard to Laos.²²⁷ I was happy to receive this and to know that the two Co-Chairmen had started an exchange of views about the measures to be taken to maintain peace in Indo-China and for the further implementation of the Geneva settlement.

2. As you have pointed out in your last message, the recent serious developments in Laos are disturbing. It was my apprehension that this deterioration might take place that led me to address you on this subject. Now fighting has already started and, regardless of who is to blame for this, the situation is much worse and likely to lead to even more serious consequences.

3. The Government of India, as Chairman country of the Commissions in Indo-China, are seriously concerned at this deteriorating situation and would be grateful for the Co-Chairmen's advice and directions as to how the necessary measures of conciliation and mediation should be initiated to ease the tension and conflict in the area. I realise that the Laotian Government are still maintaining their rigid attitude to the re-convening of the International Commission. We cannot act contrary to their wishes, and yet this rigidity leads us nowhere. The fighting may well increase in extent and intensity and may be to the disadvantage of the Laotian Government. That may lead to conflict on a larger scale. How then are we to deal with the situation which poses a serious threat to peace in the whole of Indo-China? I would, therefore, earnestly request you and your Co-Chairman to consider this situation expeditiously and indicate what the Government of India and other Governments concerned can do to initiate mediatory and conciliatory processes to ease the tension and conflict in Laos.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

215. For A. A. Gromyko²²⁸

No. 24647.

Mehta from Desai.

Please convey the following message from Prime Minister to Mr. Gromyko:²²⁹
Begins:

Some time ago, I received the message from the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference in regard to Laos. I was happy to receive this and to learn that the two Co-Chairmen had started an exchange of views about what measures must be taken in order to maintain peace in Indo-China and for the further implementation of the Geneva settlement.

2. Since then the situation in Laos has deteriorated and fighting has actually been taking place. It is clear that if this is allowed to continue, it will spread and may pose a serious threat to peace in the whole of Indo-China.

3. The Government of India, as Chairman country of the Commissions in Indo-China, are seriously concerned at this situation and would be grateful for the Co-Chairmen's advice and directions as to how the necessary measures of conciliation and mediation should be initiated to ease the tension and conflict in the area.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Ends.

216. For J.G. Diefenbaker²³⁰

No. 24651.

Venkatachar²³¹ from Desai.

Please convey the following message from Prime Minister to Prime Minister Diefenbaker:²³²

228. Telegram, M.J. Desai to A.S. Mehta, 4 August 1959.

229. Gromyko was in Geneva to attend the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

230. Telegram, M.J. Desai to C.S. Venkatachar, 4 August 1959.

231. C.S. Venkatachar, the High Commissioner of India to Canada.

232. John George Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada.

Begins:

You were good enough to send a message in June about the situation in Laos.²³³ I was glad to receive your letter and had hoped then that the situation in Laos would improve. Unfortunately, our hopes have been belied, and the apprehension I had of serious developments has proved to be justified. Serious clashes have already occurred in the northern part of Laos. If this situation is allowed to continue, it is highly likely that fighting will increase and may even pose a serious threat to peace in the whole of Indo-China.

2. It was to avoid this development that we had suggested reconvening of the Commission. You were good enough to reply that Canada would favourably consider a meeting of the Commission, under agreed conditions, for the specific purpose of suggesting proposals for mediation, provided the Laotian Government was agreeable to such a course.

3. A special responsibility in this matter rests with India and Canada as Chairman and Member of this Commission, and it is distressing to me to find this rapid deterioration and not try to check it. I have, therefore, addressed a message to the Royal Laotian Government.²³⁴ I have also addressed messages to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, requesting them to indicate what the Government of India and other Governments can do to initiate mediatory and conciliatory processes to ease tension and conflict in Laos.²³⁵

4. I am sure that you will also be anxious, as I am, to help in this process.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Ends.

233. Diefenbaker's message, communicated to Nehru on 6 June through the Indian High Commission in Ottawa, was in reply to Nehru's letter of 27 May 1959 (SWJN/SS/49/pp. 594-595). Diefenbaker had reservations on the reconvening of the Commission on Laos, which had adjourned sine die in July 1958, on the grounds that i) it would be illogical, after the political settlement with the Pathet Lao, to regard the Geneva Agreements "as having been intended indefinitely to impose restrictions upon the sovereignty of the Laotian Government" through continued activity of the Commission; ii) the Laotian Government had "generally striven" to conform to the Geneva Agreements; and iii) if the Commission were to meet despite the Laotian Government's opposition, "Laos might even be driven to denounce the Geneva Agreements and withdraw its undertaking to act in accordance with them." However, Canada had informed Hammarskjöld that she "would favourably consider a meeting of the Commission, under agreed conditions, for the specific purpose of assisting his mediation proposal," if Laos was agreeable to such a course, Diefenbaker said.

234. See item 217.

235. See items 214 and 215.

217. For Phoui Sananikone²³⁶

No. 24649.

Ratnam²³⁷ from Desai.

Please convey the following message from Prime Minister to Prime Minister Sananikone:²³⁸

Begins:

I was glad to receive your letter No. 1022/PC-SP dated 2nd June, 1959,²³⁹ which was delivered to me through the Royal Laotian Embassy in Delhi in June. I did not write to you earlier as you seemed to have the situation well in hand and there was a certain relaxation of tension. We are, however, greatly concerned at the developments in the last couple of weeks and the serious border troubles that you have been having.

2. It is not for me to express any views on the attitude of Your Excellency's Government regarding the execution of the Geneva Agreement and the competence of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. The Commission, as Your Excellency knows, has only adjourned sine die and can be re-convened in accordance with normal procedures. I wonder whether Your Excellency's Government would, in the light of the serious situation, reconsider their attitude to the re-convening of the Commission. I assure Your Excellency that, so far as the Government of India is concerned, we are not inspired by any narrow or legalistic views. Our main concern is to set in motion those procedures of mediation and conciliation which can ease the tension and conflict in the border regions of Laos.

3. I will be grateful if Your Excellency would be good enough to let us know in what manner measures of conciliation and mediation can be initiated to ease the tension on the Laos-North Viet Nam border. The agency of the Commission is already available for this purpose and the Commission will,

236. Telegram, M.J. Desai to P. Ratnam, 4 August 1959.

237. P. Ratnam, the Ambassador of India to Laos.

238. Phoui Sananikone (1903-1983); Laotian politician; President, Chamber of Deputies, 1948-50, 1960-74; Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers, 1950-51, 1958-59; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1953-54, 1954-56, 1957-58, 1959; Vice-President, Council of Ministers, 1953-56; President, Nationalist group, Rassemblement du Peuple Lao, 1962-74; sentenced to death in absentia, September 1975. *International Who's Who* 1983-84 (Europa).

239. See SWJN/SS/49/Appendix 18 (a).

while initiating these procedures of mediation and conciliation, naturally do nothing which in any way infringes the sovereignty of the Royal Laotian Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru.
Ends.

218. For Harold Macmillan²⁴⁰

No. 24650.

High Commissioner from Commonwealth Secretary

Please convey the following message from Prime Minister to Prime Minister Macmillan:

Begins:

Thank you for your message which your High Commissioner delivered to me on the 2nd August.²⁴¹ I hope to write to you separately about the various matters you have mentioned in it.²⁴² For the present, I want to indicate to you our great concern at the fast deteriorating situation in Laos where conflict has already started and is spreading.

2. As India is Chairman of the Commission in Indo-China, we have to shoulder a certain responsibility. But that responsibility is greater for the United Kingdom which is one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. For some time past, we have viewed the Laos situation with concern, and it seemed to us that unless some definite step was taken, it would deteriorate. We had suggested the reconvening of the Commission so that some attempt at conciliation and mediation might take place. This, however, was not agreed to. The result has been as we feared, and there is now a possibility of the conflict spreading and leading to a situation which may be very difficult to be dealt with. The necessity, therefore, for some effective steps has become urgent. I cannot think of any helpful approach except through the Commission.

3. I have sent messages today to the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and also to the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of Laos.²⁴³

240. Telegram, M.J. Desai to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 4 August 1959.

241. See Macmillan to Nehru, Appendix 15.

242. Nehru wrote to Macmillan on 7 August; see item 234.

243. See items 214 to 217.

4. I need not tell you that our main concern is the maintenance of peace in Indo-China. We have laboured to that end for the last five years and met with some success. It would be a tragedy if all this work ended in failure and Laos reverted to the pattern which prevailed before the agreements of 1954.

Jawaharlal Nehru.
Ends.

219. For Selwyn Lloyd²⁴⁴

No. Primin-21122.

For High Commissioner.

Please convey following message from Prime Minister to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd.
Begins.

Thank you for your message on Laos²⁴⁵ which has crossed mine sent to you yesterday.²⁴⁶

2. The situation in Laos cannot be isolated from past history or from its connections with other States in Indo-China. It was for this reason that the Geneva Agreements dealt with all the Indo-China States and laid down certain procedures and machinery for initiating conciliatory and mediatory processes. That machinery was to be utilised through Commissions or through the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. The Co-Chairmen in consultation with parties concerned may devise modified procedures. But to by-pass this machinery of the Geneva Conference would result in putting an end to the Geneva Agreements with all the consequences that may follow such a step. It may affect the whole situation in Indo-China.

3. The basis of the Geneva Agreements was to keep Indo-China States outside the scope of big Power conflicts, and allow these countries to work out their own destiny as far as possible. Hammerskjöld visited Indo-China last March and we had opportunity to exchange views with him on his return. He was also of this view. The various balances in Indo-China have been precarious and conflicts have been avoided largely because of the constant mediatory efforts of the Commissions. Where this balance is upset, difficulties have

244. Telegram, MEA to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 5 August 1959. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. VI, MEA.

245. See Appendix 19.

246. See item 214.

resulted. The present troubles in Laos are to some extent caused by ignoring procedures laid down by the Geneva Agreements.

4. I suggest therefore that we should adhere to those procedures or the Co-Chairmen may modify them in consultation with parties concerned. Any other course might lead to a reversion to the pre-Geneva state of affairs.

5. Even under UN procedures, the International Commission created under Geneva Agreement would satisfy definition of regional agency for pacific settlement of disputes mentioned in Articles 33 and 52 of the Charter.

6. I do not see how any recourse to the United Nations or any move to involve the Security Council can help. If the trouble in Laos is a purely internal one due to instigation by authorities of DRVN as alleged by Laotian Government, it is not a matter for United Nations or Security Council. It has to be dealt with by the Laotian Government in their sovereign competence. If trouble is due to external causes, reference to UN cannot yield any fruitful results as DRVN is not a member of United Nations. Any decision of Security Council may well be vetoed and debate there or in General Assembly will only lead to charges and counter-charges and aggravate situation.

7. I feel that whatever step may be taken must be in keeping with Geneva Agreements. Any other course is full of danger.

8. We have no information about any American military activities in Laos. It may be however that recent Franco-Laotian announcement about seconding of some American Technical personnel to work in the French Military Mission in Laos has been interpreted by Hanoi as repudiation by Laotian Government of declaration made at Geneva that "during period between the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and the final settlement of that country's political problems, the Royal Government of Laos will not request foreign aid, whether in raw material, in personnel or in instructors, except for the purpose of its effective territorial defence and to the extent defined by the agreement on the cessation of hostilities."

9. The present situation is undoubtedly a difficult one and has to be dealt with with great care. I think that the only right course for initiating measures of conciliation and mediation is to keep them within the limits of the Geneva Agreements.²⁴⁷

Jawaharlal Nehru.
Ends.

247. See also Nehru's message to Macmillan, 7 August 1959, concerning Laos, item 234.

220. For Dag Hammarskjöld²⁴⁸

No. Primin-21121.

Jha²⁴⁹ from Desai.

Please convey following message to Secretary-General Hammarskjöld from Prime Minister.

Begins.

You have no doubt received reports about the latest developments in Laos and the fast deteriorating situation there which poses a serious threat to peace in Indo-China as a whole. Fighting has been going on and charges and counter-charges are made. What we feared has unfortunately happened.

2. Yesterday I sent messages to the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and also to the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada and Laos.²⁵⁰ I feel that the Geneva Agreements in regard to Indo-China are imperilled by these developments. The only safe way to deal with the situation is in accordance with the machinery laid down in these Geneva Agreements, that is, either through the International Commission or through the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference who may, in consultation with parties concerned, devise modified procedures. Any other course would mean the ending of those Geneva Agreements and the possibility of a reversion to the pre-Agreements stage with all its conflicts.

3. I understand that proposals are being considered for a reference of the Laos matter to the United Nations or the Security Council. It is not clear to me how any effective action can be taken through the United Nations against a country such as DRVN²⁵¹ which is not a member of the U.N. Further, there is possibility of Security Council decision being vetoed. In fact, any reference to the Security Council would bring these questions into the region of Great Power conflicts and put an end to much of the good work that has resulted from the Geneva Agreements.

4. Even under U.N. procedures, the International Commission created under the Geneva Agreements, can be said to satisfy the definition of Regional Agency for pacific settlement of disputes mentioned in Articles 33 and 52 of the Charter.

248. Telegram, M.J. Desai to C.S. Jha, 5 August 1959. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. VI, MEA.

249. C.S. Jha, the Permanent Representative of India to the UN.

250. See items 214 to 218.

251. Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (North Vietnam).

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5. The situation is full of difficulty. Any attempt to take it outside the scope of the Geneva Agreements will make it even more intractable.

Jawaharlal Nehru.
Ends.

221. For Dag Hammarskjöld²⁵²

No. Primin-21126.

Please convey following message from me to Hammarskjöld.

Begins.

Thank you for your message²⁵³ which I have welcomed. I entirely agree with you that any reference of Laos issue to Security Council or General Assembly will not be wise or helpful at all. The new proposal that is being suggested to you may be helpful, but naturally it has to have consent of the two Co-Chairmen as well as of the parties concerned. Also I hope that it will be so framed as to be in the context of the Geneva Agreements and keeping the Commission in the picture.

Jawaharlal Nehru.
Ends.

222. For Pham Van Dong²⁵⁴

No. 24655.

Meneses²⁵⁵ from Desai.

Please convey the following message from P.M. to Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.²⁵⁶

252. Telegram, MEA to the Indian Delegation to the UN, New York, 8 August 1959.

253. See Hammarskjöld's message to Nehru, 7 August 1959, Appendix 24.

254. Telegram, M.J. Desai to A.G. Meneses, 8 August 1959.

255. Anthony Grevi Meneses (b. 1912); was an advocate before joining IFS in 1948; served in MEA, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and Indian Missions in Rio de Janeiro, Rangoon, Paris and Djakarta; Consul General, Hanoi, Aug. 1958-June 1960, and San Francisco, 1960-62; Ambassador to Cambodia, 1963-65; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1965.

256. The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Begins.

I thank Your Excellency for your letter of 31st July²⁵⁷ on the situation in Laos and your telegram of 8th August²⁵⁸ on the same subject which I received this morning.

2. We are also concerned at the increasing tension and conflict in Laos and the threat that the situation poses to peace in Indo-China.

3. As Your Excellency is aware, we approached the Co-Chairmen towards the end of May to take necessary measures to get the Laos Commission reconvened. As the Commission had not been reconvened and the situation had deteriorated further, we have again requested the Co-Chairmen a few days back to consider the situation urgently and give their advice and directions as to how the necessary measures of conciliation and mediation should be initiated to ease the tension and conflict in Laos.

4. The procedures laid down by the Geneva Agreements provide for the functioning of the International Commission and the review by the Co-Chairmen. The Co-Chairmen can devise appropriate procedures to deal with the situation in keeping with the Geneva Agreement and with the consent of the parties concerned and see that the Commission is kept in the picture in the procedures that they may devise. We are hopeful that the Co-Chairmen will take urgent action in this matter.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Ends.

223. In the Rajya Sabha: ICSC in Laos²⁵⁹

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:

Shri Perath Narayanan Nair:²⁶⁰

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the recent developments in Laos which have threatened the Geneva Agreements;

(b) what steps, if any, India has taken in the matter as the Chairman of the International Supervisory Commission for Laos; and

257. See Pham Van Dong to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix 7.

258. See telegram from Pham Van Dong to Nehru, 8 August 1959, Appendix 26.

259. 10 August 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-13, cols 13-18.

260. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from Kerala.

(c) whether there has been any proposal by India and/or any other signatory to the Geneva Agreements for the revival of the work of the aforesaid Commission for Laos?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). In view of recent developments, India has suggested that the International Commission should be reconvened for the purposes of conciliation and mediation. This, however, has not been possible owing to the objection of the Government of Laos. Some signatories of the Geneva Agreements have been in favour of the reconvening of the International Commission for Laos.

The Government of India feel that any step taken in Laos should be in keeping with the Geneva Agreements. The machinery laid down by these Agreements was that of the two Co-Chairmen and the International Commission. Any variation of the procedures laid down should be within this framework of the Geneva Agreements and should have the approval of the parties concerned.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, you will remember that earlier we pointed out the danger of the suspension of the Commission for Laos. May I know whether the Prime Minister now recognises the fact that it was a great mistake for him, for India as Chairman, to agree to the suspension of the Laos Commission which has led to the deterioration of the situation?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, the Prime Minister does not realise that yet.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: We are extremely sorry that some of the things we cannot make him realise in time.

Mr. Chairman: Come to the question.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that the South Viet-Nam authorities have been encouraging and in fact participating in these activities, military and otherwise, in violation of the Geneva Agreement and had earlier, even gone to this territory of Laos after attacking Cambodia?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I, if you permit me, add something to what I just said? It is not a question of my realising what should be done but of my capacity to do it. We did not want the Commission to be ended or postponed indefinitely.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

We thought it ought to be kept up in case of need but when the host country refuses to agree to that, we cannot thrust the Commission on it and the Government of Laos did not agree.

Ultimately it was agreed that it should be adjourned or I forget the word ...

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Adjourned.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ... adjourned sine die so that it might be reconvened when necessity arose and for that purpose we did not have a separate Commission but our representative on the Viet-Nam Commission was also given the designation of being on the Laos Commission in case it was reconvened – it was General Tara Singh Bal as far as I remember. So also Poland nominated somebody. Canada did not nominate any one for this. So at the present moment there are two difficulties. One is that the Government of Laos does not agree to this being reconvened and secondly, the Canadian representative is not there. Of course, he can be nominated but the Canadian Government has said that if the Government of Laos does not want it, what is the good of their nominating anybody. That is the broad position. The hon. Member's present question is about some Viet-Nameese intrusion.

Mr. Chairman: South Viet-Nam.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that. The real trouble at the present moment is in the Northern provinces of Laos. There has been and may be very little trouble in the South too but the real problem that has arisen is in the Northern provinces.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: As the Prime Minister has said that the trouble is with regard to the two Northern provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly, what is their position under the Geneva Agreement?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Geneva Agreement lays down two principal steps to be taken. The whole idea of that agreement was to maintain the integrity of the Kingdom of Laos and to bring the different opposing parties together within the scope of that Kingdom. That is to say, the two Northern provinces which were in the possession of the Pathet Laos should be brought into the Kingdom. At the same time the Pathet Laotians should be incorporated – their armed forces and their civilian personnel – in the Laotian Government apparatus. This argument went on for years as to what is to be done, first, one party saying 'You take this step and then the other step will follow'. Ultimately some kind of

agreement was arrived at and something happened but a little later it broke down and we are now suffering from that breakdown.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha: May I know if the Geneva Agreement, either expressly or by implication, gives freedom to neighbouring States to encourage and support armed insurrection if the Geneva Agreement cannot be implemented or its implementation is made difficult?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not require me to answer that. The Geneva Agreement does not support any armed intervention anywhere.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is not a fact that Articles 16, 17, 18 and 19 aiming at preventing the resumption of hostilities have been systematically violated by South Viet-Nam, and the Laotian Government has been sought to be embroiled? The present development is the outcome, following the suspension of the International Commission.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member goes on referring to South Viet-Nam. All these borders are troublesome borders but for the moment I have not heard of any particular development on the Southern border of Laos or South Viet-Nam.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: Is it a fact that trouble has broken out afresh because of the resistance of the old Pathet Lao Army in the northern provinces to its integration with the Royal Laotian Army?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is partly true, Sir. But according to them, that is to the Pathet Lao people, trouble has broken out because they were not properly integrated, that they were given inferior places and their leaders and others were arrested and so on. It is all a complicated thing. There have been arguments and odd things have happened in Laos on both sides.

Shri N.M. Lingam: While not agreeing to the reconvening of the Supervisory Commission, the Laotian Government seems to have represented to the United Nations that North Viet-Nam is causing trouble in the northern borders. May I know whether the Government of India have been approached by the United Nations in this connection, and if so, whether this complaint of Laos does not attract the reconvening of the Supervisory Commission itself?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't think, Sir. I don't know if any formal approach has been made by the Government of Laos to the United Nations; at any rate, we have not been informed of it. Therefore this question of it formally attracting anything does not arise. The point is, you have the Geneva Agreement. Either you proceed under the machinery laid down by the Geneva Agreement, or you scrap the Geneva Agreement and you thereby in effect go back to the pre-Geneva Agreement position, to be dealt with afresh.

Mr. Chairman: Next question, Mr. Gupta.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: One more on this ...

Mr. Chairman: You have had enough. Next question.

224. In the Lok Sabha: ICSC in Laos²⁶¹

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos is not functioning properly due to recent developments in Laos;
- (b) whether the Government of India have approached the Governments of Britain and Russia for reorganising the International Commission;
- (c) whether the Government of India have also approached the Governments of Canada and Poland who are represented on the Commission in the matter; and
- (d) if so, the outcome thereof?²⁶²

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos adjourned sine die on the 19th July 1958 with the proviso that it may be reconvened "in accordance with normal procedures". In view of recent developments in Laos and on the Laos-North Vietnam border, the Chairman of the Laos Commission (India) proposed that the Commission should be reconvened. It has not been possible, however, to do so because of the opposition of the Government of Laos and the fact that the Government of Canada have

261. 11 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 1634-1639.

262. The question was asked by Radha Raman and 14 other MPs.

not appointed their delegate to the Commission. The Chairman thereafter requested the two Geneva Co-Chairmen to consider this situation and issue necessary directions.

(b) Yes.

(c) The Government of India have approached the Government of Canada on this subject. The Government of Canada, however, pointed out that as the Laotian Government was opposed to the reconvening of the Commission, they could not take the step suggested.

The Government of Poland have been agreeable to the reconvening of the Commission.

(d) In view of the situation in Laos deteriorating, the Prime Minister sent messages again to the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference (United Kingdom and the Soviet Union) as also to the Prime Ministers of Laos and Canada. In these messages it was pointed out that the procedures for conciliation and mediation laid down in the Geneva Conference should be followed, as otherwise the Geneva Agreements would lapse, and the Co-Chairmen were requested to indicate what the Government of India and the other Governments concerned can do to initiate mediatory and conciliatory processes to ease the tension and conflict in Laos. It is understood that the two Co-Chairmen are in consultation over the situation in Laos.

Shri Radha Raman: May I know whether, in view of the responsibility devolving on the Indian Government as Chairman of this Commission, any communication from the Indian Prime Minister has gone to the Prime Minister of Canada and also if any communication has been received by him from the North Viet-Nam Premier and, if so, whether any suggestions in reply were received or were given in order to be able to fulfil that responsibility which has devolved on India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): We have been frequently in communication, first of all, with the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, that is, the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union; further, with the Prime Ministers of Canada, of Laos and also of North Viet-Nam, and occasionally with some others too.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri.²⁶³ Has the Government reason to believe that the restrictions imposed by the Geneva Agreement on arms imports

263. RSP, Lok Sabha MP from Berhampore, West Bengal.

into the Indo-Chinese States and the strength of the armed forces, have been transcended and the present disturbances in Laos are attributable to this factor?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a matter of interpretation and opinion. Under the old agreement, – I am actually speaking from memory – only the French were allowed to keep some military forces near Laos for training and other purposes and other forces were not permitted to do that. Recently the French have withdrawn some of their officers and others and had come to an agreement, I think, with the United States, that some United States officials, I think about 200 or so, trainers and others, should go there to take the place of the French. On the one side, it is said that this is an infringement; on the other side, it is said that this is not at all an infringement. It is a matter of interpretation there.

Shri Khadilkar: Recently it was reported that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Mr. Gromyko had some discussion, as Co-Chairmen of the Conference in Geneva. May I know if Government knows what progress, if any, was made in those talks, what was the nature of the talks and whether it was helpful for the revival of this Commission?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give an account of those talks chiefly because I do not know the detailed nature of the talks. I have been kept informed that there were talks and that they were considering what to do. That is all I know. Meanwhile, of course, there is some kind of conflict proceeding in Laos.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the attention of our Government has been drawn to a statement made by the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. John Profumo, to the effect that Britain has received a letter from the Prime Minister on this question and Britain has already replied to that letter. If so, may I have a broad idea about the contents of the two letters?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give an idea of confidential letters, but I can give the House a broad idea of the position that we have taken up in these matters. First of all, as the Chairman country of that Commission, we are naturally concerned. We are there simply because of the Geneva agreements; it is under the agreement that we are there. If the Geneva agreements do not function, then we have no place left there. The Geneva agreements were drawn up at a certain time of serious conflict in Indo-China, Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia and they were meant to put an end to this conflict and to isolate in so

far as possible the Indo-China States from other conflicts in which other great powers might be interested – the cold war, the hot war and all that. The whole conception of the Geneva agreement[s] was to cut the States off from pressures from the great powers, so that they may work out their own destiny as best as they could and we were appointed Chairman. The Commissions, I believe, have done good work in preventing such conflicts, because it was rather a precarious balance all the time and difficulties have been constantly arising.

Now, when this difficulty arises in Laos, our natural attitude is that the Commission should help in processes of mediation, but the Commission cannot obviously meet over the head of the Laotian Government and against its will. It can only meet if they are willing that it should meet and the Laotian Government has not been willing. Our attitude again is, whatever is done should be done within the terms of the Geneva agreement. The Geneva agreement appointed the Commission as well as gave considerable authority of the two Co-Chairmen. The two Co-Chairmen may devise methods of dealing with the situation in terms of the Geneva agreement. They can only do so with the consent of the parties concerned.

Shri Nath Pai: There are reports that the Laotian Government has approached the Government of India to depute some independent observers to ascertain the facts. Such reports have appeared in almost all the national papers of yesterday. Is there any substance that such an approach was made to our Government? This is independent of our membership of the Commission.²⁶⁴

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Something has appeared in the Press, but we have no direct request to that effect or information.

Shri Khadilkar: In case this request is made to the Government of India, will the Government accept it, in order to avoid the dangerous potentialities of the situation?

Mr. Speaker: That is a hypothetical question; let the request come.

264. *The Times of India* of 11 August 1959 reported from Vientiane that Laos had requested New Delhi to send observers, independent of the International Control Commission, to the Laotian armed forces. Laos's principal objection to the reconvening of the International Control Commission was that Poland was taking advantage of its position as a member of the commission "for spying extensively in Laos."

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that Britain is of the opinion that this integration of the Pathet Lao battalion with the Royal Laotian battalion is a domestic affair and there is no dis-peace on this account and therefore Britain is of the emphatic opinion that there should be no reconvening of the Commission? May I know whether this has been communicated to us in that confidential letter that Britain has written to us? I want to know it because they have not kept it confidential. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs has not kept it confidential, he has said like that on the floor of Parliament. So, if it is communicated to us, we can also do the same.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing very categorical about these matters. The two Co-Chairmen, I take it, are searching for some way out. They may emphasise one aspect or the other. It has been pointed out to us that the Commission cannot be reconvened without the consent of the Laotian Government. It is an obvious fact that we cannot impose ourselves; we cannot infringe on Laotian sovereignty. That is perfectly true, but conditions may arise when, if the Laotian Government is willing, others will also be willing.

225. To Dag Hammarskjöld: Mediation²⁶⁵

August 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,

Thank you for your letter of 22nd August on Laos.²⁶⁶ This reached me on the 27th August. Our Ambassador Jha had already telegraphed the essential parts of your letter on 22nd August and he must have conveyed to you our provisional reactions which we telegraphed to him on the 24th August.

I am quite clear about the implications of your proposals for Stage II. For the present, however, I am not dealing with these possible developments as they arise only after Stage I has successfully concluded.

In the First Stage, you suggest that someone should get in touch with both Hanoi and Vientiane in order to explore with them under what kind of formula they might agree on a mediation, and you suggest that India might undertake this work. I am afraid that it has become very difficult for us to make this approach. We might be able to do so at Hanoi, for at least we have access

265. Letter.

266. See Dag Hammarskjöld to Nehru, 22 August 1959, Appendix 37.

there, though I doubt if, in the circumstances, this would lead to any substantial results. But so far as Vientiane is concerned, the attitude of the Laotian Government has become increasingly opposed to any such approach. More particularly, they appear to dislike the idea of a representative of India undertaking this kind of work. Our representative on the Vietnam Commission, Dr. Ansari,²⁶⁷ was requested by us to visit Hanoi and Vientiane and to have informal talks there in order to find out what the possibilities were. He visited Hanoi and met the D.R.V.N. authorities. He could not go to Vientiane as he was not given a visa for the purpose by the Laotian authorities. In order to avoid any embarrassment to the Laotian Government, he stated clearly that he would go there in his personal capacity and not as a representative of the Commission. Even so, he did not get a visa, and he has therefore come to Delhi without being able to visit Laos.

The Prime Minister of Laos has recently stated categorically in the course of a press interview that no understanding with the Neo Lao Haksat is possible and that he did not see any solution to the problem other than a military one. If that is the approach of the Laotian Government, then we can do little with them.

So far as the D.R.V.N. is concerned, Dr. Ansari got the impression that in spite of their political differences with Laos, they were anxious to find some way out of this conflict and to avoid any further deterioration in the situation. They laid stress on their anxiety that peaceful conditions in Indo-China should be maintained so that they can devote their energies towards the effective fulfillment of their Three Year Economic Development Programme, which, they said, was vital for their survival. They thus appeared to be agreeable to some kind of mediatory procedure.

When we considered this problem first, the internal problem was confined to political differences between the Laotian Government and the members of the Opposition. During the last few weeks, the situation in Laos has deteriorated. Now fighting has taken place and is likely to spread. To what extent North Vietnam is supporting the Neo Lao Haksat I do not know. But it is clear that the

267. Shaukatullah Saha Ansari (1908-1972); physician; Honorary General Secretary, Azad Muslim Board, 1940-43, and All India Muslim Majlis, 1944-47; Convener, All India Muslim Parliamentary Board, 1946; General Secretary, Central Committee of Union and Progress, 1947-48; Member, Delhi University Court, 1947-49; Counsellor, Indian Embassy in Turkey, 1947-48; Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bidar, Hyderabad, 1952-57; member, Indian delegation to UN, 1954 and 1955; Chairman, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Laos, and later in Vietnam; Governor of Orissa, 1968-71. The website of the Lok Sabha and *India Who's Who 1969*.

D.R.V.N. authorities are sympathetic to the Neo Lao Haksat and might help them in various ways as the situation develops.

On the other hand, the United States Government have supplied military equipment to the Laotian Government to increase its armed personnel both in the regular Army and the local militia. Prima facie, such armed help to the Laotian Government is specifically prohibited by the Geneva Agreement. If the Commission had been functioning, they would have considered the question of imports of military equipment on the merits and supervised those imports, giving the necessary clearance under the Agreement. As it is, that has become another matter of controversy with the D.R.V.N.

Everything, therefore, points to a continuation of conditions approaching civil war and perhaps progressive intensification with outside help being given to both parties. I really do not know what can be done in these circumstances. So far as India is concerned, we cannot thrust ourselves when we are not wanted.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

226. To M.J. Desai: Deadlock on Laos²⁶⁸

I do not think we should make any further proposals about Laos at this stage.²⁶⁹ We have made our position clear. Only yesterday I wrote to the U.N. Secretary General.²⁷⁰ We should wait for developments.

I am inclined to think that the Defence Minister should not go to Ottawa for this purpose. If some new development takes place we can consider what we should do. In spite of repeated requests by us to the Canadian Govt they have not given up their rigid position. Repeated references to them now seem uncalled for.

268. Handwritten note, 31 August 1959.

269. Nehru was responding to M.J. Desai's note of 31 August 1959; see Appendix 46.

270. See item 225.

(h) Africa

227. In the Lok Sabha: Diplomatic Relations with South Africa²⁷¹

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there is any possibility of the restoration of diplomatic relations between this country and South Africa;
- (b) whether any approaches have been made in the matter; and
- (c) if so, what progress has so far been made?²⁷²

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) to (c). There has been no severance of diplomatic relations between the Governments of India and the Union of South Africa; the Indian High Commission in the Union has been withdrawn but diplomatic relations continue through the High Commissioners of the two countries in the United Kingdom. There is no proposal at present for reopening the Indian High Commission in the Union.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know whether any fresh approach has been made in this connection by the Government of India to the permanent representatives of the Union of South Africa at the United Nations or the High Commissioner in London and, if so, if any notes have been exchanged and what is the nature of the notes and the reaction of that Government?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Annually this matter comes up before the United Nations and the U.N. General Assembly has repeatedly passed resolutions calling upon those various countries involved, the Union of South Africa, India and Pakistan, to discuss this matter. Almost annually we inform the South African Government that in terms of the resolutions of the General Assembly we are prepared to do so and the Pakistan Government follows suit, but thus far their replies have not been satisfactory. So nothing has been done.

Shri Assar: In the absence of direct diplomatic relations with South Africa, how are we keeping ourselves in touch with our Indian nationals?

271. 14 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXII, cols 2386-2389.

272. The question was asked by Harish Chandra Mathur and seven other MPs.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Broadly speaking, we are not keeping in touch with them. Naturally some news comes in various ways but not continuously or formally.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि दक्षिण अफ्रीका की रंगभेद नीति दिन-पर-दिन और बढ़ती जाती है और ऐसी हालत में क्या इस बात का ध्यान रखा जायेगा कि जब तक इस नीति में कोई परिवर्तन न हो तब तक हमारा उनका कोई राजनैतिक सम्बन्ध न रहे?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह आजकल की हालत है और कोई खास इरादा नहीं है कोई नया सम्बन्ध पैदा करने का जब तक कि कोई रास्ता साफ़ न हो।

[Translation begins:

Seth Govind Das: Is it not true that the apartheid policy of South Africa gains momentum day by day and in this situation will care be taken that until there is some change in this policy, we do not have any political relations with it?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This is the situation at present and we have no intention of establishing any fresh relations till the path is made clear.

Translation ends]

Shri Joachim Alva:²⁷³ Is it realised by our Government that it is impossible to continue any kind of relationship with South Africa where three million whites kick to death ten million blacks, murder them and abduct them and do not give any kind of protection to the population? This has been reported in British papers.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is arguing this matter. He has not put a question.

Shri Nath Pai: I think we do not have any trade relations as such with South Africa. Are the Government aware that goods normally imported by traders of Indian origin for Nairobi are then re-exported on a very large scale to South Africa?

273. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanara, Mysore.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe this is done to some extent. To what extent, I cannot say.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: May I know whether the Indians are still facing the same amount of humiliation as in the past and, if so, what steps have been taken by our Government to see that this behaviour changes?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no Indians in South Africa.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: Indian nationals.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no Indian nationals in South Africa.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: The coloured people. You know better than I.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They are not Indian nationals; they are not Indian citizens. There are people of Indian descent who are South African nationals. Is the hon. Member referring to them?

Shri S.M. Banerjee: Yes; they are facing humiliation. It is known to us.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Quite so. But that is a matter because of which this withdrawal of our representative took place.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: Has there been any effect?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Joachim Alva: Just one question.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member put a question earlier.

Shri Joachim Alva: Please allow one question. It is an important question. Is the Government aware that the South African Government has ordered 80 armoured vehicles from Great Britain and Great Britain has supplied two squadrons to South Africa just in order to continue its process of suppression? We being members of the Commonwealth, have we conveyed our reactions to this kind of military forces being supplied from Great Britain?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. Government is not aware of all this.

228. In the Lok Sabha: People of Indian Origin in South Africa²⁷⁴

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:

Shri Muhammed Elias:²⁷⁵

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 969 on the 6th March, 1959²⁷⁶ and state:

(a) whether the South African Government have since made any approach to open negotiations with India and Pakistan on the treatment of people of Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; and

(b) if so, when the negotiations are expected to start?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). No, Sir.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: In view of the violation of the U.N.O. Resolution by South Africa, have Government made any request to U.N.O. to take action against South Africa?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I do not understand what action the hon. Member contemplates?

Mr. Speaker: What is the suggestion of the hon. Member?

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: In view of the violation of the U.N.O. Resolution by South Africa, will Government urge upon U.N.O. to take action against South Africa so that they may approach the Indian and Pakistan Governments to open negotiations on this matter?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: That is exactly what we have been doing during the last twelve years.

274. 24 August 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 3966-3968.

275. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Howrah, West Bengal.

276. Lakshmi Menon had replied in the negative when asked whether South Africa had offered to discuss the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, as recommended by the UN General Assembly.

Shri Hem Barua: Is it a fact that India has asked for the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa to be inscribed on the agenda of the forthcoming General Assembly session? If so, what is the reaction of the Government of South Africa to this proposal made by India?²⁷⁷

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): I can only presume what the reaction is. The reaction is likely to be adverse. They do not tell us what they feel about it.

Shri Hem Barua; Is it a fact that the Prime Minister of South Africa²⁷⁸ made a statement in their Parliament recently to the effect that the responsibility for the Indians was on the shoulders of those who were anxious to take or help them? If so, does it mean an open invitation to India to interest herself more and more in the affairs of Indians in South Africa? If so, what is the reaction of our Government to this statement of the Prime Minister?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Presumably, the South African Government would very much like all these people of Indian descent – that is, their own nationals – to leave South Africa. I suppose the idea is that they should go and others should help them to go. Others are not going to help them to take away South African nationals to other countries. It is their duty to look after them properly.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether in view of this statement, our Government want to bring this matter specifically before the General Assembly for discussion?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What matter? There is nothing new in this. This has been said for years and years. We are discussing this whole question of these people. What else are we to bring before the General Assembly?

Shri Hem Barua: Is it a fact that a specific reply has not been received to any of our communications on this matter?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The Question Hour is not meant for making suggestions.

277. See item 200, fn 168.

278. H. Verwoerd.

Shri Hem Barua: I am not making any suggestion.

Mr. Speaker: I have been noticing that all his three questions are nothing more than suggestions.

Shri N.R. Munisamy: With whom does the initiative to open negotiations lie? Is it with South Africa or with India?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Both the Governments of India and Pakistan have already requested their respective High Commissions in London to get the South African Government to move in the matter. After all, negotiations can take place only if the South African Government agrees to it. We are trying our best, but we have not received any reply except an acknowledgement.

229. To B.V. Keskar: External Publicity for Development Projects²⁷⁹

August 24, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

A man from Tanganyika, Jumanne Masakiliya, came to see me today. Before I saw him, I referred to your Ministry to find out who he was and what he had been doing. I received some information which is given in the attached note.

When Masakiliya saw me today, he did not talk about his pay or about his debts or about any other troubles. He merely said that he had asked for leave for three months as he wanted to go back to Africa for a while. Although this leave had not been granted to him yet, it had been indicated that he could go on leave without pay. If that is so, he will accept it and come back after the leave.

Then he said that although he had been here for some considerable time doing the broadcasts in Swahili, he had hardly seen any part of India or our projects about which he had been talking on the radio. On his return to Tanganyika now, naturally he would be asked to talk about India and he would like to do so and, more particularly, refer to the progress made here and our various plans and projects. It would be obviously of great advantage to him if he could see some of these projects. Otherwise, it will be odd for him to say

279. Letter.

that he had not seen any of them although he had talked about them. In other words, he wanted to be given the opportunity to see some of these places before he left India on leave. He could not afford to do this himself and he wanted this tour to be financed by us.

I think that there is some reason in what he says. He could do good work for us in Tanganyika if he talked about various projects etc. that we have here. It might, therefore, be worthwhile to spend some little money on a tour of some of these places in India. We have made it a rule that when our Ambassadors come back to India on leave etc. we send them at our expense to see some of these places, so that they may have more intimate knowledge of them on returning to their posts. We have all kinds of other arrangements also to take people round in crowds. Therefore, I think that, on the whole, it would be desirable for you to offer these facilities to him to visit these places. He said that he was likely to leave India in about three weeks' time by sea. He could perhaps utilise two weeks or so in doing this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

230. To MEA: French Nuclear Tests in the Sahara²⁸⁰

With reference to the attached telegram,²⁸¹ we are certainly opposed to this atomic test in the Sahara as indeed we are opposed to any such test elsewhere. How exactly we are to give expression to this feeling, is not clear to me. Naturally if the matter comes up before the United Nations, we should repeat our policy in regard to all atomic tests and more especially in regard to this proposed test in the Sahara.

2. In view of what Shri Jha says in his telegram (No.180),²⁸² it might not be desirable to co-sponsor this request, but we can certainly make it quite clear

280. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 27 August 1959.

281. R. Goburdhan, the Ambassador to Morocco, telegraphed to Dutt on 26 August that French plans for a nuclear test in the Sahara, 500 kms from Rabat, had caused much anxiety; they hoped India would fully support their move at the UN General Assembly in this regard. File No. 5 (25)-UN II/59, MEA.

282. C.S. Jha advised full support in the General Assembly but not co-sponsoring the item "Question of French Nuclear Tests in the Sahara" owing to its "particularly Moroccan and African angle, vide document A/4183 of 14th August 1959." File No. 5 (25)-UN II/59, MEA.

to Moroccan Government and to others that we shall give them full support in the General Assembly.

(i) Other Countries

231. To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Elections in Malaya²⁸³

August 21, 1959

My dear Tunku,²⁸⁴

I have seen reports in the newspapers about the results of the Federal elections.²⁸⁵

I would like to offer my congratulations on the successful results of your efforts.

I look forward to your return to office to lead the Government of the Federation of Malaya and to our continuing cooperation in the cause of the welfare and prosperity of our peoples.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

232. To Surendra Mohan Ghose: Tour of Colonial Territories by MPs²⁸⁶

August 23, 1959

Dear Surendra Babu,²⁸⁷

Your letter of August 18.

A visit from some members of the French Parliament to India will be welcome. The dates, of course, will have to be fixed so as to suit both parties.

As for our MPs being invited to visit France, such an invitation will naturally be gratefully accepted. But I doubt if it will be possible for any one to go this

283. Letter.

284. The Prime Minister of Malaya.

285. Tunku's Alliance Party returned with a two-thirds majority when election results were announced on 20 August.

286. Letter.

287. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

year. There is also another point. Normally, our MPs have not visited the colonial or like territories of other countries. This would be rather an innovation, and I am not quite sure if this will be appropriate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(j) General

233. To Howard d'Egville: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association²⁸⁸

August 3, 1959

My dear Sir Howard,²⁸⁹

Thank you for your letter of 23rd July. As the matter relates to the India Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, I am passing on your letter to the President of the India Branch of this Association.

I understand that the next conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association will be held in November this year.²⁹⁰ Normally, our Parliament is meeting then and it is not easy for any senior Minister to be absent during the sessions of Parliament. I hope, however, that a good delegation from our Parliament will attend this conference.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

234. For Harold Macmillan²⁹¹

No. Primin-21123.

High Commissioner from Prime Minister.

Please convey following message to Mr. Macmillan.
Begins.

288. Letter.

289. Secretary General, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

290. The meeting took place in Canberra, Australia, 6-7 November.

291. Telegram, to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 7 August 1959.

My dear Prime Minister,

I am grateful to you for your two messages.²⁹² I am very glad to have the news about the Queen that you have sent me.²⁹³ The recent tour has been from all accounts very strenuous.²⁹⁴ Having some experience of strenuous tours myself I have come to the conclusion that there must be free days for rest. I hope that in any future tours that the Queen might undertake the programme would be lighter and rest days will be provided. Anyhow this strain is over now, and I am glad she is well and is having full rest now at Balmoral.

2. I have already sent a number of messages about Laos to you and Selwyn Lloyd.²⁹⁵ I have felt all along that it is essential to keep the frame-work of the Geneva Agreement working. Otherwise there will be no firm anchorage. If the two Co-Chairmen agree to any procedure in keeping with the Geneva Agreement and with the consent of the parties concerned, that will be welcome. But it is obvious that the consent of both the parties is necessary. It would be desirable also to keep the Commission in the picture in some form or other.

3. We have all learnt with great satisfaction of President Eisenhower's invitation to Mr. Khrushchev and a return visit by the President to the Soviet Union later. I think that this is very good news indeed. It indicates an earnest desire to try to break down the barriers of suspicion and thus make it easier to arrive later at some agreements.

4. Talks about the Indus Waters Plan are now proceeding in London.²⁹⁶ There are still some hurdles to be crossed, but I hope that we shall ultimately succeed in arriving at a settlement.

5. The developments in Tibet have given us many headaches and have had a powerful effect on opinion here. It is not our practice to make public condemnations but we have made our position clear to the Chinese Government and to our people. We have at present about 12,400 refugees from Tibet in India. Most of them have come directly to India. Some have come via Bhutan as the Bhutan Government was anxious to get rid of them. About a hundred more have recently come to Bhutan who will ultimately be transferred to India.

6. To begin with, we kept these refugees in some big camps, but we have been trying to disperse them as far as possible. We are arranging educational facilities for the young boys and some selected Lamas. The aged ones have

292. See Appendices 15 and 23.

293. The Queen's pregnancy was announced the same day, 7 August; Andrew, her third child, was born on 19 February 1960.

294. Of Canada, 18 June to 1 August.

295. See items 214 and 218 to 219.

296. See SWJN/SS/50/item 153.

necessarily to be looked after by us. For most of the others, except some Lamas, we are trying to find some work. We may be able to settle some on lands in the North-East Frontier Agency. There are also arrangements to train selected refugees in crafts. The senior Lamas are being given facilities to continue their studies according to Tibetan-Buddhist traditions. In all these matters we have proceeded in consultation with the Dalai Lama.

7. The Dalai Lama and his party are still at Mussoorie. There appears to be little chance of his returning to Tibet in the foreseeable future. He has no present intention of going outside India. Probably he will pay a visit to us in Delhi next month. He is a charming and intelligent young man.

8. It is a little difficult to get any detailed or accurate information about conditions in Tibet. But it would appear that the Chinese Government sent large forces to Tibet and have succeeded in crushing the rebellion there except for a few small pockets. There is a military administration all over Tibet and an attempt is being made to push through their reforms which means confiscation of lands belonging to the landlord classes and the principal monasteries and distributing them among landless people. There is also a definite attempt to destroy the influence of the Lamas. There are also reports of considerable numbers of Chinese being brought to settle in Tibet.

9. We have had some difficulties about the treatment of our nationals in Tibet and we have been carrying on correspondence with the Chinese Government on this subject.

10. You mentioned the question of newsprint. I am enquiring into this matter.²⁹⁷

With kind regards,

Jawaharlal.
Ends.

235. For Selwyn Lloyd²⁹⁸

No. Primin 21127.

Please convey following message to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd:

Begins:

Thank you for the two messages I have received from you from Geneva.²⁹⁹

297. See item 114.

298. Telegram, to the Indian High Commission, London, 8 August 1959.

299. See Appendices 19 and 21.

Laos. I have this morning sent a message to Mr. Macmillan³⁰⁰ which you no doubt have seen. We shall welcome any step which is within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements and which has consent of the parties concerned.

The Geneva Conference at which you have laboured so hard and with such ability for so long certainly did not produce any satisfactory result.³⁰¹ And yet I feel we should not be too depressed about these meetings. The problems were exceedingly difficult and wrapped up in layers of fear and suspicion. I think that something has been achieved which will help in the future. I should like, if I may, to congratulate you on your patient and persistent efforts to bridge the gaps that existed. I am sure your efforts have not been in vain.

The decision for an exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower is itself a very happy and important development. We all feel that Mr. Macmillan has helped greatly in bringing this about.

With all good wishes,

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Ends.

236. To N.R. Pillai: Problems of Underdeveloped Countries³⁰²

I have read this new revised note of the interview.³⁰³ There is nothing very new in it and I hardly think it necessary to circulate it. If however you think it worthwhile to do so, you might have copies sent to the Ministers mentioned.

When Professor Mahalanobis came back from the USSR, on the last occasion,³⁰⁴ he spoke to me about what is referred to here as a proposal to convene an International Economic Conference. The idea was that, to begin with, a small number of persons from England, America, Poland, Soviet Union and one or two others, perhaps like Japan, Germany or France, should constitute

300. Perhaps Nehru is referring to his message to Macmillan sent through Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit at 23.30 hrs on 7 August 1959; see item 234.

301. The Foreign Ministers' Conference was adjourned indefinitely on 5 August 1959. See Selwyn Lloyd to Nehru, Appendix 22.

302. Note, 8 August 1959.

303. It is not clear which interview.

304. P.C. Mahalanobis, Member, Planning Commission, and Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, visited the USSR in May 1959.

themselves into a group to consider particular problems of underdeveloped countries. These persons could meet and discuss these matters and then invite a larger body of persons so interested, say about 30 or 40, to meet and discuss these matters. All this to be on the non-official level and Government need not be directly concerned. This conference or group to be almost a continuing body keeping in touch with each other and exchanging papers etc.

I am not quite sure of the details of this scheme, but I think it was more or less on the lines I have indicated above. He mentioned to me the names of some British scientists and economists who had expressed their interest and approval of this move. I told Professor Mahalanobis that I saw no objection to it and it might do some good.

237. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike: Proposed Asian-African Conference³⁰⁵

August 8, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of July 31 with which you have sent me a copy of a letter from the Foreign Minister of Pakistan.³⁰⁶

I agree that, in the circumstances, Israel should not be invited to the conference even as an observer. Also that the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union should not be invited. I further agree with you that Australia and New Zealand should not be invited. I had no personal objection to an invitation being issued to Australia and New Zealand, but considering all the circumstances, it is better to confine our invitations to the old invitees plus the new Governments which have become free since then.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

305. Letter. File No. 3200 (8)-SD/59, MEA.

306. See S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike to Nehru, 31 July 1959, Appendix 10. For previous reference, see SWJN/SS/50/item 183.

238. To K.P.S. Menon: Proposed Exchange of Visits by Khrushchev and Eisenhower³⁰⁷

No. Primin 21124.

K.P.S. Menon³⁰⁸ from Prime Minister.

I have already expressed in public my great satisfaction at the decision of Mr. Khrushchev paying a visit to the United States and President Eisenhower paying a return visit to the Soviet Union. I should like you to convey to Mr. Khrushchev how happy I am to learn of this decision and to congratulate him on it. I am sure that this development is of great importance for world peace and I earnestly hope that it will lead to a lessening of tensions and facilitate future summit talks and agreements. Please also convey my deep regards to him.

239. To M.C. Chagla: Proposed Exchange of Visits by Khrushchev and Eisenhower³⁰⁹

No. Primin 21125.

Chagla from Prime Minister.

I have already expressed in public my great satisfaction at the news that Mr. Khrushchev will be visiting President Eisenhower and that later President Eisenhower will pay a return visit to the Soviet Union. I should like you to convey to President Eisenhower my happiness at these developments and my congratulations to him on this important step which he has taken and which may well have far-reaching results in lessening international tension and promoting cause of world peace. Please also convey my deep personal regards to the President.

307. Telegram, 8 August 1959.

308. The Ambassador of India to USSR.

309. Telegram, 8 August 1959.

240. To Otto Grotewohl: Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Geneva³¹⁰

August 10, 1959

Your Excellency,

I am grateful to you for your letter of July 29th which has just reached me.³¹¹ I thank you also for sending me a pamphlet containing various statements made by your Minister of Foreign Affairs.³¹² These accounts will be helpful to us in understanding various aspects of the German problem.

We have naturally been interested in the recent discussions held at Geneva and have followed them with a great deal of attention. I regret that they did not yield any substantial results. I think, however, that these talks were helpful in clarifying the situation and narrowing the issues. Much misunderstanding has been removed and, in a sense, the next step has been made easier.

Although no understanding was reached at Geneva, the prolonged discussions indicated the earnest desire of all the parties concerned to explore the avenue to peaceful settlement. There has been so much misunderstanding and suspicion in the past that it is not surprising that agreements are not easy. I think, however, that some advance has been made and we should look forward to greater results in the future.

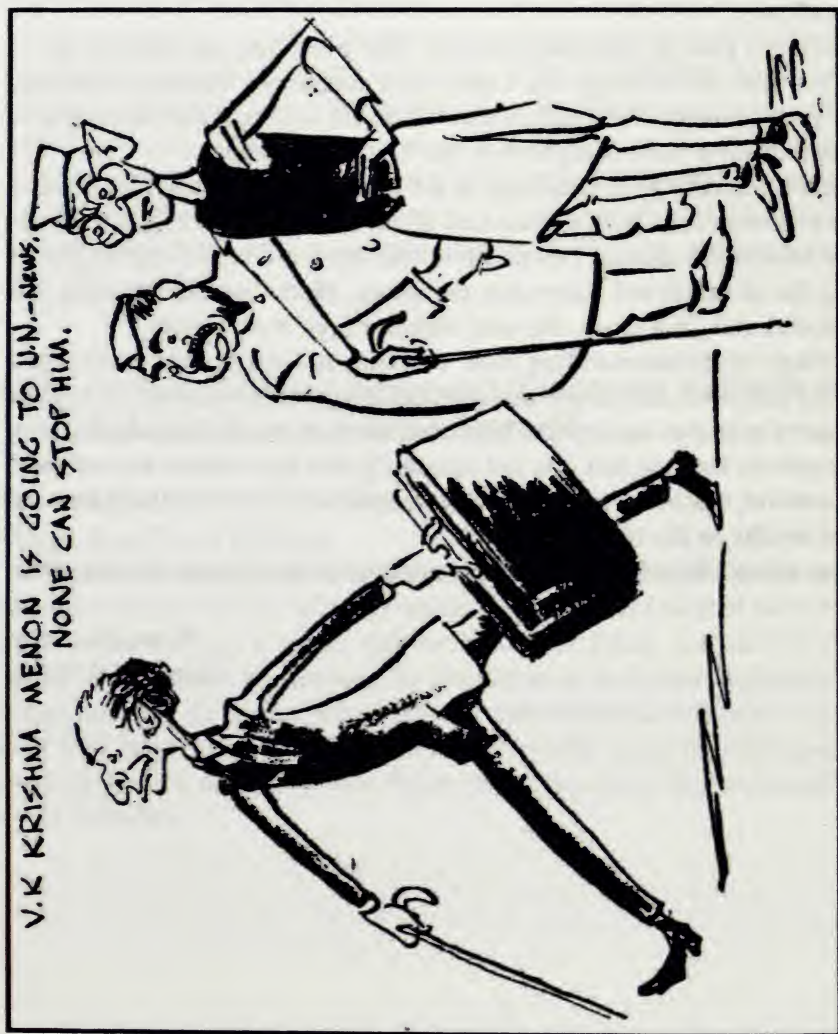
Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

310. Letter.

311. See Appendix 6.

312. Lothar Bolz.



[From left: V.K. Krishna Menon, Jagjivan Ram, Morarji Desai]
(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 AUGUST 1959)

241. To MEA: Delegation to the UN General Assembly³¹³

Yesterday, Shri G.S. Pathak³¹⁴ came to see me about the delegation.³¹⁵ He said that he was engaged as Senior Counsel in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case. He was not likely to be required there till probably the end of November. After that, it may be necessary for him to attend the Court hearings. Therefore, he wanted to know if he could come back from the Delegation when he was needed here. I told him that if necessity arose, he could come back. He said that he would arrange to get the papers of the case, that is, reports of the evidence which was being given now, sent to him to New York, so that he could keep in touch with it.

2. At the suggestion of the Defence Minister, I saw Shri J.N. Sahni³¹⁶ this evening and told him that I would like him to go with our Delegation, but that our list of Delegates was full and, therefore, I would like him to go as an Adviser. That really made no difference to the work he would do. He said that he would, of course, carry out any directions that I gave him. All he was anxious was that his status and prestige should not suffer. Otherwise his work would also suffer. I told him that there was no question of his status suffering.

3. You can now issue the list of the Delegation as already arranged. Shri J.N. Sahni's name will appear at the top of the list of Advisers.³¹⁷

4. If a Delegate returns before the Session ends, as Shri G.S. Pathak intends doing, it may be desirable to make one of the Alternates a full Delegate in place of Shri G.S. Pathak. In that event, Shri J.N. Sahni can be made to fill the vacancy caused among the Alternates.

313. Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 15 August 1959.

314. Gopal Swarup Pathak; advocate and a former Judge of the Allahabad High Court; Member of the Indian Delegation to the UN General Assembly several times from 1946 to 1959.

315. The composition of the Indian delegation for the 14th regular session of the UN General Assembly beginning 15 September was announced on 16 August. The Representatives were: V.K. Krishna Menon (Leader); R. Venkataraman, Minister, Government of Madras; G.S. Pathak; C.S. Jha; and Mohan Sinha Mehta, formerly the Ambassador of India in Switzerland. The Alternate Representatives were: Harishwar Dayal; M. Gopala Menon; M. Govinda Reddy, MP; Jagannath Rao, MP; and B.N. Adarkar. *The Tribune*, 17 August 1959.

316. A former Editor of *The Hindustan Times*, *National Call* and *Indian News Chronicle*, and an author.

317. The Advisers to the delegation were: J.N. Sahni; M.A. Vellodi; A.K. Mitra; M. Rasgotra; and R.C. Arora.

242. To Subimal Dutt: Indian Delegation's Stopovers in Moscow and GDR³¹⁸

I do not see any difficulty about this proposal. For this small Delegation to go for two or three days to Germany, or for two or three days to Moscow, does not require special invitations. We should not even suggest invitations. It is quite natural nowadays for people coming back via Moscow to spend two or three days there. Our Ambassador can make arrangements for them at a hotel. Of course, as a matter of courtesy, he can inform the Soviet Government about their passing through Moscow.

2. It would be rather absurd for the West German Government to feel hurt because these people go to East Berlin or East Germany. We cannot tie up our people in this way. I feel that it would be much better, therefore, for them not to invite or accept invitations, but to go of their own accord and have their own arrangements for stay at these two or three places. This should be made clear to our Delegation.

3. I see that Dr. Kunzru has expressed a wish to meet all manner of big people in West Germany. Whatever interviews can be easily arranged, should be so arranged. But it does not seem desirable to push the German leaders about because our Delegation goes there for a day. This will apply to other places too.

243. To B.D. Jatti: The Aloka International Training Centre³¹⁹

August 25, 1959

My dear Jatti,

Your letter of the 13th August about the International Training Centre 'Aloka' ³²⁰ The Director of this Institution has requested that the lease period should be extended to 12 years, and you are agreeable to this. ³²¹

We have no objection to your extending this period to 12 years. It is suggested, however, that a clause might be added in the lease deed to terminate the lease at 6 months' notice.

318. Note, 18 August 1959.

319. Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt.

320. For previous reference to Aloka, see SWJN/SS/45/pp. 794-795.

321. The previous lease was for five years. File No. 15 (45)-UN I/58, MEA.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

There is one other point that might be made clear. Because of long-term activities at this centre, some people may stay there for several years. This would not necessarily entitle any one to claim Indian nationality at a future date.³²²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

322. Having written the letter, Nehru wrote to Dutt: "I have said something in it, as suggested by Joint Secretary S. Sen, that there should be a clause in the lease deed to terminate the lease at six months' notice. Although I have put this in my letter, it is not quite clear to me what this means. Does it mean that within the 12 years we can at any time give this notice, or does it refer to the subsequent period after 12 years?" Nehru asked Dutt to forward the letter if appropriate. Dutt noted on 28 August, "It is rather odd that we should raise the question of citizenship in this context. However PM is busy & I do not want to trouble him." He instructed that the letter be dispatched. File No. 15 (45)-UN I/58, MEA.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

244. To All India Animal Welfare Conference¹

I send my good wishes to the All India Animal Welfare Conference.² In India, in theory, we are very kind to animals and indeed we practically worship some of them; in practice, we are not at all kind and sometimes we are even callous. Real kindness comes from a sense of friendship, and we seldom have that sense of friendship with animals. I hope it will grow.

Through the labours especially of Shrimati Rukmani Devi Arundale, Government have been induced to prepare a comprehensive legislation for the prevention of cruelty to animals. I hope that this will be enacted before long and bring relief to so many of our friends.

245. To Richard C. Rodgers: World Situation³

August 16, 1959

Dear Dr. Rodgers,⁴

Thank you for your letter of August 2, 1959. I can quite appreciate your great anxiety at the world situation and the gradual drift possibly towards a terrible war. I agree that we should do our utmost to prevent such a catastrophe from coming. I am sure that the vast majority of the people all over the world want to prevent this. But suspicions and fears come in their way, and fear is perhaps the worst companion what an individual or a country can have.

So far as we in India are concerned, we are devoted to world peace and our Government has endeavoured, within the limits of its capacity, to work for peace. Governments have to work on the diplomatic level. They cannot normally lead agitations which come in the way of such influence as they can exercise on other levels. Individuals and groups, however, can and should certainly function over a wider field.

1. Message, 3 August 1959.
2. The conference, sponsored jointly by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Calcutta, and the All-India Animal Welfare Association, Bombay, was held in New Delhi on 5 and 6 August 1959. *The Hindustan Times*, 5 August 1959.
3. Letter.
4. A resident of 3014, Estrella Street, Tampa 9, Florida.

Personally I think that there is a slight turn for the better in the international situation. There is widespread realisation not only among people generally but also among those in authority in Governments that every effort should be made to prevent war. Probably a deliberate and declared war will hardly take place, but there is always the danger of some accident or someone's individual folly leading to conflict.

It would be presumptuous on my part to advise people of other countries as to what they should do. They have their own leaders who are wide awake to the situation.

It is easy to say that there should be some international order or some enforceable international law to prevent individual nations from misbehaving. But such an order cannot be brought about artificially. The United Nations, as it is at present, has to face all kinds of national rivalries and difficulties. New organisations cannot be evolved unless the basic causes of fear and hatred are removed. Perhaps, to some extent, that process is continuing. In any event, we should all try to do our best, in our individual and group capacities, to further that process.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

246. To Rajendra Prasad: A Rainbow on Independence Day⁵

17th August 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,




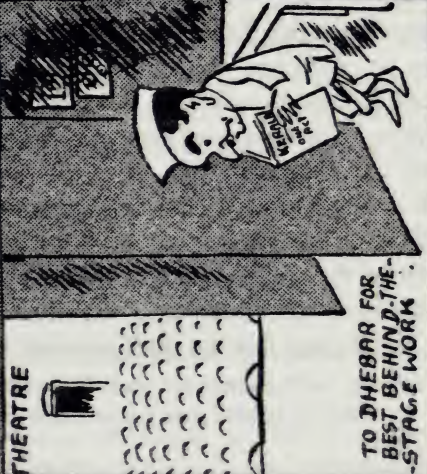


I have just received your letter of the 15th August.⁶ Need I tell you how much I appreciate what you have written. I am very grateful to you for it. I know well how I can always rely on your advice and affection and I shall not hesitate to take advantage of both.

It is true that we are being rather overwhelmed with problems which grow in difficulty and intensity. The two relieving features are that we have still the benefit of the advice and comradeship of old and experienced comrades and that we have faced very difficult situations in the past and overcome them. I have every hope that we shall get over this crucial phase also.

5. Letter.

6. Rajendra Prasad was on a visit to Hyderabad at the time.

Independence Day Awards

<p>LITERATURE</p>  <p>JOINTLY AWARDED TO INDIRA AND R. SHANKAR</p>	<p>ART</p>  <p>TO SRI NEHRU FOR HIS MASTERPIECE "MY MIND"</p>	<p>MUSIC</p>  <p>TO C. R. FOR HIS EFFORT AT REVIVAL OF ANCIENT FORMS</p>
<p>THEATRE</p>  <p>TO DHEBAR FOR BEST BEHIND-THE- -STAGE WORK</p>	<p>DANCE</p>  <p>TO E.M.S FOR THE RESTRAINED PERFORMANCE OF A DIFFICULT ROLE</p>	<p>SPORT</p>  <p>TO PANTJI FOR TECHNICAL K.O.</p>

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 AUGUST 1959)

On our Independence Day, at the party given by the Vice-President at Rashtrapati Bhavan, as we came out of the house into the gardens, all of us saw a brilliant rainbow right over the main building. It seemed to us that that was a good omen on this auspicious day. I am afraid we are all a little superstitious.

Again thanking you with all my heart,

I am,
Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

247. In the Lok Sabha: The Death of Saiyid Fazl Ali⁷

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I have your permission to inform the House of a sad event that took place early this morning – the passing away of a very distinguished public servant, Shri Fazl Ali, the Governor of Assam?⁸ It is not usual in this House to make references to the deaths of people unless they are, or have been, Members of this House, or the Assemblies that preceded it. There have been, however, special and rare cases when this has been done. I think that this case is a special case in which it is proper and appropriate that with your permission I might make a mention in this House.

Shri Fazl Ali was a lawyer and his principal career was on the Bench, a long career as a judge of the Patna High Court, then Chief Justice of Patna, then a judge of the Federal Court of India and then a judge of the Supreme Court of India. Altogether that covers a very long period of time. And he was a very distinguished judge too. Later he became the Governor of Orissa. After that, for a period he served in an important commission – the States Re-organisation Commission. Then he went to Assam as Governor. It was really his quite extraordinary qualities which led us repeatedly to seek his assistance in such important and exacting work.

There is hardly any office, certainly not the office of governor in India, which is more difficult and more exacting than that of the Governor of Assam, because, apart from being the Governor of an important State, he is the Special Representative of the Government of India in regard to tribal areas there and in regard now to the Naga Hills-Tuensang area. And as the House knows, we

7. 22 August 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 3797-3799.

8. In Shillong.

have had, during the past two-three years, a good deal of trouble in this area, a good many difficulties. We have always approached this problem, not from the point of view of just police work or army work of suppression, but always as that of trying to win these people in friendly ways – certainly, where there has been gross misbehaviour the police and the army come in – but otherwise to win them over, as we always went to win over people, our fellow citizens and our fellow nationals. In this work Shri Fazl Ali played an extraordinarily important and effective part.⁹

I came in contact with him very intimately in this matter during the last two years as Minister of External Affairs, because the External Affairs Ministry is specially connected with it. So, I can speak with personal knowledge of the great tact, wisdom, ability and patience with which he dealt with all these questions in the Naga Hills-Tuensang area. In fact, it was largely due not to any coercive apparatus that we employed but his wisdom that we have succeeded in a very considerable measure there. In fact, we had hoped and he had hoped and looked forward, to a very big step forward in regard to the future set-up there at a convention – not an official convention but a non-official convention of the Naga communities – which was going to consider it.

So, it is a very big loss to us, not only of a great Indian, a great public servant, but of a person engaged in this important and delicate task of winning over really by his goodwill and affection many of those people who are dissatisfied and who are troubled. Many of us will mourn his loss all over India. I am sure that the people of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Division will also greatly mourn his loss.

So, Sir, I venture to make this statement before this House and to request you and the House to convey our feelings on this occasion to the devoted wife of this great Indian and his family. I am not asking for this House to be adjourned, because on a previous occasion I gave an assurance that when such a thing happens we will not ask for this and create precedents for repeated adjournments. But without an adjournment I do think we might express our sorrow and our deep sympathy to the family on this occasion.

9. Saiyid Fazl Ali was appointed the Governor of Assam in May 1956.

248. To M.J. Desai: Prevention of Cruelty to Animals¹⁰

Unstarred Question No. 1697 for Lok Sabha.

A Bill has recently been introduced in the Rajya Sabha and referred to a joint Select Committee of both Houses.¹¹ This deals with the prevention of cruelty to animals. I am not quite sure what the provisions of the Bill are in regard to such a matter, but probably this kind of thing will be banned.

2. I think you might send a reply to our High Commissioner in London saying that we agree that this kind of so called sport is very undesirable.¹² We are not sure if the present law helps us in preventing it, but an official Bill has just been introduced in Parliament to prevent various kinds of cruelties to animals and possibly this may come into the scope of that Bill.

249. To Humayun Kabir: A Painting of Lala Lajpat Rai¹³

August 23, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of August 22nd about the painting of Lala Lajpat Rai.¹⁴ I spoke about this matter to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and he expressed a wish to get the painting for the Punjab. You might write to him and send him the photographs

10. Note, 23 August 1959.

11. On 13 August 1959, the Rajya Sabha referred the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Bill, 1959, to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament.

12. Nehru replied in the affirmative to a question by D.N. Tiwary, Congress MP from Kesaria, Bihar, in the Lok Sabha on 28 August 1959 whether he had received any communication from the Indian High Commissioner in London about a protest lodged by the League Against Cruel Sports, London, regarding the arrangements made in India for showing to a British Peer and his wife a tiger killing a staked buffalo. Nehru added that Government were considering what action to take to stop such cruel sports and games. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXXIII, cols 4839-4840.

13. Letter.

14. Humayun Kabir thought that the price demanded (about Rs. 6,000) for a painting of Lala Lajpat Rai by an American artist was rather high "as we have not paid more than Rs. 3,000 for a portrait even to our best painters in India." Since there was already a painting of Lajpat Rai in the Central Hall of Parliament House, and the National Gallery of Modern Art would also not be interested in the painting as it was by an American artist, Kabir suggested that the Punjab Government might like to have it for their Council Hall. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

etc. of this painting. On hearing from him, we can then write to our Ambassador in Washington.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

250. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Indisposition, Domestic and Foreign Tours¹⁵

August 25, 1959

[Nan Dear,]

I have just received your letter of the 22nd August.

It is true that we have had here a multitude of troubles and difficulties, and they seem to continue and be added to from time to time. So far as my physical health is concerned, there is nothing to worry about. I had a slight indisposition when I went to Mashobra, but I got over it after a few days. I have been dozed with all kinds of tonics and I have even taken to Sanatogen. I think it has done me good, and I feel fairly fit. But it is not so easy to cure the troubles of the mind. We are going through a bad patch in India. It is probably not so bad as people imagine, and there are certainly many bright spots. Nevertheless, it is true that we have to face at the same time many difficulties. The worst difficulty of all is the general sense of depression among our people.

I think that we shall get over many of these difficulties and this sense of despondency. For the present, we have to face them. As a matter of fact, I am better conditioned to do so even now than many others.

If you can come here, of course, you will be very welcome indeed. It was not my intention to go out of India, but, rather suddenly, I decided to pay brief visits to Kabul and Tehran. Partly this was due to a feeling that our friends in Kabul, who are very sensitive, were having that I did not attach enough importance to them. I had travelled to far countries, but not cared to go there. When Kabul was thought of for a visit, the question of Iran immediately cropped up, and I decided to go there also.

Apart from the reason I have given above for going to Kabul, I had also a feeling that a brief visit to countries outside India might be good for me and refresh me.

15. Letter.

Oddly enough, it is not very easy to go to Kabul and Iran from here. A Viscount aircraft cannot land in Kabul, and if I go by a Dakota, this cannot take me to Tehran from Kabul. But somehow or other we shall fix this up. It is my present intention to leave Delhi on the 14th September, spend three days in Kabul and three days in Tehran, and return to Delhi on the 22nd December. I am trying to induce Indu to accompany me. She might do so, but she has not quite made up her mind.¹⁶

My other engagements outside Delhi are A.I.C.C. meeting at Chandigarh from the 26th to the 28th September. This will be preceded by Congress Working Committee meetings which probably will take place in Delhi.

Then I go to Rajasthan for a day on October 2, to Bombay for two days – 3rd and 4th October, to Poona 5th October and return to Delhi on the 6th.

The Prime Minister of Mongolia is coming to Delhi on the 10th September for three days.¹⁷ In October, we are having visits from the Paramount Ruler of Malaya¹⁸ and the Prime Minister of Poland.¹⁹

I do not quite know how you will fit in your visit here with all this. But I need not tell you how happy I would be to see you and have you with me for a while.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

251. To MHA: Replacing George V's Statue with Shivaji's²⁰

We have no objection to this proposal from the Government of Bombay. If they so desire, the statue of King George V can be removed from its present place to a museum or other suitable place, and they can erect the statue of Shri Shivaji in its place.

16. Indira Gandhi accompanied Nehru during his visits to Afghanistan and Iran.

17. On 19 August, Nehru invited Yumjagiin Tsendenbal, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, to visit India. He reached Calcutta on his way to Delhi on 9 September, and arrived in Delhi the next day. JN Collection, the *Hindusthan Standard*, 10 September 1959, and *The Tribune*, 11 September 1959.

18. The visit was postponed.

19. The Polish Prime Minister does not seem to have visited India in October 1959.

20. Note, 25 August 1959.

2. A copy of my note dated the 13th May, 1957,²¹ should be sent to the Government of Bombay. A copy should also be sent to the Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust.

252. To J.D. Bernal: World Peace²²

August 26, 1959

Dear Prof. Bernal,²³

Thank you for your letter of the 20th August. I entirely agree with you that we should do our utmost to work for peace and understanding among nations and for the avoidance of wars which have inflicted untold suffering on humanity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

253. To Harsha Hutheesing: Cambridge Days, The Legal Profession²⁴

August 26, 1959

My dear Harsha,²⁵

I received your letter of the 12th August a few days ago and was glad to have news of you.

I was much interested to know of your experiences at coxing a College boat at Cambridge. I wonder if you know that I was a cox in my time at Cambridge. I had no particular desire to be a cox, but as I was a light-weight, I was selected for this work. On the whole, I rather liked it though my boat (it was one of the Trinity ones) did not perform any wonders. All we could manage to do was to go through the races with some dignity and avoid being bumped.

21. Nehru's note, addressed to Govind Ballabh Pant, was in regard to foreign statues in India, particularly those which were offensive to national sentiment; see SWJN/SS/38/pp. 170-171.

22. Letter.

23. John Desmond Bernal (1901-1971); scientist, peace activist and writer; along with Frédéric Joliot-Curie he founded the World Council of Peace, was its Vice-President 1950-59, and President 1959-65.

24. Letter.

25. The son of Krishna Hutheesing.

It is a very long time since I functioned in the law courts. I am afraid I have lost touch with that aspect of life. So many other sensations have come to me since then. Reading books written by great lawyers is apt to make one think of big and intricate cases. But the average lot of the lawyer, especially a junior one, is to deal with petty and rather dull cases.

I am thinking of paying a brief visit to Kabul and Tehran next month.

[Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

254. To A. Jamal Y. Khwaja: Accepting an Invitation for Dinner²⁶

August 30, 1959

My dear Jamal,²⁷

Your letter. I hardly ever go out to dinner as it interferes with my night's work. But I shall try to make an exception in your case provided you give me rather simple food, not too rich. For the present, however, I cannot go for some time. The next week or ten days are very full. There is also another reason. Indira has not been well and she is on very strict diet.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Letter.

27. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Aligarh, UP, and the son of Abdul Majeed Khwaja.

VI. APPENDICES

1. K. Kelappan to Nehru¹*[Refer to item 51]*

This is almost a desperate attempt to acquaint you with my mental anguish at the turn of events in Kerala. I brought to your notice and to that of Pantji long ago what was going to happen in Kerala if Kerala became a linguistic state. We all knew that Kerala would be under Communist domination; and if they got one full term they would establish themselves permanently and Kerala would be the spring-board for their onslaught on other parts of India.

Now the Centre has decided to interfere; and it may perhaps be a palliative. But let me emphatically assure you that it solves no problems. The new Ministry that will be formed will consist of naturally incompatible elements who will not be able to hold together for long. The Catholics are the most begotted [sic] and selfish partner who will perhaps dominate the show. They are the persons who are financing the present movement. Mannam is the show boy, and his own interests have some similarity to those of the Catholics. They both have vested interests to be safeguarded not only in the matter of education. The Muslim League is equally communal. Their interests also will have to be satisfied. These people may quarrel. If they do not, the interests of the masses will be given the go-by. And the election after the next which may perhaps be before the full period of five years, will give the Communists an undoubted majority. The common man will be the sufferer. Our education will also suffer. The only solution I can think of is the formation of a Southern State consisting of Kerala, Madras, Mysore and Andhra or any two or more of these. If the other states are agreeable, Kerala could be forced into the union. There will be a very large volume of opinion here to support the change.

If nothing of the kind happen, it is my fear, the whole of India may go red and Kerala will open the gate for the intruder as it did in the past.

If the Centre interferes now, because of the deadlock created by the political and communal parties in the new regime, the Communists will resort to the same tactics with greater effect and thoroughness. The Centre will be forced to interfere. If the reactionary Government that will be formed by the Congress, P.S.P., Muslim League, R.S.P., N.S.S., SNDP and others is allowed to continue, the whole country with the exception of the vested interests will rebel and hand over the Government into the Communist hands again.

1. Letter, 12 July 1959, sent from Santi Kutir, Tavanur.

Will you please see that we are given a Southern State which is multi-lingual and where the interests of the have-nots will be guaranteed? You can do it if you will be a little firm; and none else can. Now is the time. Hereafter it may not be possible. I have a greater fear of Catholics than of Communists. Your book 'Letters to a daughter' was prescribed as a non-detail text book in the High School classes. The Catholics objected to it. They demonstrated against it. There is no religion in the whole world where one man thinks for the rest of mankind, where the relationship of the religious head and the followers is that of the shepherd and his flock. Here is mental slavery which is responsible for all the other forms of slavery. We are between the devil and the deep sea. Save us if you can.

I would have gone to you and shed bitter tears at your door, if it were of any avail. My heart bleeds when I think of the future of Kerala and that of India. Is this going to be a cry in the wilderness?

N.B.

For a correct appraisal of the real situation here one has to understand Kerala politics. Here communal interests dominate. Casteism is our greatest evil. It is destructive of all political life. Very rarely do these communal interests unite. They are usually opposing forces. In the present agitation against the Communist Government they have come together. Don't think that it is hatred of Communism that has brought them together. This upheaval is the manifestation of a self-preservative instinct. S.N.D.P. (Ezhava), N.S.S. (Nayar) and Catholics (Christians in General) – the three principal communal forces in Kerala – have now come together – a rare phenomenon. So one may call the present movement a mass upsurge. It has no politics in it. Politics is the first casualty.

Congress was the hope of the country. But it has succumbed and degenerated into a communal organisation when it chose for its president² one who had no political traditions and who was all his life-time the leader of a communal organisation. It is a recognition of the dominance of communalism. Politics has gone under and communalism has triumphed. Communalism did not make much headway in Malabar when it was part of Madras for several reasons. Malabar had played an active part in the freedom struggle and had political traditions. In Madras Nayar and Ezhava interests did not very much count. When linguistic Kerala State was formed the Ezhavas of Malabar joined hands with the Ezhavas of Travancore-Cochin area. The N.S.S. did not make much headway in Malabar.

2. Refers to President, KPCC.

Now for the first time these communal forces have united and the Muslim League also has joined to complete the picture. The political organisations Congress, P.S.P., R.S.P., and K.S.P. have all simply fallen in line not to be ignored when the loaves and fishes of office are distributed. The only salvation for Karala is a multi-lingual state.³

2. Manubhai Shah to Nehru⁴

[Refer to item 96]

July 20, 1959

My dear Panditji,

Please refer to your Circular No. CD-583/59 dated the 16th July, 1959, addressed to all the Ministers.

I entirely agree with you that apart from economy, the present tradition which has persisted with regard to tours of Ministers is most distressing and irksome. I have been fortunate to have the experience of being a Minister both in a State Government and the Central Government and I find that in spite of my best efforts, the tradition could not get shaken of [sic]. In Saurashtra, of course, we had established quite a different tradition and nowhere we were being presented with guards of honour, salutations and police parades and nowhere the police parties were following us in jeeps and cars. After I came to the Centre, in spite of my repeated requests to all the State Governments not to provide any of these paraphernalia including guards and security officers for me, I find to my extreme regret, that wherever I go I am chased by the police party for security purposes and I have to disperse them somehow or the other by begging of them personally not to accompany me or accost me.

In my view, what is needed is a simple thing i.e., the Ministry of Home Affairs should draw a small note either on their own or after studying the present formalities in the different States and to evolve a simple uniform procedure. From my experience, I would suggest as under:-

(1) No guards of honour or security arrangements or police presentations be provided to anybody except to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister in the Centre and to the Chief Ministers and Home Ministers in the States and even for these two categories of Ministers the smallest number of police or

3. A handwritten remark at the end of the copy of this letter in JN Collection says: "A copy has been sent to Congress President."

4. Letter. File No. 20/11 (S)/59-Police I, MHA.

security guards should be provided. But, as far as the rest of the Ministers are concerned, there is no need to have any guard of honour, salutations or security accompaniments.

(2) Regarding the District Collectors and Commissioners remaining in attendance on the Ministers, this is really an awful thing which distracts the District Collectors or Commissioners practically from their official work. I have heard this complaint from the Collectors and Commissioners themselves. Therefore, instructions should be issued that no District officer should wait on the Ministers or remain present when the Ministers camp at any place excepting for such officer or officers whom any Minister personally wants to contact and whom he has intimated in advance. This is not at all difficult. For instance, if I have to go anywhere and if I want any District Industry Officer to discuss something with me, I can write to him in advance and ask him to remain present.

(3) Regarding the inaugural functions, perhaps it may be difficult to draw up any detailed rules, but the tradition can grow in a simple manner if invitations to persons residing over long distances are avoided. Perhaps, in this case, your goodself and two or three other senior Ministers can kindly take a personal hand in supervising the detailed organising of a few functions in a simplified manner. If the top-most leaders adopt a simple procedure in some cases, then it will not be difficult for others to follow because we all earnestly desire that too many functions should be avoided and they should be made simple. The inaugural functions are a headache and much expensive of time and money. More than anything else, these have become a butt of ridicule. Simpler and fewer ceremonies and functions will help a great deal in saving time and money and in building up country's morale. Desirable publicity can be achieved for important projects and conferences, even through simpler and fewer functions. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Manubhai Shah

3. Mysore Government Press Note⁵

[Refer to items 107 and 108]

Bangalore,
21st July, 1959

Press Note

RESERVATION OF APPOINTMENTS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE FOR OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES— FIXED PERCENTAGE FOR GROUPS.

Government have, in the Press Note No. 32 dated 15th May, 1959, and subsequent Press Notes, notified the lists of other Backward Classes of citizens who, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the Services of the State. In the Press Note No. 32 dated the 15th May, 1959, it has also been directed that the reservation for other Backward Classes shall be 57 per cent. In order to ensure that all the Backward Classes not adequately represented in the Services get adequate representation, it is considered necessary that the other backward Classes should be separately grouped and the percentage of reservations for each such group fixed. Accordingly, it is hereby ordered that the various other Backward Classes be grouped as specified in Column 2 of the following Table and the percentage of reservation in respect of each group be as specified in column 3 of the corresponding entry in respect of each group:-

TABLE

Group Number	Classes in each Group	Percentage of reservation
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	Bedar Haranshikari, Hatkar	3.3
2.	Kuruba, Kolari, Muniyani, Dhangar, Kuruma, Hegde (Coorg)	4.8
3.	Lingayats including Jangams and Kuduvakkals	10.9
4.	Mahrata, Marata, Arer, Maratha, Marati	2.8
5.	Vokkaliga including Bhants, Reddies, Kunchitigas, Nadavars and Kapus	9.2

5. R.R. Diwakar Papers, Box No. 34, NMML.

6.	Muslims including Kasai, Qasa, Qasab, Quarashi, Kathargu, Labbai, Mapilla, Pinjara, Pinjari	...	7.0
7.	Gangakula including Bestha, Meengar, Kabbera, Mogaveera, Ambigaru, Bhoi, Kabbaligar, Gangaputra, Boya		1.5
8.	Idiga, Billava, Maliah-Billava, Iligar, Ediga, Eliga		1.7
9.	Viswakrma, Kammar, Kammari, Kambar, Loharkammara		1.6
10.	Indian Christians		1.5
11.	i) Agasa, Madivala, Dhobi, Parit ii) Kumbara, Kulala, Kumbhar, Kummara iii) Nayinda, Bandari, Kelasi, Hajam, Navaliga, Nhavi, Nayindaru, Napitha. iv) Meda, Medar, Burud, Mahendra, Kaikadi, Pamlor, Konchi-Koruva, Myadara v) Ganiga, Teli vi) Lamani vii) Waddar, Wadar and Waddara		3.8
12.	i) Darzi, Simpi, Simpiga ii) Devanga iii) Neygi, Jada, Nekar, Jandra, Billimagga, Kuruhina Setty iv) Rajput including Ursus v) Satani vi) Tigala vii) Uppara, Sagara viii) Yadava, Golla, Gol		3.9
13.	i) Vysya, Arya Vysya ii) Banajiga iii) Kodaga (Coorgi)		2.0
14.	Jains, Ambiga, Annupa Gounder, Asthan-Golla, Are-Maharati, Arya, Akkasaliga, Sonar, Alitkar, Atari, Ammakodaga, Ayri, Bairagi, Bava, Gosavi, Bavaji, Bhatraju, Budbudike, Budbudkala, Bunda-besta, Boya, Badhai, Bedgi, Sutar, Bahuroopi, Balasanthoshi, Berad, Naikamakkalu,		

Naikwadi, Bhamppta, Chantichor, Bhavsar, Bhasti-Pakhali, Bukkitgar, Badiga, Balasanthosh, Balegara, Bhaat, Bhat, Bhavasar, Rangari, Banna, Chaptogara, Chapparband, Doga, Dombara, Dommara, Dombari, Devadiga, Devadasi, Natuva, Doodekula, Fakir, Garadiga, Gondaliga, Gondhali, Goniga, Gosayi, Gaur, Ghur, Gujar, Galada-Konkani, Gowda, Gangavar, Ghatti, Gudigara, Garudi, Modikar, Gavandhi, Gavli, Gavaliga, Ghisadi, Girini-Waddar, Bhandi-waddar, Ghatti-waddar, Mannu-waddar, Matti-waddar, Gangattinavaru, Gowndla, Gowda, Gorou, Hallikar, Hoogar, Jetty, Jogi, Jogar, Jatigar, Jingar, Julaha, Momin, Laddaf, Naddaf, Kaniyar, Kahar, Kalawanthula, Kannadiar, Kharvi, Kongu-Chettiar, Kerache, Koteyar, Sheregar-Kshatriya, Kalal, Kalawant, Kallawaddar, Kanchgar, Kansara, Katabu, Kabbaliga, Kabberu, Kalkutiga, Kanchari, Kanchugar, Kolhati, Kolhatni, Ladar, Maleyali, Maravan, Multani, Male, Moili, Muliya, Mali, Mochi, Manigar, Mehtar, Munnur, Munnur Kapu, Maleya, Nagartha, Nayar, Neeli, Neelkanti, Pandaram, Padmasali, Sali, Salian, Swakulasali, Parivar, Parel-Madivala, Parivarbunt, Poraya, Pagi, Pakhalai, Panchal, Pategar, Pandari, Patkar, Perika, Phoolmali, Phulari, Rachavar, Rawat, Rajapur, Rajapur-Lamani, Sadar, Saniyar, Sikh, Siviari, Sangtarash, Somakshatriya, Sutar, Wadhavi, Siddi, Tambat, Tamboli, Tammali, Tambatgar, Tulleru, Thoraya, Vajantri, Viramushti, Dasari, Gurka.

3.0

4. Mysore Government Order⁶

[Refer to item 107]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MYSORE

Subject:- Special provision for other socially and educationally backward communities in regard to admissions to Technical and Professional Institutions.

6. 22 July 1959. R.R. Diwakar Papers, Box No. 34, NMML.

Read:-

- [1.] Government Order No. ED 79 TGL 59 dated the 14th May 1959
2. Government Order No. ED 79 TGL 59 dated the 2nd June 1959
3. Government Order No. ED 79 TGL 59 dated the 1st July 1959

Order No. ED 79 TGL 59, Dated, Bangalore, the 22nd July 1959 – Ashada 31, Saka Era 1881.

In the Government Order dated the 14th May 1959 it was directed that the reservation for other socially and educationally backward classes shall be 45 per cent. In regard to admissions to technical colleges Government have now ordered that the said classes should be separately grouped and the percentage of reservations for each such group fixed for the allotment of seats in Technical and Professional Institutions. Accordingly, it is hereby, ordered that the various other socially and educationally Backward Classes be grouped as specified in column 2 of the following Table and the percentage of reservation in respect of each group be as specified in Column 3 of the corresponding entry in respect of each group:-

TABLE

Group Number	Classes	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	Bedar, Haranshikari, Hatkar	2.6
2.	Kuruba, Kolari, Muniyani, Dhangar Kuruma, Hegde (Coorg)	3.9
3.	Lingayats including Jangamas & Kudu....	8.5
4.	Mahrata, Marata, Arer, Maratha, Marati	2.3
5.	Vokkaliga including Bhants, Raddis, Kunchitigas, Nadavars, Kupus	7.3
6.	Muslims, including Kasi, Qasa, Qasab, Quarashi, Kathagu, Labbai, Mapilla, Pinjara, Pinjari	5-6
7.	Gangakula including Bestha, Meengar, Kabbera, Mogaveera, Ambigaru, Bhoi, Kabbaligar, Gangaputra, Boya	1.2
8.	Idiga, Billava, Maliah-Billava, Iligar, Ediga, Eliga	1.3
9.	Viswakarma, Kammar, Kammari, Kambar, Lohar – Kammara	1-2
10.	Indian Christians	1-2
11.	i. Agasa, Madivala, Dhobi, Parit ii. Kumbara, Kulala, Kumbhar, Kummara	

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

	iii.	Nayinda, Bandari, Kelasi, Hajam, Navaliga, Nhavi, Nayidaru, Napitha	
	iv.	Meda, Medar, Burud, Mahendra, Kaikaoi, 2.9 Pamlor, Konchi-Koruva, Mayadara	
	v.	Ganiga, Teli	
	vi.	Lamani	
	vii.	Waddar, Wadar & Waddara	
12.	i.	Darzi, Simpi, Simpiga	
	ii.	Devanga	
	iii.	Neygi, Jada, Nekar, Jandra, Billimagga, Kuruhina Setty	
	iv.	Rajput including Ursus	
	v.	Satani	
	vi.	Thigala	
	vii.	Uppara, Sagara	3.2
	viii.	Yadava, Golla, Gol	
13.	i.	Vysya, Arya Vysya	
	ii.	Banajiga	
	iii.	Kodaga (Coorg)	1.4
14.	i.	Jains	
	ii.	Ambiga, Annupa Gounder, Asthan-Golla, Are-Marathi, Arya, Akkasaliga, Sonar, Alitkar, Atari, Ammakodaga, Ayir, Bairagi Bava, Gosavi, Bavaji, Bhatraju, Buddudike, Bududkala, Bundabesta, Boya, Badhai, Badgi, Sutar, Bahuroopi, Balasanthoshi, Beda, Berad, Naikamakkalu, Naikwadi, Bhampata, Chantichor, Bhavasar, Bhasti-Pakhali, Bukkitgar, Badiga, Balasanthosh, Balegara, Bhatt, Bhat, Bhavasar, Rangari, Banna, Chaptogara, Chapparaband, Doga, Dombara, Dommara, Dombari, Devadiga, Devadasi, Natuva, Doddekula, Fakir, Garadiga, Gondaliga, Gondhali, Goniga, Gosayi, Gaur, Ghur, Gujar, Galada-konkani, Gowda, Gangavar, Ghatti, Gudigara, Garudi, Modikar, Gavandhi, Gavli, Gavaliga, Ghisadi, Girini-Waddar, Mannu-waddar, Matti-waddar, Gangettinavaru, Gowdala, Gowda, Gorou, Hallikar, Hoogar, Jetty, Jogi, Jogar, Jatigar, Jingar, Julaha, Momin, Laddaf, Naddaf, Kaniyar, Kongu-Chettiar, Koracha, Koteyar, Sheregari-Kshatya, Kahar, Kalawanthulla, Kanndiar, Kharvi, Kalal, Kalawant, Kallawaddar,	3.0

Kanchagar, Kansara, Katabu, Kabbaliga, Kabberu,
Kalutiga, Kanchari, Kanchagar, Kolhati, Kolhatni, Ladar,
Maleyali, Maravan, Multani, Male, Moili, Myliya, Mali,
Mochim Manigar, Nayar, Neeli, Neelakanti, Pandaram,
Padmasali, Sali, Salian, Swakulasali, Poraya, Pagi, Paknali,
Panchal, Pategar, Pendari, Patkar, Perika, Phoolmali,
Phulari, Rachavar, Rawat, Rajapur, Rajapur-Lamani,
Sadar, Saniyar, Sikh, Siviari, Sangtarash, Somakshatriya,
Sutar, Wadhai, Siddi, Tambat, Tamboli, Tammali,
Tambatgar, Tulleru, Thoraya, Vajantri, Viramushti,
Dasari, Gurka, Mehtar, Mannur, Munnurkapu,
Maleya, Nagartha.

By order and in the name of the
Governor of Mysore
Sd/-
K.M. Ramakrishnaiya
Deputy Secretary To Government
Education Department

To
The Secretaries to Government
The Director of Public Instruction
The Joint Director of Tech. Edn. in Mysore
The Registrar, Mysore University
The Principals of all the Colleges.

5. M.C. Chagla to Nehru⁷

[Refer to item 151]

Embassy of India
Washington, D.C.
27th July 1959
Sravana 5, 1881 (Saka)

My dear Panditji,

Mrs. Dorothy Norman has asked me to forward to you a copy of the letter she has written to me. As you will gather from her letter, she is very upset and indignant. I have written to her and explained to her that we all appreciated her

7. Letter. File No. 28 (68)/60-71-PMS.

interest in India and her friendship for India and her bonafides was never questioned. Feminine sensibility is always a difficult problem, but I hope my letter will suitably pacify her.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.C. Chagla

6. Otto Grotewohl to Nehru⁸

[Refer to item 240]

German Democratic Republic
The Prime Minister

Your Excellency,

During our friendly talk on January 13th, 1959, you expressed the great interest of your Government in the problems of the German people. Therefore I take the liberty to submit to you the documents on the attitude adopted by the delegation of the German Democratic Republic at the Six Powers' Conference meeting in Geneva.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that the questions which are being dealt with in Geneva are not only of importance for the six states represented there, but concern the peaceful interests of all nations. Thereby the voices of the people of Asia and Africa play a particularly important part, since these peoples and states also stand in the forefront of the world-wide struggle for peace and relaxation of international tension.

As you may learn from the attached documents, containing the statements made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Dr. Lothar Bolz, at the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic centred their attention above all on two questions: the question of the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Germany and the question of ending the abnormal situation in West Berlin. In adopting this stand they were guided by the conviction that the settlement of these issues will bring a relaxation of the situation in Germany and Europe.

The conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany would finally draw a line under World War II and would at the same time provide all necessary guarantees to prevent a new aggression emanating from German territory. Considering

8. Letter, 29 July 1959. File No. 21 (43)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

that twice within a generation Germany was the instigator of wars the devastating flames of which gripped the whole world, one will easily realise that the conclusion of the Peace Treaty is of great significance not only for the German people and the nations of Europe, but for all mankind. It therefore undoubtedly meets with the interests of all peoples to actively support the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Germany. The German people would great [sic] appreciate any such support.

At the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference the delegation of the German Democratic Republic demanded with special emphasis the elimination of the centre of tension which was created in West Berlin under the occupation regime of the United States, Great Britain and France still existing there. May I draw your particular attention to the fact that the German Democratic Republic made a great concession in order to promote a peaceful solution of this question when agreeing to the establishment of a special status for West Berlin in form of a demilitarized Free City, although West Berlin incontestably is part of the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

When the Western Powers refused even such a solution, the German Democratic Republic, determined to make at least a first step towards the settlement of this acute international issue, agreed even to a limited maintenance of the occupation regime under certain conditions.

The importance of the settlement of the West Berlin issue reaches far beyond the borders of Germany, since it would help to eliminate a centre of crisis, which continuously involves the danger of becoming the starting-point of a new world war.

In Geneva the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Dr. Lothar Bolz, pointed out that progress towards the reunification of Germany can only be made if the actual situation in Germany is taken into account i.e. the existence of two German states, which must reach agreement between themselves on the ways towards achieving their unification. This, however, does not mean that the German people reject the support given by other states in the complicated process of their reunification. It would doubtlessly be an essential help if other states drew such conclusions from the existence of two sovereign German states – which was confirmed anew by the equal participation of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic in the Geneva Conference – as would take into consideration these realities and promote the peaceful undertaking between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

I am firmly convinced, Your Excellency, that the enclosed documents on the attitude adopted by the delegation of the German Democratic Republic at the Geneva Six Powers' Conference will convey to you the impression that the

German Democratic Republic does everything to contribute to the solution of the problems which are on the agenda of this Conference. She knows that in this she is in accord with the demand for peace and relaxation of international tension voiced by the Government and people of your country.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Otto Grotewohl

Berlin, July 29th, 1959.

7. Pham Van Dong to Nehru⁹

[Refer to item 222]

Hanoi,

July 31st 1959

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to direct your attention to the increasingly complicated and dangerous situation in Laos.

The American imperialists are intervening more and more in Laos, actively carrying out their scheme to turn Laos into an American military base, seriously menacing peace in Indochina.

Under the pretext of the Franco-Laotian agreement to legalize the increase of the armed forces of the Kingdom of Laos they continue to introduce illegally into Laos new American weapons and military instructors.

On July, 24, 1959 Radio Vientiane announcing the Franco-Laotian communiqué said: "The two sides have dealt with the use of the various types of weapons so far supplied by the United States, and have studied the question of the use of other types of weapons than those generally used by French troops, To settle this problem the Laotian Government had decided to request the technical cooperation of U.S. civil experts who will collaborate with the French mission in training the Laotian Army".

Despite the camouflage of "technical co-operation of U.S. civil experts", everybody knows very well that these Americans are U.S. military advisers who have been brought into Laos to train the Royal Laotian Army in using modern U.S. weapons of other types than those so far used in Laos by French troops, and to further strengthen American control over the command of the Laotian Army.

9. Letter. Translation in File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. VI, MEA.

The above-mentioned action of the U.S. imperialists, the Phoui Sananikone government and the French government constitutes a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Laos. This is a new step in the U.S. imperialists' over-all scheme to interfere more and more deeply in Laos, to drag Laos into the aggressive SEATO military bloc, to turn Laos into a U.S. military base for extending the civil war in Laos and preparing for a new war in this area.

The fact that the Franco-Laotian communiqué said that "the plan requires urgent implementation" shows that the plan of the U.S. imperialists and the Phoui Sananikone Government to foment war in Laos is being intensively carried out.

In execution of the U.S. imperialists' general scheme to provoke a new war in Indochina, the Phoui Sananikone Government recently signed with the South Vietnam authorities and the Government of Thailand agreements ostensibly for economic co-operation but actually for military purposes.

Certain personalities in the Phoui Sananikone Government have been slandering the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and their propaganda organs have launched an intensive propaganda campaign to foment hostility and war psychosis in relation to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

I have already drawn your attention to the situation in Laos in my notes dated February 2nd 1959, May 19th 1959 and June 2nd 1959.

The above-mentioned facts show that the present situation in Laos has become dangerous, seriously menacing the security of our country and Peace in Indochina and South East Asia.

I earnestly hope that for the sake of peace and in accordance with the quality of Chairman of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in the countries of Indochina, the Government of India and Your Excellency will adopt an appropriate attitude towards the preparation of a new war in Laos by the American imperialists and the Phoui Sananikone Government, and will make use of your standing and that of the Government of India among the Governments responsible for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement on Laos, to assist these Governments to realise the urgent need for the adoption of measures for the resumption of the activities of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Pham Van Dong
Prime Minister of the
Government of the Democratic
Republic of Vietnam

8. B. Ramakrishna Rao to Nehru¹⁰

[Refer to item 48]

I am grateful to you for your Top Secret letter dated July 30,¹¹ along with which was enclosed a copy of the Secret Coded telegram.¹²

2. The trouble in Kerala has been brewing since soon after the last elections, and it was taking a shape which was causing anxiety to me from both points of view, as I have ventured to express so often in my Special Report. I entirely agree with you that the ultimate shape, which the trouble took, and the remedy which had to be found for it, is of a far-reaching character. The question of the application of article 356 in a case like this was not entirely free of doubt. I can very well realise your reluctance to lay precedents of this kind which will not contribute to the healthy growth of democracy. As I have ventured to point out, the Opposition in the State never reconciled itself to the electoral verdict and never tried to behave as a responsible opposition. So far as the methods adopted during the recent struggle are concerned, while the organisation has, in name, kept itself out of some of the objectionable activities, the whole lot of the opposition being one, I am afraid they cannot escape criticism. I hope, now that the result of their struggle is somehow in their favour, they will realise their mistake, and try to strengthen their organisations on the basis of cleaner methods. A spirit of understanding and a modicum of tolerance of differences of opinion is what is most lacking among the political parties here. Even among members of the same party, I find keener sense of mutual criticism than of mutual understanding. I hope, however, that having learnt a bitter lesson in the past, they would behave better and build up healthy politics.

3. There is no doubt that some of us even important Congressmen smarting under the electoral defeat by the Communists in this State contributed to the conditions as they developed to a certain extent. Of course, the Communist Govt did not also pursue the democratic way of discussion and adjustment, besides committing various acts for party aggrandisement. All these contributed to the wide discontent and unrest. If the Chief Minister had been wise enough to seek your personal intervention a few months earlier, this deadlock which compelled us to take the present action might not have arisen. However, I am convinced that acting now as we did, we had no other alternative. It is true, as you say, that the spearhead of this agitation being those who broadly represent

10. Letter, Trivandrum, 31 July 1959.

11. See SWJN/SS/50/item 44.

12. See SWJN/SS/50/item 43.

the communal and reactionary elements, they are bound to assert themselves and insist on their pound of flesh, even as a reward for martyrdom. The lack of unanimity between the various opposition parties and among themselves is a fact, and is one of the most important obstacles for building up any United Front even for the next elections. All these dangers have to be faced by all opposition parties, including the Congress, and the future depends on the extent to which they can forge strong unity among themselves.

4. While it is necessary that some measure of mutual understanding and some basic conventions should be established between the different parties in the State, I entirely agree with you that such democratic conventions have not at all been established, more particularly in Kerala. The press statement given by Chacko was exceedingly foolish and gave the Chief Minister a handle to say that the suggestion for reelections made by you would not satisfy the Congress if the result of the reelections went against them. There is no doubt that responsible leadership is awefully lacking in the local Congress Party. That is one of the biggest anxieties that we will have to face in the near future. I entirely agree with you that the enthusiasm whipped up against the Kerala Communists should not be allowed to transgress its limits and to express itself in the shape of any general crusade against International Communism. Some of the speeches made by a few Catholic leaders and also by Mannath Padmanabhan smacked of such fury and fanaticism. I think, however, that it was a momentary ebullition of enthusiasm than any real strength of feeling behind it.

5. So far as the immediate situation is concerned all necessary arrangements have been made both for the gazetting of the Proclamation and taking over of the administration on behalf of the President. The Communists, I understand reliably, do not wish to create any great trouble. There will probably be some demonstrations and processions. But this morning both the Chief Minister and the Law Minister were reported by the AIR to have declared that there would be no demonstrations on the part of the Communist Party and that their policy would be to ease the tension that is now existing rather than increase it. As they want to contest seriously the coming elections and try all their strength to succeed, they are not likely to waste their energies in infructuous demonstrations now. They will reserve it for some future time. The Opposition parties did intend celebrating "Deliverance Day" and victory parades and so on. But I think they will not do so now. I had already sent for Mannath Padmanabhan and all the other leaders of the opposition before I got your letter this morning in order to tell them that they should not have recourse to such celebrations and demonstrations. Your letter strengthened my hand and when I met them this noon at 12.30, I very strongly appealed to them. I mentioned

your views on the subject on the strength of your letter. I am glad to say that they accepted the advice and have promised to create a peaceful atmosphere. From tomorrow onwards, all picketing will be stopped and no "Deliverance Day" etc., will be celebrated by them. I hope it will not be necessary to ban processions etc., whether belonging to these people or those people. Both of them seem to be in a mood to act peacefully. At least I expect that in all these things there will be restraint. If found necessary, however, I will impose a ban on such demonstrations as suggested by you.

6. Shankar¹³ arrived here yesterday and is staying at Raj Bhavan. He met me and we had a long discussion. He has known Kerala personally and worked with V.P. Menon in the past. But I am glad you have made this arrangement only temporarily. I think I will be able to discuss with you and Pantji about permanent arrangements when I meet you next week in Delhi. Perhaps a more senior man would be a better choice.

7. Many thanks for your good wishes and sympathy. It has been a difficult situation here which has caused a lot of worry to me. But that is nothing compared to yours. My temperature has come down to normal only today. But I have developed certain blisters over a part of my chest and back, which are said to be due to a virus infection called Herpes. They are somewhat painful. I hope I will be well enough to meet you personally and discuss many other problems also of an immediate nature.

9. P.R. Madhavan Pillai to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 52]

The removal of Kerala Ministry is now a certainty and hence this letter for your kind perusal and favourable action.

The peasantry in Kerala is very eager to see the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill implemented before the end of 1959. The Kerala Ministry cannot do it as they are not to be in office. The Prevention of Eviction of Tenants and Kudikidappukars Act of 1957 enacted by the Kerala Government will expire by the end of 1959 and if the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill does not come into force before its expiry, the entire Kerala will be overrun by the all-out offensive

13. V. Shankar.

14. Letter, 31 July 1959. The copy available in JN Collection does not mention the place from where the letter was sent.

P.R. Madhavan Pillai was CPI, Member, Kerala Legislative Assembly, from Kunnathoor-General, and President, Kerala Karshaka Sanghom, Adoor.

of landlords to evict the tenants and kudikidappukars. Hence it is most urgent that Prevention of Eviction Act be extended till the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill comes into force.

We read in papers your reference to the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill the other day at a press conference. You are approving the Bill and you have even said that the Kerala Congress was not opposing the Bill. Hence we expect that there will not be any difficulty in obtaining the President's assent for the Bill. Hence we expect you to exercise your influence to obtain Presidential assent to the Bill immediately and to beg in the implementation of the Bill within a few months.

Nothing will stand in the way of implementing the Bill, if the President wants to implement the same before the end of 1959. If the Bill is not implemented before the end of 1959, none else than the Centre will be blamed for its non-implementation.

Hence I request you to take effective steps for the implementation of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill before the 31st of December, 1959.

10. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 237]

[Colombo]

July 31st, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

In continuation of my letter of July 22nd regarding the proposed Economic Conference of Asian-African countries, I send herewith a copy of a letter I have received from the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. I have no doubt that you would like to take this letter into consideration too.

It will be seen that Pakistan is not in favour of Israel being invited to the Conference, even as an observer, and I share this view, for the same reason as has been expressed by the Foreign Minister. I also do not think that in principle the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union should be invited. I do not, however, feel that as has been suggested by the Foreign Minister, Australia and New Zealand should be invited. They were not invited to the original Bandung Conference of Asian-African countries, and for the forthcoming conference we are confining ourselves to those countries. If we make an exception in favour of Australia and New Zealand we would have several other new countries

15. Letter. File No. 3200 (8)-SD/59, MEA.

to invite, all of them in Africa. It is true that we are inviting Malaya and Singapore, but the reasons are given in my letter of June 13th, while Australia and New Zealand are rather out of the Bandung orbit.

With kind regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike

11. G.M. Sadiq to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to items 45 and 46]

You had originally proposed to come to Kashmir towards the end of last month. But then you had to cancel your visit on account of the floods. On that occasion I had requested you by telegram that while in Kashmir you might kindly make it convenient to address the leading workers of our Party also. In making this request I was sure that no particular embarrassment would be involved because we felt that on the question of the basic issue, our Party and the National Conference agreed, even though our Party was functioning in opposition to the State Government. As far as you are concerned, as the National Leader of the country, we have an equal claim, if not more, on you. Our Party has emerged as the only State-wide and Non-communal party wedded perhaps a little more steadfastly than the National Conference to the basic objectives. We, however, were denied the opportunity of having you in our midst and I am in no position to dispute your judgment in this behalf. In my telegram I had also requested you that while in Kashmir you might kindly find some time for us to meet you. You came to Kashmir only for a day and your programme was so heavily crowded that our encroachment on your time would be obviously unfair.

This letter has been occasioned by some of the references you are said to have made to us in your address to the National Conference workers. The authentic version of your address is not available to us. In case the version that has appeared in the Press is a true reflection of what you have said then, I am afraid, your references to us do not correspond to facts. If, on the contrary, the Press version suffers from deliberate inaccuracies, then you can judge for yourself that by and large the local correspondents serve purposes other than those determined by the freedom and impartiality of their profession. The daily "Khidmat" the official organ of the National Conference, has reported your

16. Letter, Srinagar, 31 July 1959. File No. KS-25/59, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

speech as mainly an attack on us.

It seems that we are blamed for the demonstrations, hartal and processions of the 9th of July. Even Bakhshi Sahib did not accuse us of this. When I met him he appreciated the role of the Democratic National Conference in pacifying angry demonstrators.

What is the truth behind these demonstrations? On the evening of 8th of July a press conference was hurriedly called by Bakhshi Sahib, where he announced the increase in the sale-prices of foodgrains. There it was agreed that the whole thing would be kept a secret and the press correspondents would not file their messages till the next morning. Only the important workers of the National Conference knew that such a decision had been taken. On the morning of 9th July, we came to know for the first time that sale prices of rations had been enhanced and processions and demonstrations were taking place in various parts of the city. We also came to know that various elements were attempting to blame the Central Government for having intensified the Food crisis by stopping the rice subsidy and trying to charge me of having acquiesced in this decision. Amongst these elements, Ghazi Abdul Rehman, an MLA and some other important National Conference workers played a prominent part. It is also a known fact that I and some of my colleagues intervened with the demonstrators and succeeded to a considerable extent in driving reason home to them. The local Government, in order to seek a crude alibi from the situation, issued a press note the sole aim of which was to suggest that it was I who was responsible for the enhancement of the prices. I make this statement with the fullest sense of responsibility. Later, the demonstrations were widespread and on the whole peaceful. While you chose to condemn these demonstrations, I think it would be appropriate to disapprove of the action of the State Government in lathi-charging women and children who were proceeding peacefully to place their grievances before the Sadar-i-Riyasat. Perhaps you are not aware that we had announced a public meeting on the same day where we would have explained our position. This meeting was banned under Section 50. The ban continues to operate since then and was in force even on the day of your arrival in Srinagar.

Our position with regard to the enhancement of the prices of foodgrains is clear. In our opinion the timing and the occasion for announcing such a decision was singularly inappropriate. This stand was made clear by me in the meeting of the Food Advisory Committee held on June 3, 4 and June 29. In fact, in the last meeting of the committee, I submitted a written note. However, prior consultation of the Food Advisory Committee should have been sought.

For the current food year which ends in October the subsidy from the Central Government was already available. When appeals are made to every

quarter in the country for all possible immediate assistance for the flood-stricken people of Kashmir, it hardly stands to reason to deny them the relief that was already available to them, precisely in the hour of their misfortune.

I am in agreement with you that any form of subsidy or dole which is meant to artificially boost up an irrational price structure exercises an unwholesome influence on the soundness of any economy. But the question of subsidising the sale prices of rice in the city of Srinagar has to be considered in the light of certain facts which are peculiar to this city. For over fifty years every Government in the State has accepted and fulfilled its responsibility to feed the city of Srinagar. This is the only city in India which has been rationed totally for several decades. During the Second World War, when the prices of foodgrains sky-rocketed in the rest of the country, adequate rations of rice were sold in the city of Srinagar at the rate of Rs. 5/- per maund. The increase in the sale price of rice, if viewed from the price level obtaining in 1947 works out at about 150 per cent. Out of this, nearly 100 per cent increase has been effected in the short span of approximately one and a half year. The following table will make this clear:-

Sale price of rice per maund

1947 – Rs. 5/6/-; 1947 to Aug. '53 – Rs. 7/11/-; Aug. '53 to Dec. '57 – Rs. 7/8/-; 1957 to July '59 – Rs. 10/-; From July 8, '59 – Rs.13/5/4.

It is a matter of unfortunate coincidence that whenever an increase in prices has been announced by the State Government it has always chosen a time when people were in great distress. In 1957 the crops in the Valley were almost completely ruined by floods, early snow and late sowing. Initially in November of the same year prices were increased. The same thing has been done now. Is it possible to believe that any sensible Government would deliberately choose to intensify the suffering of their people when they are in great distress.

Then again, no proper census of the population of Srinagar has been taken since 1941. Some haphazard increases have been made in the rationed strength of the city but complaints persist that a large number of deserving people do not get their rice in rations. Further, two seers have been reduced in the rations per head from the scale that was in vogue till November 1957. All these requirements today are met from the black-market which in actual fact is recognised and functions openly. Rice both imported and indigenous, is sold at Rs. 55/- a maund. Several companies of C.R.P. and Special Armed Police have been deputed to ring off the city and the import of rice from the rural areas has been made a penal offence and is totally banned. Who, then feeds this black market and how does it function openly and unchecked? It has to be borne in mind that the population of the Srinagar city which is rationed is a little less

than 3 lacs. For nearly seventeen lacs of people of the Valley outside the city of Srinagar, rice has been available in the open market during the last one year at nearly Rs. 40/- a maund. Any increase in the sale price of rations, especially in the lean months of the year would result in a still greater increase of prices in the open market. This would also affect the procurement for the next food year.

The need for subsidy was recognised in the year 1953 in relation to the abolition of compulsory procurement of rice in the Kashmir Valley. The landed cost of imported rice was higher than the sale price of the rice which prevailed then. The difference was subsidised. The State Government had undertaken progressively to reduce the amount of the subsidy within a period of three to four years by accelerating the implementation of food production schemes. To the extent the increase would be recorded in the production of rice locally, the dependence on imports would be reduced and consequently the quantum of the subsidy would also be decreased. We have to recognise the fact that we have failed to redeem this undertaking. Our failure in the sphere of food production is only a part of the general malaise which besets our current Five Year Plan. At the end of the plan, an increase of 30 lac maunds of foodgrains was visualised. So far, not even 15 per cent of this target has been visibly achieved. About 2 lac and 20 thousand acres of land were to be brought under irrigation. The Government has now reduced the target to 86 thousand acres. It has been said that 25 thousand acres have been brought under irrigation so far. The authenticity of even this achievement is questionable.

With regard to the distribution of the chemical fertilisers, the Planning Commission has observed in its appraisal of the Second Five Year Plan, issued on 8th of May, 1958, that the State Government will not be able to fulfil even 30% of the targets.

In the field of industry the picture is still more dismal. No new industries, which were conceived in the Plan, have been established so far. The prosperity of the already existing industries is on the decline. The Silk Factory is today working hardly with 1700 hands. The work is available to them only for about 8 days in a month though they are paid wages for about 15 days. The state of the Woollen and Silk Weaving Factories is highly unsatisfactory. The Emporium has lacs of rupees blocked in dead stock, though these stocks are shown for many years as stocks in hand. The audit reports of the Emporium for recent years are not available. I dare say that even 15% of the Employment targets in the Plan will not be achieved by the end of the Plan period.

On top of all this the prices of essential commodities have recorded a rise of 200 to 300 per cent since 1957 and their price level stands higher than any other part of the country. Wherever increases have been felt in the money

incomes of certain sections of the people these have been more than offset by the increase in the price structure. The only commodity which was available at cheap rate in Kashmir and that too only in the city of Srinagar was the imported rice. Incomes are piling in a narrow group of individuals who control both the money and the commodity markets. The trends of inflation and scarcity in Kashmir are not caused by long term investment but partly by the failure of increase in production coupled with the vicious grip of the merry money makers on our economy. It is a significant attribute of this group that there exists a large gap between the quantum of their incomes which are hoarded and the insignificance of the sums which are delved back into productive investments.

I consider it my duty to make you aware of the deepening economic crisis in the State on account of the failure of the State Government to achieve the purposes of the Plan. With the rising discontent among the people it is only natural for our Government, which is immune to your corrective influences and insensitive to public opinion, to resort to repressive measures and present dressed-up show-windows. Here is a perfect vicious circle: failures of development coupled with climatic vicissitudes leading to distress and impoverisation of the people and these in turn being met by repression, inefficiency and corruption.

In your address to the workers of the National Conference you have suggested that the need of the hour is the utmost unity among the political parties and the ranks of the people. On our part it is my belief that we have always proffered our hand of cooperation to the State Government, not only in the moments of crisis, but also at every stage for helping the growth of a happier and a cleaner life for our people. We have never stood on grounds of prestige but have continued to offer our cooperation even when it was contemptuously spurned.

Before the floods I and my colleagues, Dogra¹⁷ and Quasim [sic]¹⁸ availed of several opportunities to meet Bakhshi Sahib. On these occasions, among various other things, we tried to impress upon Bakhshi Sahib the necessity of conceding now the fact of our existence as a political party. This recognition should manifest itself in putting a stop to the brutal activities of the Peace Brigade against our workers, the withdrawal of all the fabricated criminal cases against us, the ending of victimisation, direct and indirect, of our sympathisers and above all, creating a healthy democratic atmosphere in the State. On our part I assured him of our whole-hearted support for all measures taken for the

17. Girdhari Lal Dogra.

18. Syed Mir Qasim.

amelioration of the condition of our people. We have honoured our pledge but I regret to say that what was promised by the other side has not been fulfilled. I am constrained to remind you that the essence of all cooperation is faith and unless that faith is securely restored, the ideals of forging unity can scarcely be realized.

During and after the floods I and my colleagues met Bakhshi Sahib and his colleagues almost every day and placed our services unreservedly at his disposal. The only reward I got was to falsely implead my acquiescence in the decision to enhance the food prices and also in the demonstration that followed.

I wrote to Bakhshi Sahib on July 10 and requested him for an interview. I received a curt reply in which I was told that as Bakhshi Sahib would be busy for many days it would not be possible for him to meet me. Later, it was on the intervention of Aruna¹⁹ and Dr. Baliga²⁰ that Bakhshi Sahib could spare some time in their presence to meet me. Soon after I again wrote a letter to Bakhshi Sahib regarding the floods in which I said, "We consider it inhuman to secure any political advantage or gain from the miseries of the people. We assure you of our fullest cooperation in all the measures that you undertake to relieve the distress of the people."

I along with some of my colleagues met Bakhshi Sahib once again on July 17 and renewed our offer of sincere cooperation in meeting the situation which had arisen as a consequence of the floods. In this meeting, we made the following suggestions:-

1. That the areas where complete destruction has been caused to the crops and the purchasing power of the people is almost non-existent, work must be provided on construction projects, so that the sufferers can purchase their rations. Wherever the immediate prospects of such works did not exist taccavi loans realisable in easy instalments with land revenue should be issued.

2. That wherever houses had been destroyed by the floods sizable loans ranging from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 500/- should be given. Timber at concessional rates under the present Zamindara Timber Distribution Rules should also be provided. Wherever groups of houses in the villages are repeatedly threatened by inundation the villagers should be persuaded to reconstruct their houses at safer levels.

3. That in all those cases where draught cattle have been lost, long term cooperative credit should be made available.

4. That the areas where the waters have receded seeds for alternative

19. Aruna Asaf Ali.

20. Dr A.V. Baliga.

autumn crops such as pulses etc. should be made available to the peasants on loan. For this purpose active cooperation of all elements under the guidance of Agricultural Department should be secured.

5. That wherever crop damages have been extremely severe it is likely to breed frustration and cynicism in the minds of the agriculturists and thus affect the crop prospects for the coming year also. Bands of selfless workers irrespective of party affiliations should be spread out in these areas to give the agriculturist the necessary courage and hope, assess their needs for purposes of Agriculture and secure their fulfilment by the Government.

We have been persuading the Government to open fair price food grain shops in the scarcity areas instead of resorting to partial rationing. This practice achieved success in the years 1953 to 1957. The process of rationing involves the intricate listing of the needy. Instances are not lacking where the undeserving manage to enter the rationing list to the exclusion of the deserving. Cases where people have been deprived of rations on grounds of political discrimination have also been reported. It is unfortunate that in the preparation of these lists and also the lists of damages to crops and other property, bribery has begun to flourish.

We requested Bakhshi Sahib that for the purpose of assessing the damages and also in the matter of the distribution of relief the local authorities in various sectors should be assisted by the representatives of the political parties represented in the Legislature. In this way we could eliminate the possibilities of inflation in the assessment of damage and also the improper distribution of relief. In this way also our services and cooperation could be utilized even at the village level.

We also suggested to Bakhshi Sahib that top priority should be given to the implementation of the flood protection schemes. A master plan was framed as far back as 1954 in consultation with the Central Water and Power Commission, part of the scheme was even executed but then the normal feature has been the lapse of funds earmarked every year for this purpose. When the floods occur everybody is seized with a very keen desire for this implementation of the flood protection schemes, but with the receding of the waters the seriousness also recedes. It is my considered opinion that any scheme for flood protection in Kashmir should be directly sponsored and executed by the Central Government. The great example of the Jawahar Tunnel is very heartening and, therefore, relevant in this context. We have to admit that our Engineering Services did not contain any expert Irrigation Engineers before or after 1947. With the expansion of Irrigation schemes under the First and Second Five Year Plans, besides raw and inexperienced youth, road and building engineers have been drafted into the Irrigation Engineering Service recently separated from the Public Works

Department. Here again the standards differ from place to place. In Jammu there is a Chief Engineer for roads and buildings and one Chief Engineer for Irrigation Department. In Ladakh there is a Superintending Engineer with the powers of Chief Engineer in charge of roads, buildings and irrigation functioning directly under the concerned ministry. For the Kashmir Province there is one Chief Engineer for roads, buildings, irrigation and flood protection works. There is yet another Superintending Engineer designated as Chief Project Officer with the powers of Chief Engineer for Sonwari Block. This block has been separated from the Administrative Ministry for Community Development and has been placed directly under the Prime Minister. It may interest you to know that during the last two and a half years Engineering Department have been shuffled and reshuffled at least about four times depriving them of stability and continuity of technical guidance. If the press reports are to be believed the Central Government proposes to spend a huge sum of about seven crores of rupees on flood protection work in our State. In that case it is only appropriate that trained, efficient and honest staff under direct Central supervision should execute this big plan.

Reverting once again to the question of cooperation the suggestions we placed before Bakhshi Sahib were promised due consideration. All that has happened so far is the formation of a Flood Relief Committee consisting of the Ministers, the Ministers of State and the Chief Secretary. We can assure you that our offer of cooperation is genuine and sincere and you will appreciate that its acceptance in effective and concrete terms depends entirely on the State Government. It is not enough to form top level committees to which we are also nominated for mere propaganda. For example, a Plan Advisory Committee was formed towards the middle of the last year in which Dogra Sahib was included on behalf of our Party. This Committee has met only once since its formation. Three Sub-Committees were formed out of the bigger Committee to examine and advise on the plans for the various sectors of our economy. Bakhshi Sahib is the Chairman of two out of the three Sub-Committees.

In view of what I have stated it is my earnest hope that you will be in a position kindly to correct your impressions. You will perhaps forward a copy of this letter to Bakhshi Sahib. In case you do so I shall be grateful if you convey to him once again our solemn assurance that I and my Party shall not stint in furnishing our best assistance not only in facing our present misfortune, but also devising appropriate remedies for curing our economy of its ills. But this can be realized in practice if all of us can sit together not in a spirit of acrimony but of accord, and place the advantage of our State and India above the petty gains of person or party.

12. B. Shiva Rao to Nehru²¹

[Refer to item 51]

16, Tughlak Road,
New Delhi
August 2, 1959

Dear Jawaharlalji,

Thinking over the different aspects of the Kerala situation as it has developed, I was reminded of a proposal made by my brother Shri B.N. Rau²² to the Constituent Assembly as worthy of consideration at the present moment.

In the first draft of the Constitution which was placed before the Constituent Assembly the suggestion had been made that the President should have certain "Special Responsibilities"; namely,

"1. (a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of the Union or any part thereof;

(b) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Union Government;

(c) the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities.

2. Where any special responsibility of the President is involved, he shall exercise his discretion as to the action to be taken."

While normally the President would act on the advice of the Cabinet, in the discharge of any special responsibility it was proposed that he should have available to him the advisory opinion of a Council of State constituted on the lines of the Privy Council in the Irish Free State. I am quoting below the proposed provision as it was placed before the Constituent Assembly:

"The Council of State shall consist of the following members:-

(1) Ex-officio members: the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, if any, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Senate and the Advocate-General.

(2) Every person able and willing to act as a member who shall have held the office of President, or the office of Prime Minister, or the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

(3) Such other persons, if any, as may be appointed by the President to be members.

The President may at any time by warrant under his hand and seal appoint such other persons as in his discretion he may think fit to be members of the

21. Letter. B. Shiva Rao Papers, NMML.

22. Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly of India.

Council of State, but not more than 7 persons so appointed shall be members of the Council of State at the same time.[“]

The above proposal was, however, rejected by the Committee which considered the draft of the Union Constitution. Nevertheless, I venture to think that such a Council constituted on an ad hoc basis by the President and for the purposes mentioned above could serve a very useful purpose.

The Council of State – or whatever other name one may give it – would consist of (1) the Prime Minister, (2) the Home Minister, (3) the Attorney General,²³ (4) the present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, (5) Shri M. Patanjali Sastri,²⁴ ex-Chief Justice, (6) Shri Mahajan,²⁵ also an ex-Chief Justice, besides the Vice-President and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. It is open to the President to add one or two more, if he so chooses. Such an advisory body would command universal respect and confidence. No one is ever likely to accuse such a body of taking a biased or partisan view of any situation. If such a Council were in existence today the President might have referred the memorandum of the K.P.C.C. to it for its verdict. The memorandum which is said to have been sent by the Opposition groups in the West Bengal legislature against the State Government could similarly have been referred to the same body.

May I suggest that this proposal be seriously considered? If it appeals to the President and to you, suitable action may be taken without delay, so that hereafter at least both the President and the Central Government may be spared the embarrassing necessity of having to deal with charges and complaints against a State Government?

Another suggestion I would like to place before you is that while steps are being taken to restore normal conditions in Kerala, the Central Government should seriously consider whether Kerala can exist at all as an independent unit. From all accounts it is not a viable State. Its food deficit is heavy even in a normal season. The problem of unemployment is particularly acute, especially among the educated classes. In existing circumstances, therefore, a revolutionary creed like that of the Communists is bound to make a powerful appeal to large numbers.

It was comparatively easy to rouse forces in Kerala to bring about a paralysis of the administration. They sought and have finally obtained the President's intervention. The administration may be carried on fairly satisfactorily during the period that the President's Rule is imposed on the State.

23. M.C. Setalvad, the Attorney-General of India, 1950-62.

24. Chief Justice, Supreme Court, 1951-54.

25. M.C. Mahajan, Chief Justice, Supreme Court, 1954.

We have, however, to face the fact that while the Communists have a clear-cut programme and ideology with powerful support from outside the State to assist and guide them, the Opposition groups in Kerala have serious handicaps. I do not believe that the Congress party, the Muslim League, the Catholics and other communal groups can fight the elections on a positive, progressive programme, without internal dissensions springing up. I do not think that the prospects of such a coalition winning a majority are particularly bright. I may be mistaken in this assumption. Even if I should prove wrong and a coalition becomes possible, the administration of Kerala by such a coalition with different programmes and divergent interests will be an extremely difficult task, especially with a powerful Communist Opposition.

May I therefore request you to consider from now the suggestion of Kerala being merged either in Madras or in Mysore? You may remember that at the time of the States Reorganisation Bill being adopted by Parliament, Shri C.P. Matthen²⁶ and I approached you for your support for an amendment to facilitate the creation of a Dakshina Pradesh, consisting of the present States of Madras, Mysore and Kerala. You seemed attracted by the suggestion when we first made it, but subsequently adopted a non-committal attitude. Since such an amendment, without your support, had no chance of going through the Lok Sabha, we decided to withdraw it.

It seems to me the present time is opportune for reviving the idea of Dakshina Pradesh, either in the form that we suggested or in a modified form. It will take time to secure support for such a formula, but I have no doubt in my mind that it is only by the absorption of Kerala into a Dakshina Pradesh that the present problem can be solved on a long term basis.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Shiva Rao

26. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Thiruvellah, Travancore-Cochin, 1952-57.

13. B.P. Koirala to Nehru²⁷*[Refer to item 211]*

Prime Minister's Residence
Kathmandu, Nepal
August 2, 1959.

My dear Jawahar Lalji,

During your visit to Nepal²⁸ we had briefly explained to you our plans of development and the pressing need for liberal assistance from friendly countries and particularly India. We were very happy to find that you had a clear appraisal of our economic problems and needs and were prepared to extend an assurance of generous aid the development of Nepal in terms of training facilities, money, supplies of technical personnel. In view of India's own pressing needs, this assurance, at some sacrifice of her own interest, is of deep significance which, we have no doubt, will be appreciated by the people of Nepal, their Government and the new Parliament. Naturally it was not possible for you to discuss the details of the quantum of assistance during your brief visit and you asked us to send a memorandum which should enable your Government to consider further the question of aid on a long term basis. Accordingly, we have got a memorandum prepared which I am enclosing. Details have been avoided. These can be discussed when your Government has considered the broad principles and let us know their views.

2. A great responsibility and also a new opportunity have come to us and we are anxious to do our best to justify the trust reposed on us by our people. We naturally turn to you for support.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
B.P. Koirala

27. Letter. File No. 13 (19)-Nepal/59, MEA.

28. 11-14 June 1959.

14. B. Ramakrishna Rao to Nehru²⁹

[Refer to item 50]

Prime Minister from Governor repeated to Minister of Home Affairs.

Reference my telephonic conversation this morning. The position is as follows:

On 1st August there were about 5,000 prisoners convicted of offences connected with the agitation. Of these about 800 women and children below 18 were released yesterday under my orders. They were all sentenced to imprisonment upto 2 weeks in lieu of fine. Of remaining 4200, 3700 are undergoing imprisonment in default of payment of fine for offences under Police Act and under Section 290 Indian Penal Code. Of these about a thousand are under sentences of more than two weeks but have done about one week. The rest that is about 2700 are under sentences of two weeks or less of which they have already done half or more. About 300 have been convicted for breach of orders under Section 144 and the remaining 200 are convicted for other offences. I have already told you about local feeling. I feel that it would be impossible to hold on to present position of these persons continuing under imprisonment for petty offences and in lieu of payment of fine when in consequence of agitation for which they have been convicted we have already taken action under Constitution. They have undergone already varying periods of imprisonment and to that extent the punitive aspect has already been met. Local Samithi³⁰ men have respected my advice in favour of restraint and I feel they are entitled to consideration in this matter since this is major point of prestige and honour with them. In the circumstances I would request permission for release of further about 3700 men referred to above leaving 500 to be dealt with later. We shall arrange release as individual orders are ready. Grateful for immediate reply.

15. Harold Macmillan to Nehru³¹

[Refer to items 114, 218 and 234]

Dear Prime Minister,

It is some time since we exchanged messages. I was so glad that Krishna Menon was able to arrange things with our people about the Avro aeroplane.

29. Telegram, Trivandrum, 2 August 1959.

30. The Vimochana Samara Samiti.

31. Message, sent from London. This was contained in a letter of 2 August 1959 of Malcolm MacDonald to Nehru; the actual date of Macmillan's message is not available.

We are giving a lot of thought to the whole future of the aircraft industry. The trouble is the frightful cost of these new machines; and I suppose they will get more and more expensive.

The Parliamentary Session has just ended but not, I fear, the Geneva Conference. Quite frankly, I have been disappointed at the rather legalistic approach of some of our friends. I am afraid my visit to Russia and my talks with Mr. Khrushchev caused some anxieties among the Western Leaders. But this mood is passing and I feel confident that there is a genuine relaxation of tension. The negotiations have really made considerable advances from both sides. Anyway instead of talking about an "ultimatum" or "unilateral action on either side", the Foreign Ministers are now talking about an interim period or moratorium.

Meanwhile, President Eisenhower's invitation of Mr. Khrushchev to America seems to help in this process. If, as I hope, the President pays a return visit all this will take time and will allow the heat of dispute engendered by the ultimatum of November 27, 1958, to cool off. Of course, it may delay the Summit but it will make it more likely to succeed when the time comes.

I hear good news about Mr. Black and the Indus Waters Plan. We have been asked to put up still more money and we shall certainly try to do so. I have always felt that if this technical and economic problem were out of the way it would make the whole difference politically.

I am sorry you have this trouble in Kerala. But, if I may be allowed to say so, you have been very patient. Now action is clearly necessary.

We get little information about Tibet. I would be grateful if you would send me any impressions you may have. Will the Chinese go the whole way in trying to substitute a Marxist system for the traditional one?

We have rather disturbing news from Laos. I hope it may be exaggerated. We will keep in close touch with you over it.

We shall indeed be sorry to lose your sister. I don't suppose she tells you how much she is respected – and loved – over here. But it is true. She has done a truly wonderful piece of work.

With kind regards,

Harold.

P.S.

Mr. Durga Das, the Editor of "The Hindustan Times" for whom I have a great regard, called to see me the other day. He seemed very disturbed at the small amount of newsprint that you can import into India with all the other calls upon your financial resources. He felt that with the immense growth of literacy this was very sad and gave the Communists a chance of distributing their material.

It is not my business to interfere but do you think there is anything that I can do to help? I would willingly discuss it with President Eisenhower and my own colleagues and see whether some assistance could be given. Please forgive me if I am interfering.

16. Telegrams from Alleppey, Calicut and Trichur³²

[Refer to item 52]

ALLEPPEY – 3rd August, 1959.

Prime Minister, New Delhi.

Bhaskaran Pillai, eighteen Congress Workers Ambalapuzha, raped Saraswathi Kamalam workers village Karshaka Thozhilali Union Ameda thirtyfirst July. Pray order enquiry.

Suseela Gopala,

Secretary Kerala Mahila Sangham,

Alleppey.

CALICUT – 3rd August, 1959.

Prime Minister, New Delhi.

Yesternight prominent Congressmen Mammathoyahji another Abootty both drunk attempted stab with dagger Communist Abdullakoya Kuttichira. Police arrested assaulters.

Communist Committee Kuttichira,

Calicut.

TRICHUR – 3rd August, 1959.

Prime Minister, New Delhi.

Gruesome violence by jubilant Vimochnasmati Thiwalbabs including prominent Congressmen attempts at physical extermination of active Communists and sympathisers large number of major and minor incidents reported from all parts of Trichur district Kuzhikattissery. Huge mob with lethal weapons pursued and attacked Padmanabhan, local Communist leader, and some others, bells tolled in five churches and crowd gathered. Houses raided and tappers beaten up hacked and stabbed, clash. Many hospitalised fatal injuries Padmanabhan deceased. Vellangallur Communist Party taluk committee member and worker leader Kumaran surrounded and beaten, hospitalised serious.

32. 3 August 1959.

Anthikad many toddy tappers and other Communist sympathisers' houses surrounded, ruthless violence, innumerable other incidents of stabbing, stoning and other violence against Communist and atmosphere of terror. Armed goondas roaming in jeeps and cars preplanning annihilation of Communists and sympathisers. Yesterday one Jeep and one car caught by Trichur police with ten Vimochanasamara and Congress volunteers with daggers belt daggers sharkbone daggers, sharpened sticks with nails, reported; father Vadakkan leading attacks in person. Pray immediate attention.

Secretary, Communist Party,
Trichur District Council.

17. Swaran Singh to Nehru³³

[Refer to items 198 and 201]

August 4, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your letter of August 1 about the new Soviet credit offer of Rs. 180 crores. I am naturally gratified that the effort which we made at Moscow with your backing has produced some result. My delegation returned from the U.S.S.R with the impression that India could count on Soviet assistance in specified industries such as machinery manufacture, iron and steel, oil and electric power generation. The Soviet Union would also be likely to give the fullest technical assistance in planning these industries and in setting up design organisations for the various industries. Specifically, their assistance with new credits during the Third Plan (of which the present offer of Rs. 180 crores forms part) could in their view be suitably used for the expansion of the Heavy Machine Building Plant at Ranchi, and of the Mining Machinery Plant at Durgapur, the expansion of the Bhilai Steel Works, and our oil programme. You may remember that while we avoided during our talks with the Russians anything that might look like a "shopping list", these were some of the projects which were mentioned as examples of what we may need to include in our Third Plan effort. Since then, as a result of the work that is going on in the various working Groups in the administrative Ministries on behalf of the Planning Commission, it seems fairly clear that the items I have listed will in any case be included in the Third Plan; as also some others which may be suitable for inclusion in the new credit of Rs. 180 crores. I have had an informal talk with Lal Bahadur and

33. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

he is of much the same view. It should, therefore, be possible for us now to clear a list of the specific items and projects, first amongst ourselves and, secondly, with the Russians, so that the credit can be utilised in good time. Meanwhile, B.K. Nehru could, as already arranged, discuss with the Russians the terms of the credit such as the conditions of repayment, currency parities and such matters. If you agree, a small ad hoc and perhaps informal committee of the Cabinet consisting of Lal Bahadur, Morarji and myself, together with V.T. Krishnamachari could sit together and in consultation with the Ministries concerned bring before the Cabinet a list of specific items and projects to be included in this credit. When we have finalised the list in the Cabinet (the list should of course be such as to cover a sum rather larger than a foreign exchange element of Rs. 180 crores), we could send someone to Moscow with experience of negotiating projects and credits with the Russians to discuss and clear the list with the Russians, on the basis of the credit terms which will meanwhile have been negotiated by B.K. Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
Swaran Singh

18. B. Ramakrishna Rao to Nehru³⁴

[Refer to item 53]

Prime Minister from Governor.

Your telegram No. 21117.³⁵ I have noted your instructions but my legal advice is that it is not possible to split sentences of fine in the manner suggested and therefore it would not be possible for the accused persons to pay part of the fine and thereby obtain release. I am acting on gradual releases as suggested by you. This evening Pattom Thanu Pillai, R. Sankar and Mannath Padmanabham again saw me and pleaded for releases. I can well realise their difficult position and whilst I have not promised anything I feel I should represent their point of view to you. In view of fact that leaders are mostly out of jail and their wives and children who were in prison have been released their position in regard to followers in jail is becoming very difficult. Their visits to prisons in order to assuage feelings of their followers have proved very embarrassing. There are also cases in which courts latterly awarded longest periods of imprisonment in

34. Telegram, Trivandrum, 4 August 1959.

35. See item 50.

lieu of small amounts of fine than could be justified. I propose to review such individual cases and authorise release where I find sentences undergone have substantially met justice. In other cases I would request you to take into account the view represented by Pattom Thanu Pillai and others and indicate whether you would modify your earlier instructions.

19. Selwyn Lloyd to Nehru³⁶

[Refer to items 219 and 235]

I have had a talk with Mr. Gromyko and you will be receiving an account of it. I have also had discussions with Mr. Herter³⁷ and we are agreed in thinking that there is nothing useful that the Co-Chairmen can do at present and that the Laotian Government should consider some form of recourse to the United Nations. I have suggested to the Laotian Prime Minister that he should now instruct his representative at New York to concert tactics with friendly delegations and Mr. Hammarskjöld. I think there is something to be said for an approach to the Secretary General before any move to involve the Security Council. I told Herter that, although we cannot impose the International Commission on Laos, I attach importance to the Commission being available in case there comes a time when it can again be useful. He confirmed that there was not the faintest truth in Gromyko's allegations about American military activities in Laos.

I need hardly say that I should greatly value any views which you may care to send me.

36. Message, sent from Geneva. This was contained in a letter of 4 August 1959 of Malcolm MacDonald to Nehru; the actual date of Lloyd's message is not available.

37. Christian A. Herter, US Secretary of State.

20. Frank Anthony to Nehru³⁸

[Refer to item 111]

The All-India Anglo-Indian Association,
Bombay Life Building,
Connaught Circus,
New Delhi-1.
5th August, 1959

Dear Panditji,

I venture to address you with regard to the debate, on Friday the 7th instant, on my resolution asking for the inclusion of English in the VIIIth Schedule of the Constitution.

You may have seen a press note in today's 'Hindustan Times' to the effect that the Government has decided to block the resolution and to oppose it. I was deeply distressed when I read this news item. Although you have been good enough to ensure that there will be a free vote in the House, if the Government has decided to oppose the resolution such a decision is bound to affect the voting. You are undoubtedly aware of the strong feeling on this question among members from the non-Hindi speaking States. If the Government is pleased not to pre-judge the issue, I have little doubt that the strength of this feeling would be reflected squarely in the voting in support of my resolution. The news that the Government has decided to oppose the resolution has already affected the attitude of many members who had intended originally to vote in support of my resolution, as they feel that such a vote may well embarrass the Government.

I would make an earnest appeal to you to consider the question whether the Government's reported decision to block the resolution will not, in effect, stultify the free vote which has been given to members of the ruling party. I know that some members of the Cabinet were also desirous of voting in favour of my resolution and yet I cannot see how, if the Government has decided on a particular policy, they can, despite the free vote, vote against the Government's decision. I sincerely hope that since this issue has not been before the Country or the Lok Sabha before, the Government will be pleased to await a completely impartial verdict from the House and then to assess the real strength of feeling on this not unimportant matter particularly in the non-Hindi speaking States.

I am also deeply anxious about the almost certain repercussions in some States in the event of the Government's opposition to my resolution being

38. Letter. File No. 52 (12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. I.

expressed by you. It will be difficult enough if Government merely expresses its opposition to my resolution, but if the Government's view is expressed by you then, because of the deep respect in which you are held by members of the House, it is almost certain that even those who feel very strongly in favour of my resolution, will vote against it.

I am even more anxious about the almost certain repercussions, particularly in certain States, if they interpret your opposition as an all-clear signal to mount an assault against English as a foreign language. I regret to say that in certain of the Hindi-speaking States there is an almost avowed policy to destroy English, as it is believed that such destruction is a precondition to the installation of Hindi as the official language of the country. Very recently, a large section of Legislators in Uttar Pradesh refused even to listen to the Governor's³⁹ speech because, according to them, it was in this hated foreign language. If this attitude received what may be interpreted in certain States as the seal of the Central Government, then the repercussions on those who speak English and more especially on those whose mother tongue is English and, most of all, on the English medium schools will be disastrous. I am already facing pressures against the Anglo-Indian schools in certain States because of this growing anti-English hate.

If the Government's opposition to the resolution is expressed, especially by a person of your stature, then I am certain that there will be an overt attempt to destroy the Anglo-Indian schools in some States. It has been my endeavour to make these schools not only part of the larger pattern of Indian education, but of increasing service to all communities. I feel that, in my capacity as Chairman of the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education, I have largely succeeded in this objective. Today, the Anglo-Indian schools, about 300 in number, represent a system of education which, I feel, makes an invaluable contribution to education generally in the Country. It is the only system which offers uniform standards and an uniform curriculum throughout the Country. It is an unqualified boon to Government servants of all communities. A Government servant who happens to be transferred from one part of India to another finds available, in these schools, a system of education which gives continuity to the schooling of his children.

If it is felt that the Government is bound to oppose my resolution, then I make an earnest, personal request to you that this task be left to some other member of the Government. Your opposition will be interpreted in a way which is bound to react disastrously against English and more especially against

39. V.V.Giri.

my Community and the Anglo-Indian schools. Not least, the members of my Community, perhaps without appreciating all the implications involved in the Government's decision, will interpret opposition from you as an expression of Government's desire to stigmatise my Community as being essentially foreign and unwanted in India.

I am sorry to have written to you at such length, but it is a matter in which I am deeply and anxiously concerned.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Frank Anthony

21. Selwyn Lloyd to Nehru⁴⁰

[Refer to item 235]

Thank you for your message. I am very conscious of the threat to the peace of the whole of Indo-China posed by the present situation. I am very anxious expeditiously to initiate some mediating and conciliatory processes. I have discussed the situation with my colleagues here. The United States Government are prepared to make it clear in any way possible that they have no intention of building up Laos as a United States military base. I have asked Mr Herter to say this emphatically to Mr Gromyko.

With regard to a possible appeal to SEATO, I fully share your dislike for this course. I spoke this morning to Mr Herter and M. Couve de Murville about it. They are equally against any such procedure. We shall jointly advise the Laotian Government accordingly. I myself am attracted by the idea of trying to get on the scene some fact finding body acceptable to the Laotian Government. I am considering how to contrive this. In the meantime I believe that it would be very helpful if you would make parallel representations in Hanoi and Vientiane urging the importance of maintaining the principles of the Geneva Settlement, of respecting one another's frontiers, and of abstaining from intervention in each other's internal affairs.

Our meeting here breaks up in a few hours. I am letting Gromyko know that I want to discuss your message with his representatives in London.

40. Message, sent from Geneva. This was contained in a letter of 6 August 1959 of Malcolm MacDonald to Nehru; the actual date of Lloyd's message is not available.

22. Selwyn Lloyd to Nehru⁴¹

[Refer to item 235]

In my message to you of June 20th I sent you my impressions of the first phase of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference. We have now adjourned again and I thought you might be interested in some account of what has been happening during the last three and a half weeks.

I think there are two tests which can be applied to any conference: (a) whether it produces some specific agreement on particular matters; and, (b) what impact it makes upon the international atmosphere.

According to the first of these tests, I have to acknowledge failure so far. We have narrowed down the issues affecting Berlin and have come a good deal nearer to agreement but have failed to reach one. According to the second test, I believe that we have made some contribution. The atmosphere has been friendly, and the discussions have been in moderate form. Both sides have felt that the other genuinely wanted some reduction of tension. There was never a feeling of negotiating under threats or against a particular time limit. I do not believe that the invitations just exchanged between President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev would have been possible in the atmosphere before our conference began.

With regard to our negotiations, at times I have had high hopes of an interim or standstill agreement for Berlin which would have given everyone a breathing space. I believe that we could have come to terms on the level of Western forces in West Berlin, on their armaments, and on some effort to reduce tension caused by hostile propaganda and subversive activities. I think we also would have reached a compromise on the duration of such an agreement. We wanted five years and the Russians had offered 18 months. Where, however, we failed was with regard to the position of Western rights in Berlin at the end of such an agreement. I mentioned in my last message the importance which we attached to our position in Berlin by virtue of the surrender of Germany and the subsequent agreements between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. All we asked during these recent negotiations was that the Soviet Union should accept the proposition that we should be in the same position with regard to these rights at the end of an interim period as at the beginning. Mr Gromyko gave an undertaking that the Soviet Union would not take unilateral action over the period of an agreement or during the phase of negotiations which must

41. Message, sent probably from London. This was contained in a letter of 6 August 1959 of Malcolm MacDonald to Nehru; the actual date of Lloyd's message is not available.

follow it. He would not however, even in a general way, say that we would approach the new phase of negotiations without either side having gained or lost anything over the juridical position. The more definite he became in his refusals to make some statement of this sort the more suspicious I and my Western colleagues became that the intention of the Soviet Government was to argue that by entering an interim agreement we had accepted the Soviet proposition that they were entitled to terminate by unilateral action our right to protect the people of West Berlin. This may seem a somewhat legalistic point but the more it was discussed the more important it became, and if we had yielded on it the effect in West Berlin would have been bad.

We also discussed all-German contacts, the Russians demanding that these should be conducted by an all-German committee constituted on the basis of parity, to which the problems of reunification of Germany and a peace treaty should be relegated. As the Government of East Germany is under the control of the Soviet Government, that would have meant that the United States, France and Great Britain would have been skillfully but surely eased out of the discussions about German reunification, while the Soviet Union would have in effect been negotiating with the Federal Republic. This we could not accept, although I myself have felt that more contacts between the two parts of Germany should be brought about in some form.

With regard to a summit meeting, I feel that progress has been made in clarifying the issues and bringing the issues for decision by Heads of Governments down to fairly narrow points. Therefore a summit meeting should take place. This was also the Soviet view but President Eisenhower did not feel that sufficient progress had been made to justify one at the present. It is my hope, however, that after his discussions with Mr Khrushchev and his visit to the Soviet Union he will feel that the situation has changed and that a meeting is warranted. I believe, for example, that the points which I have outlined above affecting Berlin could be settled without too much difficulty or protracted discussion if those with the ultimate authority were to discuss them personally. My hope therefore is that there will be a meeting of Heads of Governments towards the end of this year.

To sum up, I confess to a certain feeling of frustration and failure after all these weeks. Nevertheless, if one thinks of the atmosphere last December after the Soviet statement setting a six-month time limit to Western rights in West Berlin, the improvement today is very considerable. I believe that this improvement began with Mr Macmillan's visit to Moscow last February and that our patient work here has also played its part. The pattern for the next few months seems to be set in such a way as to lead to a further reduction of tension. There are of course basic differences and very difficult and critical

problems to be solved. But if they can be taken quietly and patiently in an atmosphere of a steady increase of personal contacts and discussions we should avoid the feeling of crisis and possible drift towards war which was hanging over us eight months ago.

With my warmest regards,

Selwyn Lloyd.

23. Harold Macmillan to Nehru⁴²

[Refer to item 234]

Dear Prime Minister,

Many thanks for your message of August 4th.⁴³ As regards Laos, you will now have seen the Foreign Secretary's reply of August 5th⁴⁴ to your message to him.

We are concerned, as you are, to prevent the situation in Laos getting worse and to prevent the conflict from spreading. Since the Laotian Government are determined not to accept the return of the International Commission, we must find some other way to restore the peace and to re-establish the Geneva Settlement.

With this objective we have it in mind to propose to the Soviet Government that the Co-Chairmen should ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations to appoint an impartial fact finder and mediator to seek information on the position on the frontiers of Laos and North Vietnam and to recommend means of reducing tensions. The mediator appointed by the Secretary-General would address his report both to the Secretary-General and to the Co-Chairmen. This method has the advantage of maintaining the connection with the Geneva Settlement and bringing in an impartial mediator appointed by the United Nations. It has the additional advantage that it ought to be possible to put it into effect very rapidly if the Russians agree. I very much hope that you will agree that these are constructive suggestions likely to bridge the gap between the two

42. Message, sent from London. This was contained in a letter of 6 August 1959 of Malcolm MacDonald to Nehru; the actual date of Lloyd's message is not available.

43. See item 218.

44. Probably the reference is to Selwyn Lloyd's message communicated to Nehru on 6 August 1959, see Appendix 21.

sides and that you will give them your support. The Foreign Secretary put them to Mr. Herter and M. Couve de Murville⁴⁵ yesterday, and they agreed. We are now awaiting Mr. Hammarskjöld's views on them.

Since writing the above, I have seen your message to the Foreign Secretary of August 5th.⁴⁶ You will see that we have had in mind the principle which you stress that our action should be in keeping with the Geneva Settlement, and I am hopeful that the procedures we envisage will prove acceptable to the other parties concerned.

As regards Geneva, the Foreign Secretary has sent you a long message.⁴⁷ Although things did not work out quite as we had hoped, the great thing is that talks are continuing. I hope you will feel that we have not done too badly.

One last matter. An announcement that the Queen is going to have a baby will be made tomorrow (the 7th) at 12 noon our time. I am sure this will give you great pleasure as it will to all of us here. I have been very anxious about her during these early months owing to her strenuous tour, and I am thankful that she has got through it all so well. She has now gone up to Balmoral to rest.

With warm regards,

Harold.

24. Dag Hammarskjöld to Nehru⁴⁸

[Refer to item 221]

For Commonwealth Secretary.

Your telegram No. Primin 21121 August 5th. Hammarskjöld asked for following message be conveyed to Prime Minister.

Begins.

1. I still owe you my sincere thanks for your constructive and valuable letter of 30th June⁴⁹ which I highly appreciate. You will have heard from Mr. Desai that the reason for my delay in replying was caused by my intention to wait until he had had an opportunity to report to you on our conversation in Geneva and to tell me about your view. The other day, I received his letter on

45. Maurice Couve de Murville, the French Foreign Minister.

46. See item 219.

47. See Appendix 22.

48. Telegram, the Indian Delegation to the UN General Assembly in New York, to MEA, 6 August 1959, received in MEA, 7 August 1959.

49. See SWJN/SS/49/item 326.

the matter and I avail myself of this opportunity to thank you also for the valuable information he was transmitting from you.

2. Events have now in some respects by-passed our previous considerations and the situation facing us presents difficulties of greater seriousness. However, neither you nor I have been taken by surprise. As we have feared, the situation has turned for the worse in the absence of appropriate arrangements for the handling of the conflict.

3. I just received your message, transmitted by cable 6th August.⁵⁰ I thank you for it. Again, I am, in essential respects, in agreement with you on the points you raised. One thing is that we have run into difficulties regarding the operation of the Commission. Another and quite different matter would be for that reason to attempt to take the conflict outside the scope of the Geneva Agreements, with all the further complications that might flow from such a step.

4. Not believing in the possibility of useful action now within or through the Security Council – or the General Assembly – and facing the difficulties which have arisen regarding the Commission I tend to believe that the most encouraging perspective open to us is the one indicated in your reference to positive action through the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference “who may, in consultation with the parties concerned, devise modified procedure”. In this context, I wish to tell you that I have been approached – so far on a hypothetical basis – with the question whether I would consider a joint demand of the two Co-Chairmen, that I appoint an impartial fact-finder to seek information on the position on the frontiers of Laos and Viet Nam and to recommend means of reducing tensions, as providing a basis on which I could act. My reply in principle – likewise given on a hypothetical basis – has been in the affirmative, as such an approach would maintain the matter within the terms of the Geneva Agreements and as the demand *de facto* would come from “both sides”.

5. Thanking you again for your various communications which considerably facilitate efforts from our side to render such assistance as may be demanded and as may be within the range of our competence, I wish to reiterate my assurance to you of my willingness, personally, to do what I can within the framework of the general political and legal view of the situation which I know that we share.

Dag Hammarskjöld.

Ends.

50. Refers to telegram Primin-21121, sent on 5 August 1959; see item 220.

25. Lal Bahadur Shastri to Nehru⁵¹

[Refer to item 202]

7th August, 1959

My dear Panditji,

Please refer to your Confidential letter No. 1564-PMH/59 dated the 1st August 1959 enclosing a copy of your letter to Sardar Swaran Singh about the utilisation of the Soviet credit of Rs. 180 crores.⁵² You have already agreed to the formation of a Committee of the Ministers concerned and the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission to go into this matter. The Planning Commission, I understand, is already initiating action for such consultations.

As far as this Ministry is concerned, we have been thinking over this matter for some time. In brief, our proposals are that we should utilise the Soviet credit for:

Project	Rough estimate of foreign exchange involved
1. Doubling up the capacity of the Heavy Machine Building Plant to 80,000 tons as per the full integrated plant as recommended by the Soviet Team.	Rs. 10 crores
2. Doubling up the capacity of the Coal Mining Plant by including, as Mr. Mikoyan suggested, not only mining and other mining equipment but also mineral oil rigs and drills and other equipment for oil exploration.	Rs. 10 crores
3. A plant for making certain heavy electrical items not covered by our project in Bhopal, particularly steam turbines and diesel generators.	Rs. 35 crores
4. A plant for making precision instruments of all kinds including electronic instruments for industrial undertakings: in this field, Soviet experts would be in the best position to help us with planning as well	

51. Letter. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

52. See Nehru to Swaran Singh, 1 August 1959, item 198.

as execution and we should invite a team of experts who will help us to assess feature [sic] demands and to formulate a project or projects.

Rs. 3 crores

5. One fertiliser plant

Rs. 15 crores

Total Rs. 73 crores

I might mention that the figures of foreign exchange indicated above, except in the case of the heavy machine building plant and possibly the fertiliser plant, are only very rough estimates. In fact in regard to items 2, 3 and 4 it will be necessary to invite technical experts from Russia to prepare even preliminary project reports before we can more accurately estimate the capital costs.

You will be interested to know that a team of Soviet experts in connection with the Coal Mining Machinery Project has already arrived in India on the 21st July, and discussions between them and members of our Technical Committee are in progress in Ranchi just at present. We are hoping to take a final decision in this regard by the 23rd August.

I am attaching a brief note which will give further particulars about the proposed projects. But these proposals will only be finalised after the Committee suggested by you has fully examined all the proposed projects.

Yours affectionately,
Lal Bahadur

26. Pham Van Dong to Nehru⁵³

[Refer to item 222]

No. 128.

Commonwealth Secretary from Meneses.

DRVN Prime Minister called me this afternoon to inform our Prime Minister following.

Begins.

We in DRVN like Prime Minister Nehru think situation in Laos extremely serious. It is a direct threat to our security. Since restoration of peace in 1954

53. Telegram, Consul General of India in Hanoi to MEA, 8 August 1959.

America has not allowed any opportunity to slip by in being master of situation in Indo-China for interfering in South Vietnam for dividing Vietnam permanently and for turning South Vietnam into military base.

1. In Laos western frontier of DRVN since establishment of peace America has tried to turn Laos into military base. Though this is well known there are some who deny this but the fact is that Americans are threatening DRVN in South and in West.

2. Americans are pushing Laos into dangerous direction not only for Laos but for DRVN. We have exposed this repeatedly in press notes and 3 declarations sent to Prime Minister Nehru Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen and other countries.

3. Recently there is recrudescence menacing activity of Americans. They have not only tried to push Sananikone Government in dangerous direction but have used South Vietnam and Siam for military coalition with Laos aiming at destroying DRVN peace and security. Our information is that Laos and South Vietnam are working against DRVN security. There is between Laos South Vietnam and Siam a military agreement this week. If such military agreements exist it must be admitted that they are directly against DRVN.

4. Prime Minister Nehru has taken just position in asking as much activity of ICSC in Laos and his recent declaration is strong which makes me extremely happy to know that Indian position is in conformity with that DRVN Government and in conformity with Geneva Agreement. DRVN Government and people are grateful to India. As our position is supported by India and Prime Minister Nehru it will also be supported by world opinion.

5. Another aspect is that DRVN being signatory to Geneva Agreement has every right to see to the implementation of that Agreement. Laos is DRVN neighbour and since DRVN western frontier is threatened she cannot afford to be indifferent idle and as signatory her duty is to adopt strong attitude. We knew civil war was bound to come because what Americans have done in other countries such as Middle East South America and Asia. In every case there was U.S. intervention aided by their lackeys who fight against national liberation movement.

6. DRVN think war in Laos created by American interventionists themselves. Two aspects stated above are developing menacing way of course in DRVN on the one hand we stick to our policy strictly within Geneva Agreement. On the other hand we try to explain to world public opinion reasons for our attitude. We particularly want to inform Governments of South East Asia and South Asia true reason for our action.

India has always attitude which is for peace Indo-China and Asia. As Chairman ICSC India has made valuable contribution.

We want peace in Vietnam and neighbouring countries. We want national reunification in peaceful way. Anyone who says otherwise is slandering us.

Even with Laos we wish to have co-existence and the best neighbour relations. We have sent to Laos Government many letters of proposal for finding settlement all points particularly frontier problem. Sananikone Government ignored everything and pushed away everything why. We think cause all U.S. intervention. We aim at U.S. intervention. As long as they are in South Vietnam menacing us from the South and West we cannot live peacefully and we aim at them. The French Laos recent death is a cover entry America. There appears to be military coalition between South Vietnam Siam and France.

Ends.

27. V.T. Krishnamachari to Nehru⁵⁴

[Refer to item 94]

August 11, 1959.

My dear Prime Minister,

I have read the papers relating to the 'LIC deal' circulated to Members of Parliament and should like to write to you on the basic issue raised by the deal, viz. the relationship between Ministers and the higher ranks of the Civil Service. This is also one of the main issues at the heart of the Kerala 'problem' under the Communist Ministry.

2. I am not concerned with the merits of the decision reached in regard to the LIC deal. My point is that the [Vivian] Bose Board based their findings on certain principles which, in their view, should govern the relations between Ministers and Civil Servants. These are set out on pages 166-167 of the report. I quote the relevant sentences:-

- (i) "In the formulation of Government policy in the Ministry, the relationship between the Minister and his Secretary should ordinarily be one of mutual trust and respect for each other's views, the Minister, of course, having the last word on the question at issue. But the Minister can demand, and expect, that the Secretary will place the full facts of each case before him and point out different points of view and different alternatives that can be adopted in formulating the policy or in deciding a particularly important or intricate case even if it does not involve a question of policy – and this he should do according to his conscience, without fear

54. Letter. File No. Code for Civil Service, Confidential Section, Planning Commission.

or favour. The Secretary, with his extensive background of administrative experience, should be expected to bring to the Minister's notice the pros and cons of each alternative policy and finally to put forward his own considered recommendations with his reasons in support of them. The Minister would then be in a position to make his own decision after acquainting himself fully with the merits of the case."

(ii) "In every matter involving a policy decision, and in any case of importance, it is eminently desirable that whatever passes between the Minister and his Secretary should be recorded in writing so that, if, in future, any question arises about the responsibility of either for the decision made, it would be possible to decide the issue by reference to the record itself. Such a procedure would afford ample protection to the Minister and also to the Secretary against either being unfairly blamed for any lapses that may have occurred on the part of the other."

The U.P.S.C. however had a different approach. They apparently did not think that any principles were involved – only procedures to be settled ad hoc between Minister and Secretary. Their view was that as in that particular case, the Minister knew the facts, there was no need for the Secretary to prepare a memorandum as the Bose Board had suggested and that the omission to reduce the Minister's approval to writing "was in keeping with the informal procedure that was followed between him and his Principal Secretary".

3. In the few weeks I spent in the South I find that these differing pronouncements by the Bose Board and the U.P.S.C. have caused confusion in the minds of Ministers and Civil Servants alike in regard to the principles that should guide their relations. Ministers and Civil Servants have talked to me on important aspects of this subject and, as is to be expected, expressed widely differing views. On all sides, however, there is agreement that in democratic governments like ours there should be an authoritative⁵⁵ set of principles governing the transaction of business in Ministries. One of the most important things in a parliamentary democracy is the establishment of right relations between Ministers and the Civil Service and the publication of a 'code of conduct' for this is essential in the interests of good government.

4. The relations between Ministers and the Civil Service in a parliamentary democracy have been evolved over many years in England. The principles governing these relations are well known and have been described by Ministers and Civil Servants. These are applicable, with slight modifications, to our conditions as our Civil Service has been built up on the model of the Civil

55. Emphasis in the original.

Service in England. In what follows, I attempt to set out the most important of these principles.

5. The first is this: Every Secretary is Secretary to the Government as a whole. It is his duty – and right – (i) to advise the Minister on all important matters, bringing out the policy of Government of India in regard to them and, where new policies have to be evolved, in their formulation, and (ii) to assist the Minister in ensuring that the administration of the departments under him is carried on efficiently. As regards the first, he is expected to express his views on all questions frankly and objectively and indicate possible administrative and other consequences of alternative courses of action. Where a Secretary considers that action proposed to be taken is against the public interests, he must state his reasons clearly in writing. The decision of course rests with the Minister. Once a decision is reached, the Civil Servant should carry it out with loyalty. As regards the second, the Ministry should not, as a general rule, take on administrative duties, which should ordinarily be entrusted to heads of departments, but confine itself to laying down policies and supervising execution. The reason for this is obvious.

6. Secondly, all important decisions taken in Ministries should be in writing with the reasons therefor. There should of course be personal discussions but when decisions are reached, there should be a record giving the decision reached, why and by whom. This is necessary as there should be a measure of continuity in the policies of Governments and when there are changes of Ministers and Secretaries, reasons for previous decisions and also the responsibility for them should not be left in doubt. Also, Parliament is entitled to know the grounds for decisions taken. I have read the Bose Board Enquiry's summary of the evidence given by senior members of the Service on this point. I am unable to understand why the practice that has always existed of preparing records of important discussions has been given up. One of these officers has said: "In practice it is very often that we do not record anything at all. That is quite true and it is very objectionable. Major matters are decided verbally and in fact, when an Officer is transferred, or if you want to find out why certain things were done, it is very difficult to find out 'why'." As I have not seen his entire evidence, I do not know how this 'very objectionable' practice grew up and why he and other senior officers who gave evidence found themselves unable to stop this. The practice in England is seen in the extract I attach from Herbert Morrison's "Government and Parliament."⁵⁶ The sooner healthy traditions are restored in

56. *Government and Parliament: A Survey from the Inside* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

this respect the better.

7. Relations between Ministries and autonomous corporations: There should always be close contacts between Ministries and Heads of Corporations and informal exchanges of views. But when a decision is taken, there should be no doubt whether it is that of the Corporation according to its established procedures or whether it is taken under a direction of Government. A Minister is accountable to Parliament for directions issued. The same broad principle applies to industrial and other undertakings which are registered under Company Law. There should be the widest possible discussions informally: but no doubt or confusion should arise as to be responsibility for the decision or action taken.

8. Where functions are vested in officers under the law, it should be an invariable rule that there is no interference with them. For example, collection of land revenue, takavi, etc. is the responsibility of Collectors under laws. But directions are issued to them 'to go slow' with collections for reasons quite unconnected with seasonal conditions. Similarly there are interferences with Registrars of Cooperative Societies in regard to registration of Societies. Directions are issued to them to register certain societies and not others. Another source of abuse is the manner in which the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code regarding [sic] of pardons, withdrawals of cases etc are worked in States. The conventions that used to be observed in such cases are not always observed with the result that respect for law and its processes suffers. I am far from saying that such things happen frequently. Except in Kerala under the Communist Ministry, lapses in these respects occur only occasionally. But, where they do occur, there is much publicity which has harmful effects on the public mind. There should be strict observance of the principle that, within the law and rules, officers retain complete freedom of action without outside interference.

9. The general principle should also be accepted that, where heads of departments have powers delegated to them under executive orders, there should be no interference with the exercise of these powers by them and they should have the feeling that they will be supported in all action taken by them in the bonafide exercise of their powers.

10. On the other side, much remains to be done to build up a code under which the wider social purposes of a welfare state are clearly understood and there would be tests of efficiency laid down for all ranks of the service and responsibilities strictly enforced. I think a senior officer might be asked to work out proposals for this, especially in State administration.

11. These principles are well known and there is nothing new in them. But for the reasons I have given I think that it would be useful, at the present juncture, if a short code containing the basic principles is published and

Governments see that it is followed in the conduct of everyday affairs. I have not attempted to draw up such a code – only suggested the main principles which might find a place in it. But once the idea is accepted, the Cabinet Secretary and Home Secretary can draw up a code which can be placed before a Cabinet Committee for approval. It will also be useful if, in the course of the debates in Parliament on the LIC deal it can be made clear, on behalf of the Government, that the observance of the principles I have mentioned above should be strictly enforced.

Yours sincerely,
V.T. Krishnamachari

28. S. Nijalingappa to Nehru⁵⁷

[Refer to item 120]

Chitradurga
Mysore St.
Camp: "Kumara Krupa"
Bangalore,
11th August 1959.

My dear Panditji,

I have written to Smt. Indira Gandhi, our President, as per enclosed copy. In case of necessity I may trouble you again. I am told – the Press has been publishing – that the President has written to you laying special emphasis about Co-operative Farming. As Chairman of the Working Group on Co-operative Farming I feel it may profit me and my colleagues if the correspondence and the opinions expressed by him are known to us. But it is a matter which is delicate. I am leaving it to you entirely whether you propose to furnish the details with all the connected correspondence to the Working Group or for my personal and confidential information or not to send it at all. I would be grateful for a reply.

Yours sincerely,
S. Nijalingappa

57. Letter. File No. 31 (93)/59-70-PMS.

29. M.J. Desai to Vishnu Sahay and Nehru⁵⁸

[Refer to item 165]

The Kashmir documentary being prepared by Shri Rajbans Khanna has still not been completed. The difficulties are due, partly, to the strict administrative routine being unable to deal quickly with the problems of the artist.

2. P.M. last saw this case on 22.4.59. Since then, Cabinet Secretary and myself saw the rough-cut and made certain suggestions and Shri Khanna carried them out. While I was on leave, the revised rough-cut was again seen by Defence Minister with Shri B.L. Sharma and Shri P.N. Haksar⁵⁹ of our Ministry. After viewing the film the matter was discussed thoroughly and it was decided not to combine too many themes as otherwise the film will become very lengthy like a feature film. These new suggestions have since then been incorporated by Shri Khanna and the third revised rough-cut was seen by a representative of the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Shri Vishnu Sahay and myself yesterday along with Shri B.L. Sharma of our Ministry. We felt that the documentary with the main theme of Pakistan aggression on Kashmir was well done. We noticed, however, that, in some places where Defence Minister and P.M. were speaking on the relevant theme, the arguments were pitched a bit too strongly. We also felt that some of the remarks made in the Security Council, while appropriate in that forum, would not be suitable in a documentary film. The relevant part of the commentary is at slip 'Q' on the file placed below. We propose that the portions bracketed in red chalk be omitted, both to delete references to the Security Council or the Council members and to avoid unnecessary emphasis on Pakistan falsehoods.

3. There is also a reference in the film to Pakistan changing the geographical features of the area of Jammu & Kashmir, now in illegal occupation of Pakistan, to the disadvantage of the inhabitants of Jammu & Kashmir by the construction of the Mangla Dam. This was put in at the instance of the Defence Minister. I feel that this part may also be deleted as this reference may, in case we make some adjustment in our position in connection with the Canal Waters Question, unnecessarily prove embarrassing in future.

4. The documentary, with the changes proposed, can be got ready within a short period, provided Shri Khanna is given the balance of the advance of Rs.30,000 agreed to last May. He has only been paid Rs. 20,000 and the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting propose to hold back the further 10,000 to

58. Note, 11 August 1959. File No. 63-KU/57, Vol. I, MEA.

59. Joint Secretary (Administration), MEA.

settle certain claims for stock shots supplied by them to Shri Khanna. I would suggest that this adjustment may be made later when the film is finished and the accounts are settled, the balance of Rs.10,000 being paid immediately to Shri Khanna to enable him to complete the documentary.

30. R.R. Diwakar to Nehru⁶⁰

[Refer to items 107 and 109]

LOK SHIKSHANA TRUST, HUBLI

Founded: 1st August 1935

Camp Bangalore

Date 12th Aug. 1959

My dear Panditji,

Re: Communal Policy of State Governments

I am herewith sending you copies of some Press Notes issued by the Government of Mysore.

Subsequently some more caste people represented that their castes should also be included in the category 'other Backward Classes.' I am told that they have been included. Now remain only Mudaliars and Brahmins. Mudaliars also are said to have applied for inclusion and most probably they too would be included.

Then remain only the Brahmins, who might not be more than 2-3 per cent of the total population.

Thus all castes in Mysore State minus Brahmins are 'Backward' socially, educationally and from the point of view of Government Service.

The Press Note gives details of reservations on the basis of caste, subcaste and group of castes.

I am not worried about the Brahmins who may shift for themselves. Their being driven out of Government Service may not be a calamity.

But what is certainly unhealthy is the allocation of services, seats in professional colleges etc., on caste basis. The prejudices, rivalries, bitterness etc., engendered by this process right from student life will effect generations to come.

While a number of different causes in the modern world are breaking down caste barriers, these efforts on the part of the Mysore Government to deal 'social justice' to 'other Backward Classes' would entrench casteism

60. Letter. R.R. Diwakar Papers, Box No. 34, NMML.

permanently. There is great danger of back-fire also.

I do not think that you are unaware of what is going on. There might be reasons also why much notice is not taken of these things.

I think, however, that there is a good case at least for a thorough study of these steps of the Mysore State and the effect they would have not only immediately, but vis-à-vis the non-communal community that the Constitution aims at.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
R.R. Diwakar

31. Humayun Kabir to Nehru⁶¹

[Refer to item 167]

Report on Visit to Dacca

I called on Mr. Zakir Hasan the Governor of East Pakistan at 11.45 a.m. on the 6th August according to appointment.⁶² His A.D.C. told me as I was going in that the Governor had another appointment at 12 noon, but the Governor kept me till almost 12.45. I have known Mr. Zakir Hasan since 1938. He is a sincere and well intentioned person and had a reputation for honesty when he was Police Commissioner in Calcutta.

After a few preliminary remarks Mr. Zakir Hasan said that he realised that Pakistan in general and East Pakistan in particular has no future without good relations with India. He repeatedly said that General Ayyub Khan is genuinely anxious for improving relations with India and that it is much easier for the Government to effect a settlement than the former Prime Ministers of Pakistan who often had to play to the gallery. According to Mr. Zakir Hasan, General Ayyub Khan is popular not only with the armed forces but also with the general public, and as such there is little chance for anyone from the armed forces or among the politicians to displace him in the foreseeable future. I also gathered the impression that Mr. Zakir Hasan felt that a settlement with India would increase general Ayyub Khan's popularity and strengthen this hold upon the public. Mr. Zakir Hasan said that he was fully satisfied that the Government of

61. Report, 14 August 1959. File No. 6/1958-63, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

62. In the covering letter to the report Humayun Kabir wrote to Nehru that he had visited Dacca on a private visit on 6 August, returning the next day; however, he paid a courtesy call on Zakir Hasan, the Governor, at the suggestion of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner. Zakir Hasan is also spelt as Zakir Husain in some sources.

India and specially our prime Minister was anxious to see a prosperous and contented Pakistan. Relations do not however improve because officers lower down and specially petty officials in both India and Pakistan often act for personal ends and create trouble. He said that some of the misunderstandings are due also to lack of coordination of policies at a higher level and gave two examples:

(a) According to Mr. Zakir Hasan, a great deal of trouble on the Assam border is due to the fact that the lands below the Khasi hills have always been cultivated by people of East Bengal. These lands have now become part of India but are still cultivated and in some cases owned by Pakistani nationals. Trouble according to him arises when Pakistani nationals try to bring the harvest into Pakistan and he said that frontier guards on both sides resort to firing. His suggestion was that these lands should be purchased by Indian nationals and cultivated by them or in the alternative, Pakistanis should be allowed free access to them. This according to him would remove one major cause of friction.

(b) Mr. Zakir Hasan said that the embankments recently built in Assam force the waters down the Brahmaputra so that Assam escapes floods but large areas of East Bengal are submerged every year and crops destroyed. He fully accepted India's right to build these embankments but he said that if Pakistan Government had been informed in time, they would have taken necessary measures to ensure that the waters were dispersed as soon as they entered East Pakistan.

Mr. Zakir Hasan said that he was not mentioning these in a critical spirit but only as illustrating how small things were magnified in the present atmosphere of suspicion. I told him that I did not know all these details but I could assure him that Indians recognise that a peaceful, stable and prosperous Pakistan is to our advantage. I further said that Pakistan raised objections even when a scheme like the Ganga Barrage which would be of mutual benefit to India and Pakistan was discussed. He agreed with me that the Ganga Barrage will ultimately help Pakistan out he said that the experience of the embankment on the Brahmaputra make Pakistan somewhat suspicious of the scheme.

Mr. Zakir Hasan also told me that one of his major difficulties was that the Civil Service in East Pakistan was manned largely by non-Bengali officers. In addition, they belonged to a common Central cadre and as such had no special feeling for East Pakistan. He told me that soon after the establishment of Pakistan, he had fought hard to maintain Provincial Cadres and he had succeeded in respect of the Police but not the Civil service. The result was that many of the senior civil servants ignored the orders of the provincial Government, specially as many of them were anxious to leave Bengal and go to Karachi. He said that the Punjabi officers were the worst in this respect but even officers

from Bihar and the U.P. often looked down upon the people of Bengal. He told me that there were hardly any senior Bengali officers in the civil service but he was trying to meet the situation by utilising the services of senior police officers – many of whom were Bengalis – in civil posts. He also said that the Army officers were much better and were generally free from both communal and provincial bias.

In the end Mr. Zakir Hasan asked me to give his regards to our prime Minister and pleaded very strongly that advantage should be taken of the power and influence of General Ayyub Khan to reach a settlement with Pakistan. He was convinced that people, especially in East Pakistan, were extremely anxious for friendly relations and closer cultural contacts with India but at the same time they were determined to maintain their entity as a separate State. I told him that India has every respect for these sentiments and our Prime Minister has left no doubt in anybody's mind that India wishes Pakistan well. No responsible person in India thinks of a re-Union of East and West Bengal. In fact, even if East Bengal wanted such a Union, the people of West Bengal would resist the move. Pakistan should settle her disputes with India during the next ten years or so, for no other Prime Minister is likely to deal with Pakistan with the same sympathy and generosity as Mr. Nehru.

Later that evening I met the Governor, the Martial Law Administrator, the Chief Secretary and the Inspector-General of Police in a private dinner. After dinner the Chief Secretary started a discussion on some of the issues between India and Pakistan. I noticed that the Governor remained silent throughout these discussions and the Martial Law Administrator spoke only once or twice. I sensed that there were some differences between the three. Later our Deputy High Commissioner told me that this was so and the Governor and the Martial Law Administrator do not see eye to eye on many things. Mr. Zakir Hasan's main strength lies in his friendship with General Ayyub Khan, but his differences with the Martial Law Administrator have given the Chief Secretary a chance of increasing his own importance. I did notice during the dinner that the Chief Secretary tended to talk down to the Martial Law Administrator though in protocol, the Administrator was second only to the Governor. The increasing importance of the Chief Secretary seemed to me somewhat unfortunate, as both the Governor and the Administrator spoke of India in more friendly terms.

The Chief Secretary tried to score debating points by saying that India had placed military forces on the frontier while the Pakistani army was far removed from the border. He argued that if the Pakistani army were also placed on the frontier, it might lead to incidents and even war. He added that in his view it would lower the morale of the Indian Army if it had to face the police or frontier guards of Pakistan.

The Chief Secretary complained bitterly, about the propaganda carried on by some Calcutta papers and kept on saying that while he had faith in the central Government he was very much disturbed by the attitude of the Government of West Bengal and also to some extent the Government of Assam. He referred to Berubari and said that the Government of West Bengal was opposing its transfer even after the Prime Minister of India had taken a decision about it. He added that he would personally be inclined to give up Pakistan's claim to those few miles rather than embarrass the Indian Prime Minister. He made all kinds of wild allegations about doles being paid for attracting refugees from Pakistan to India and kept on saying the Government of West Bengal was working for the destruction of East Pakistan and its incorporation into India.

The Chief Secretary also referred to recent communal riots in Bhopal and Bihar. He said that when there had been riots in Pakistan, the Government had appointed a Committee of enquiry under a High Court judge and the strong action then taken had stopped such riots for good. He said that he had known our High Commissioner, Shri Rajeshwar Dayal since his student days and had spoken to him on these points.

I told him at the end of his complaints that I had not come to discuss any political matters and was in East Pakistan on a private visit. Since however he had raised some issues, I would in my personal capacity tell him that he was wrong on almost all points. I did not claim that we never did anything wrong, but I would say that India's attitude to Pakistan has been far more considerate and friendly than Pakistan's attitude to India. Not content with carrying on propaganda within Pakistan, some Pakistani officials – with or without the approval of the Pakistan Government – have carried false and bitter propaganda against India in Middle Eastern countries, Europe and America. I cited some examples from my personal knowledge and told him that it was good neither for India nor for Pakistan to exhibit our differences abroad. The Martial Law Administrator said he agreed with me that whatever may have happened in the past, in future India and Pakistan should not carry on propaganda against one another.

I further told the Chief Secretary that India had been forced to place some patrols on the borders because of the constant aggression by Pakistani Frontier Guards and their frequent firings across the border. In any case, the Indian forces had not played and would not play any aggressive role and as for their morale, it was high as one could wish.

Regarding communal relations, I told him that the difference between India and Pakistan was that the minorities in Pakistan felt so insecure that millions had moved out, while after 1947, there had been hardly any migration from India. Incidents like those at Bihar and Bhopal were regrettable but action had

been taken promptly, and I felt sure that if Pakistan settled down, such incidents would become rather still.

Finally I told the Chief Secretary that his complaints about West Bengal giving doles to attract refugees or trying to swallow East Pakistan were completely unjustified. No Government wants to add to its problems by inviting refugees and nobody easily leaves his ancestral home. It was perhaps because he had never served in Bengal before 1947 that he spoke of a concerted attack by East and West Bengal Hindus against the Muslims of East Pakistan. Hindus and Muslims of Bengal had on the whole more affinities than in other parts of India and their differences were more often regional than religious. In many cases, the difference between the East and West Bengal Hindus was greater than the difference between Hindus and Muslims of West Bengal. The Inspector General of Police supported my point of view and said that as a Bengali he did not think that the Chief Secretary's remark was fully justified.

At this stage, the Governor intervened and said that he had discussed some of these things with me in the morning and felt sure that I would place before the Prime Minister of India the views he had expressed. He also said that he agreed with me that Mr. Nehru would deal with these questions in a spirit of imaginative sympathy. I said that I was glad to find that he recognised our Prime Minister's wise statesmanship and felt sure that both India and Pakistan would benefit if the same spirit was found in the two States. The Governor bade me farewell in a most friendly manner after repeating that general Ayyub Khan was anxious for a settlement with India and was an honest and God fearing man.

Next morning the Martial Law Administrator – who I learnt is a man of Rohtak – telephoned to me saying that he wanted to come personally and apologise for the behaviour of the Chief Secretary the previous night. I told him that there was no need to do so and it had given me an insight into the attitude and mentality of some of the high officers of Pakistan. It had seemed to me that the Chief Secretary suffered from inferiority complex and I expressed the hope that the officers of the Defence Forces were free from it. He assured me that most of the Defence Service officers did not share the views of the Chief Secretary and generally there was a difference in approach between them and the civilians.

I also called on Mr. Fazlul Haque⁶³ and the Chief Justice of East Pakistan. Mr. Fazlul Haque is officially 86 but probably he is nearer 90. His powers are obviously failing but he was bitter against the present and indeed all the regimes that have ruled Pakistan since 1947. He sent warm greetings to the Prime

63. A.K. Fazlul Haque was the Governor of East Pakistan, 1956-58.

Minister and wished him success in his effort to bring peace between India and Pakistan.

The Chief Justice of East Pakistan was also bitter about the present state of affairs and said that while military rule was initially popular, it had now become irksome to the people. Prices of essential goods had at first come down, but now rice was selling at about Rs. 30/- to Rs. 35/- and fish was hardly available. He told me that the usual defence of East Pakistan Government was that rice and fish were equally scarce and dear in West Bengal and hence the people should not complain. The people were not however satisfied by this argument and a feeling was growing in East Pakistan that it was being treated like a colony. Most of the industrial developments were in West Pakistan and East Pakistan felt neglected and sore. Many of the senior civilians were from outside Bengal and they did not like the close relations between men of East Bengal and West Bengal. Some of them were consciously trying to break the cultural bonds between the two Bengals. He frankly said that Punjabi officers were the worst in this respect, but even officers from U.P. and Bihar were anti-Bengali and sought to provoke communal feelings among the Musalmans of East Pakistan.

A number of teachers, lawyers and businessman who dropped in to see me gave expression to similar feelings and I gathered the impression that such sentiments were quite widespread throughout East Pakistan. I also learnt that subterranean political activities were increasing as a result of the suppression of open political action. Many are turning towards the Communist Party, and a number of people told me that unless there is early improvement of relations with India and free flow of trade between East and West Bengal, the communists might come to power there. I felt that Mr. Zakir Hasan's anxiety that Pakistan should establish friendly relations with India during General Ayyub's regime is also partly conditioned by this fear.

I am convinced that so far as East Pakistan is concerned, there is a sharp difference between the Government and the people in their attitude to India. The people are friendly and want closer contacts and cooperation in every field. Bengali books are in great demand and I was again and again told that we must send singers, dramatic groups, literary men and dancers from West to East Bengal.

The Indian Information Service and its library are the most popular in Dacca and are visited everyday by scores, if not hundreds of readers. The demand for Bengali films is pressing and this in spite of the fact that the Government makes every effort to curtail the flow of Bengali books and films into Pakistan. In fact, the Government of East Pakistan and this means mainly the senior civilians who are non-Bengalis are not very happy at this open and

marked preference of the people for Bengali language, literature and culture. Today, under a Martial Law Administration, the people's voice cannot be heard, but there is little doubt that popular will cannot be long suppressed. We should therefore do everything possible for maintaining and indeed strengthening the cultural bonds between the two Bengals, and help as far as we can to restore normal economic and trade relations between them. Mr. Zakir Hasan seemed keen for it and he told me that unlike most people from West Pakistan, General Ayyub Khan was also in favour of this policy. The Governor explained this by saying that the General had lived in Bengal for several years after 1947 and as he had then little work to do, he had toured extensively throughout the province and knew both the villages and towns and sympathised with the aspirations of the people.

32. *Pravda* on Indian Independence⁶⁴

[Refer to item 203]

День независимости Индии

Сегодня, когда Индия отмечает двенадцатую годовщину своей независимости, думы и чаяния индийских патриотов устремлены в будущее. Они страстно желают приблизить время, когда их родина, преодолев тяжелое колониальное наследие, станет процветающей страной с хорошо развитой, независимой экономикой. Вот почему в Индии придают такое большое значение планам экономического развития, заимствованным из успешного опыта социалистических стран.

Осталось еще два года до завершения в Индии второго пятилетнего плана. Однако уже сейчас в стране проходит широкая дискуссия о проекте третьего пятилетнего плана. Эта дискуссия приняла острый политический характер вследствие противоречий между сторонниками нового и старого путей развития.

Те, кто желает повернуть историю страны вспять, недавно создали свою политическую партию «Сватантра», выступающую против государственного сектора в

64. *Pravda*, 15 August 1959, p. 4.

промышленности и кооперирования в сельском хозяйстве. Нити от руководства этой партии тянутся далеко за пределы Индии, к центрам иностранного монополистического капитала, вроде Международного банка реконструкции и развития, контролируемого США. Представители этого банка в своих официальных докладах подвергают нападкам мероприятия индийского правительства, направленные на укрепление позиции государства в области экономики. Они требуют ограничить задания третьего пятилетнего плана «развитием» второстепенных отраслей промышленности.

Попытки иностранных кругов диктовать свои условия Индии были отвергнуты. Потерпели провал и усилия индийских реакционеров замедлить экономическое развитие страны. Премьер-министр Неру заявил: «Никто не может остановиться посреди потока. Если мы сделаем это, мы будем сметены».

Третий пятилетний план Индии уделяет основное внимание индустриализации страны, предусматривая для этой цели 50 процентов всех ассигнований. Удельный вес государственного сектора в общей сумме капиталовложений составит 67 процентов, а по отдельным важнейшим отраслям еще больше.

План предусматривает использование иностранных кредитов и технической помощи. Однако западные державы, обещая кредиты лишь под высокие проценты и краткосрочного характера, стремятся направить эти средства куда угодно, но только не на развитие тяжелых отраслей промышленности в государственном секторе. Такая позиция ставит страну в затруднительное положение, которое пытаются использовать в корыстных политических целях реакционные элементы внутри Индии.

Дружественную, бескорыстную помощь Индия получает от Советского Союза и других социалистических стран. Верная своей неизменной политике поддержки всех народов Востока, вставших на путь независимости и борющихся за нее, наша страна оказывает им все большую

материальную поддержку. Уже предоставив Индии значительные кредиты, СССР недавно согласился на новый кредит в сумме 1.500 млн. Рублей (180 кроров рупий). Советские кредиты выдаются из расчета 2,5 процента годовых и носят долгосрочный характер.

Дружественный характер советской помощи, тот факт, что советские кредиты направляются в государственный сектор, на развитие тяжелой индустрии, вызывают чувства горячей благодарности у индийского народа.

Советские рабочие, техники, инженеры снискали в Индии добрую славу своими знаниями и трудовой энергией. В канун двенадцатой годовщины независимости страны они вместе со своими индийскими друзьями рапортовали о новых успехах, достигнутых на совместных стройках, о наступлении заключительного этапа по монтажу мартеновского и прокатного цехов Бхилайского завода, о новых нефтяных скважинах, пробуренных советскими турбобурами, о хорошем урожае на суратгархской ферме, собранном с помощью советских комбайнов.

«Политика Советского Союза,— подчеркивает в редакционной статье калькуттская газета «Джугантар»,— лучшее доказательство того, что социалистический лагерь горячо желает и в состоянии эффективно помогать странам со слаборазвитой экономикой, не сопровождая эту помощь никакими политическими или военными условиями. В этом суть политики стран социализма».

В беседе с вашим корреспондентом премьер-министр Дж. Неру сказал, что советские кредиты Индии использовались и используются главным образом для развития тяжелой индустрии, крупного машиностроения, создания нефтяной промышленности и целого ряда других отраслей промышленности. Дж. Неру отметил, что условия, на которых предоставляются советские кредиты, очень хорошие, особенно учитывая их долгосрочный характер.

Выразив горячее одобрение в связи с предстоящим обменом визитами между Председателем Совета Министров СССР Н. С. Хрущевым и президентом США Д. Эйзенхауэром, Дж. Неру заявил: «Я хочу поздравить господина Хрущева и господина Эйзенхауэра по поводу этого события, потому что мне кажется, что это очень хорошее событие. Я не думаю, что их встреча разом разрешит какие-либо проблемы, но она создаст условия, которые облегчат разрешение этих проблем. Конечно, эти встречи внесут разрядку в международную напряженность и приведут к совещанию в верхах».

Вспомнив свою поездку в 1955 году в Советский Союз, Дж. Неру сказал: «Встречи с советскими людьми оставили в моей памяти глубокий след. Я чувствую, что наши отношения как между народами, так и между правительствами дружественны в своей основе. Они будут продолжать оставаться такими. Я надеюсь, что сотрудничество между нашими странами будет развиваться все шире и шире. Перед нами стоят огромные проблемы и трудности, подобные тем, которые когда-то переживал и Советский Союз. И мы часто извлекаем пользу из его опыта».

...Сегодня премьер-министр Дж. Неру по традиции поднимет над древними стенами делийского Красного форта трехцветный флаг независимости. В этот день советские люди желают индийскому народу новых успехов в его созидательном труде, в борьбе за мир и демократию, за упрочение национальной независимости.

Н. ПАСТУХОВ.

(Соб. корр. «Правды»).

г. Дели, август.

[Translation begins:

Independence Day of India⁶⁵

Today, as India marks the twelfth anniversary of her independence, the thoughts and aspirations of Indian patriots are directed toward the future. They eagerly look forward to the day when their homeland shall overcome her burdensome colonial legacy and become a prosperous country with a well-developed, independent economy. That is why India attaches such importance to economic development plans, borrowed from the successful experience of the socialist countries.

Their second five-year plan has still two years to go. However, wide-ranging discussions are already taking place on the draft third five-year plan. This became sharply political owing to the opposed positions of the advocates of the old and new developmental strategies.

Those who wish to return to the past recently launched their own political party, "Swatantra", which opposes the public sector in industry and cooperation in agriculture. The leadership of the party has links that go far beyond India, to the centres of foreign monopoly capital, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, controlled by the United States. In their official reports, officials of the bank attack the Indian government's action to reinforce the position of the state in the economy. They demand that the third five-year plan confine itself to the "development" of secondary industries.

Attempts by foreign interests to dictate terms were rejected by India. Efforts by Indian reactionaries also to slow down the economic development of the country have failed. Prime Minister Nehru said: "No one can stop in the middle of the stream. If we do that, we shall be swept away."

The third five-year plan focuses on the industrialization of the country, which accounts for fifty percent of allocations. The share of public sector in total investment is 67 percent, and in some key sectors even more.

The plan calls for using foreign loans and technical assistance. However, Western powers, promising only loans with high interest rates and short repayment schedules, strive to direct these funds everywhere except the development of heavy industries in the public sector. This position puts the country in a predicament, which the reactionary elements within India seek to use for their selfish political purposes.

India receives friendly, selfless aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. True to its continued policy of support to all the peoples of the East,

65. Translated from the Russian by Madhavan K. Palat.

who have embarked on the path of independence and are struggling for it, our country provides them with increased material support. Having already provided substantial loans to India, the USSR recently agreed to a new credit of 1,500 million rubles (Rs 180 crore). Soviet credits are issued at the rate of 2.5 percent per year with long repayment terms.

The friendly nature of Soviet aid, the fact that Soviet loans are for the public sector and the development of heavy industry, arouse feelings of deep gratitude among the Indian people.

Soviet workers, technicians, and engineers in India are highly appreciated for their expertise and energy.

On the eve of the twelfth anniversary of the independence of the country, they and their Indian friends reported the progress in joint construction projects, the final phase of the installation of open-hearth and rolling shops at the Bhilai plant, the new Soviet-drilled oil wells, and the good harvest at the Suratgarh farm set up with Soviet assistance.

"The policy of the Soviet Union," the Calcutta newspaper *Jugantar* noted editorially, "is the best evidence that the socialist camp is both eager and able to help underdeveloped economies without attaching political or military conditions. This is the essence of the policy of the socialist countries."

In a conversation with your correspondent, Prime Minister J. Nehru said that the Soviet loans in India were and are used primarily to develop heavy industry, machine-building, and the oil and several other industries. Nehru said that the terms on which Soviet loans are provided are excellent, especially for being long-term.

Enthusiastically welcoming the forthcoming exchange of visits between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchev, and the U.S. President, D. Eisenhower, J. Nehru said: "I want to congratulate Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower on this event, because it seems to be a very good event. I do not think that their meeting will solve problems at once, but it will create conditions that will help resolve these problems. Of course, this meeting will help defuse international tensions and lead to a summit meeting."

Recalling his visit to the Soviet Union in 1955, Nehru said: "Meetings with the Soviet people have left a deep impression on me. I feel that relations, both between the people and between the governments, are friendly through and through. They will continue to be so. I hope that the cooperation between our two countries will expand. We are faced with enormous challenges and difficulties similar to those experienced at one time by the Soviet Union. And we often benefit from its experience."

Following tradition, the prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru today will hoist the tricolour flag of independence over the ancient walls of Delhi's Red Fort.

On this day, the Soviet people wish the Indian people ever newer success in their creative endeavours for peace and democracy and for the consolidation of national independence.

N. Pastukhov, Delhi Correspondent
Delhi, August.

Translation ends]

33. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru⁶⁶

[Refer to item 168]

No. 1767.

Personal for Prime Minister from High Commissioner.

After dinner at my house last evening Iliff referred to recent letter sent to Security Council regarding Mangla Dam. He said that this had visibly stiffened Pakistan attitude and made his task difficult at the London negotiations regarding water dispute where the principal hurdle which Bank was facing related to Indian uses in Jammu and Kashmir. Iliff said that Black was much perturbed and wanted to write to you about it but Iliff had advised against this and had told Black that instead Iliff would request me to convey this to you. Iliff understands that understanding reached between you and Black in Delhi regarding Mangla could not be regarded as agreement on the subject between India and Pakistan and he did not question our right to renew our protest. He wished however that in view of Bank's role in the water dispute and that of Mangla Dam in its settlement you would have taken Black into confidence. Black would probably have suggested a different timing so as to avoid possible difficulties in London negotiations. Gulhati had warned me earlier that Iliff would talk to me on this subject.

I told Iliff that though I had had no special information regarding latest protest I could assure him that it could not possibly have been made at this time to create difficulties for Bank but that it must have become inevitable for reasons unconnected with water dispute.

66. Telegram, London, 15 August 1959. File No. 38 (1)-CWD/59, Vol. XXIV, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section).

Request that I may be authorised to tell Iliff that the renewal of protest does not in any way alter understanding reached between Black and you in Delhi. You may also consider whether Iliff should be informed in general terms of the reasons which made this renewed protest necessary at this stage.

34. Medical Care in USA and USSR⁶⁷

[Refer to items 153 and 154]

Dr. C.H. Naik, MRCP (Lond.), FCCP (USA) Card. M.B., FCPS (Bom).
Physician & Cardiologist, Medical College, Ahmedabad.

General Impression of my Study Tour of USSR and USA.

General impressions – The Ordinary Doctor in USSR is not an elite of the society but just a mechanic. 65% of them are women. They appear extremely devoted, kind, humble, simple and willing to discuss, learn, inform and free with compliments for outstanding foreign achievements. There are no unnecessary embellishments or trimmings for exterior or interior of the buildings though the basic equipments for the needs of the patients are not sacrificed. Large numbers of hospitals are simple one storey structures. In every hospital the dresses and uniforms are the most spartan and nobody is allowed to enter the premises without an apron and mask.

At a small meeting of eminent Moscow doctors I was earnestly requested to say something about my impressions about my work and observations at Johns Hopkins Hospital and Mayo Clinic in U.S.A., London Heart Hospital and work in India and specially Ayurved. Every infant, child, mother and patient appeared in gentle custody of doctor with free medical treatment. Massive care for healthy child is the dominant concern. Universal adherence to Marxism does not seem to prevent people from free exchange about others mode of life. It is apparent that people are being encouraged to expose themselves to Western thought mode of life and even form of Government as witnessed by free discussions being carried on by crowds at the American Exhibition. People appear confident and many consumer goods stores attract large crowds. The emphasis on bare practical necessities and total lack of waste on unnecessary ornamentation (except for national monuments) is very dominant.

67. Report by Dr C.H. Naik, 16 August 1959.

In spite of gigantic strides of U.S.A. in medical research and technique the ordinary man finds it hard to obtain easy medical aid. About 10,000 American tourists are estimated to have visited USSR this year and many confided to me that they are amazed at the progress and freedom (!) in USSR. In comparison our Institutions have beautiful exterior with poor equipment, personnel and practically no research. I was repeatedly told by many eminent doctors in USA that we waste large sums on sending semi qualified medical pilgrims abroad who during their short sojourn there hardly learn anything. Autonomy of various departments in USA and even in USSR encouraged sterling research without being hampered by the Civil Service or Authoritarian Superintendents. Incidentally my study tour was self-financed.

Institute of Chest (Chief Prof. Kolesnikov) of the Academy of Medical Sciences. The modern method of cardiac catheter and open heart surgery with a pump are in infancy. (Done in U.S.A. for more than seven years).

Special work on the cause of coronary diseases and blood pressure is being carried on. Generally the equipment is complete without unnecessary expense on trimmings, ornamentation, uniforms, secretarial aids and typing. Most of the records are handwritten. There was generally great interest in nature cure, physiotherapy, Ayurved, Chinese needle therapy, mud treatment and leeches. The Compliments for Western achievement in open heart surgery were freely given and also for the Indian gift of Serpina for high blood pressure.

Neurology Institute of the Academy Medical Sciences (1500 operations a year). A complex research centre - clinical, physiological and morphological with special emphasis on research of the nervous system of the child. The facts of brain disorders on heart and blood vessels and their reactions are observed. Main emphasis is on the concept of Pavlov which is neurogenic.

Institute for Scientific Research and Health Education. Special films are shown for bringing up child in crèches, for rickets and cancer. Smoking and alcohol discouraged.

Leningrad-Institute of Experimental Medicine established by Pavlov 1890 oldest in USSR - Studies laws of brain activities, cortico visceral physiology, comparative physiology, fever, medical embryology. Regeneration, arterio sclerosis, are being studied on highest level, comparable with work in U.S.A. The famous work on Influenza virus and oral Polio myelitis vaccine is being carried on here. They proposed to liquidate Polio in two years.

The Institute of Peadiatric-Leningrad - carries on special studies in child diseases and anatomy and physiology in child - 1000 child beds, 200 maternity beds - largest in USSR contains child centres, maternity centres and centres for collection of mothers' milk for donation and farm for milk foods and fruits. Nursing mothers have special facilities for sleeping and recreation near the

children's ward. Mothers' milk is universally encouraged and mother is preferred as the nurse and is given special leave with pay during that time. There is an attached school for sick children who are later transferred to sanatoria. The training centers for students in child physiology and anatomy is unique - consists of 30 normal children who are either orphans or whose parents have diseases. Every district has one mothers centre for care of pregnant women and child - Mother relieved from harder work at 16th week without night work (abortions are legal). Medical aid at all levels is free except charge of medicine for ambulatory patients - medicines are very cheap and many home remedies are freely encouraged.

The Psycho-prophylactic Therapy for maternal labour (painless labour) involves training at 32 weeks with study of home conditions and psychological make up process - 1, Instructions about anatomy, 2, Cause of pain, 3, correct breathing, 4, process of delivery, 5, collective information 6, release of fear, 7, oxygen during labour. Results are 93% success.

Maternal Leave - 56 days before and after delivery with pay - period utilised for training in mother craft and psychoprophylactic labour. (Three days' leave with pay during husband's illness). During pregnancy every element of anxiety is attempted to be removed.

Outstanding Research -

(a) organ transplantation - dogs limb cut off and kept in refrigerator for 34 hours with artificial circulation and transplanted with complete success.

(b) automatically suturing forceps for arteries bronchus, stomach, intestines and heart. This is revolutionising surgical technique and has aroused tremendous interest in USA.

(c) Mechanical Injectors for mass injections of drugs.

(d) Artificial organs.

Philatov Child Hospital Moscow - 665 beds caters for a district of 32,000 children in close collaboration with District Doctors and Hospitals. A view is generally held that rise in mentally backward, leukemia, blood disease and congenital defects are due to general irradiation of atomic blasts. There are special departments for training mothers in how to bring up a healthy child. The USSR children are one of the most beautiful and inspiring spectacle. The entire medical machinery appears to have been geared for rearing an ideal child. A success appears evident.

Emergency Hospital, Moscow - 1030 beds - All emergencies including heart with training college. This is a unique institution. 10 Surgeons and Physicians remain on 24 hours constant duty. Surgeon Yudin's 1000 operations on artificial gullet and 15000 resections of the stomach are already monumental. Prof. Glazova has 6000 case reports on heart infarction.

Cadaver's blood transfusion - This is a Soviet method. 30 tons of blood collected up to date. Advantages - no reaction, no coagulation, six times more blood than a donor. Only accidental deaths upto six hour selected - thorough checking of blood and cadaver before transfusion. This will facilitate open heart surgery.

Physiological Research Laboratory of the Academy of Medical Sciences, Moscow. (Prof. Negovski's eminent work on resuscitation).

Study in the process of dying, its origin and course of revival of animal body with reference to the dying of brain cells and vital cells. Methods -

(a) Death in an animal brought about by bleeding slowly

(b) Revival by (i) intra-arterial blood transfusion under pressure (ii) mechanical respiration with 40% oxygen mixture (unlike Western method of 100%) (iii) Electric defibrillation (iv) massage of the heart if necessary. An animal was revived in our presence 14 minutes after clinical death i.e. stoppage of heart, respiration, brain and spinal reflexes, zero blood pressure and zero cardiogram. The general observations open up fabulous concepts. The methods are used on humans extensively. Prof. Negovski showed great interest in Yoga.

In our country where medical aid does not reach all and is very expensive, prevention of heart disease should be a matter of great urgency. In absence of war heart ailment will remain the biggest killer. Every fourth person in USSR and nearly 65% in USA dies of heart disease. Our country combines the worst medical relief - vested interests, expensive drugs, ignorance of personal health and hygiene, lack of prevention and extensive quackery. Health in USSR as in UK appeared a matter of top priority.

35. Suniti Kumar Chatterji to Nehru⁶⁸

[Refer to item 183]

Chairman
Legislative Council
West Bengal
Calcutta
August 20, 1959.

Dear Sir,

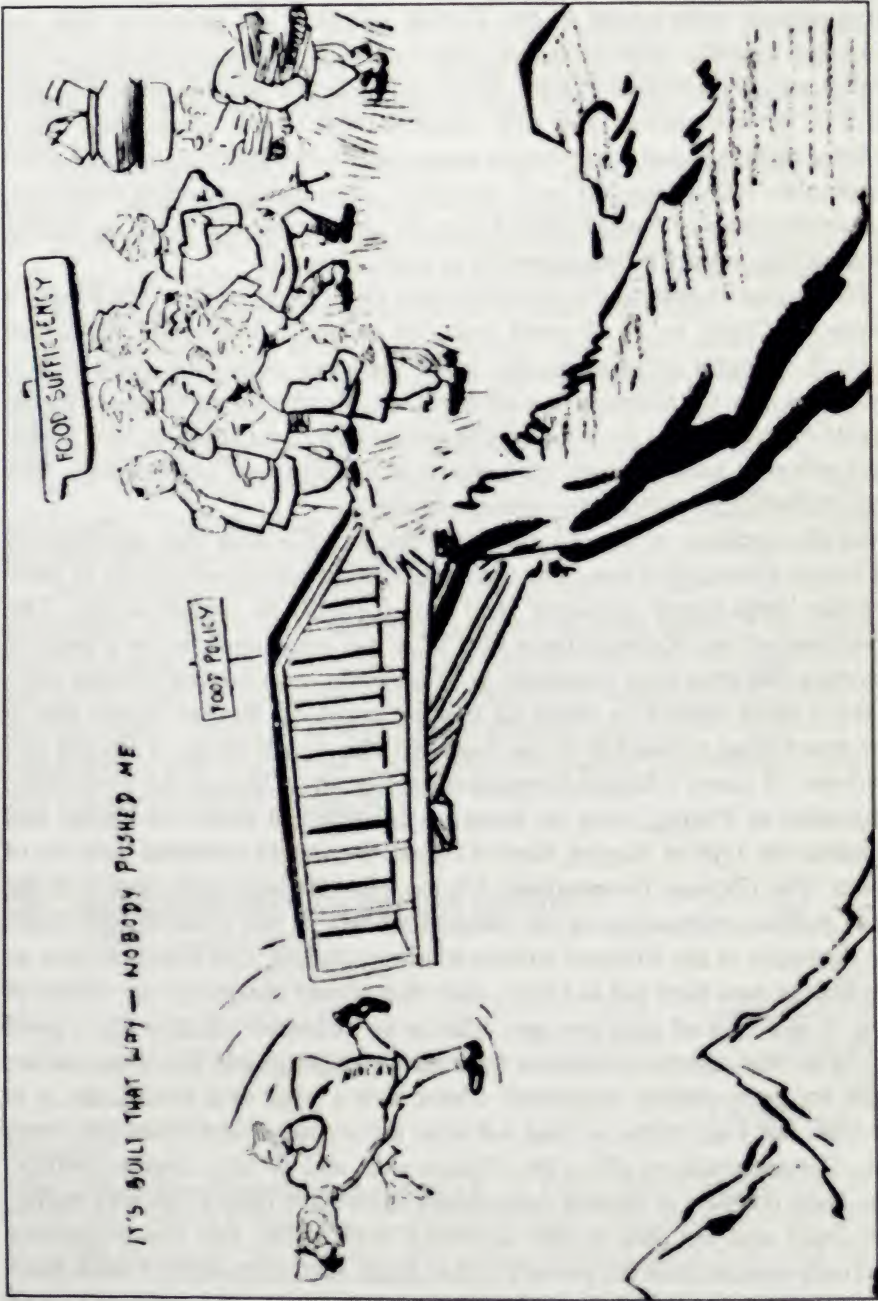
The India-China Friendship Association, of which the Headquarter is in New Delhi with Pandit Sundarlal as its President, has a branch in Calcutta, of which I am the President. We maintain it as a non-political institution, and although

68. Letter. File No. 4 (1)-EA/59, MEA.

there was some pressure from different political groups, we kept a strictly correct attitude with regard to the Tibetan question, not deviating from the stand taken by India under your lead, and we are not giving any opinion on the question. we celebrated the Pancha-Shila Day under the auspices of the Calcutta branch of the association (you will remember that in that connexion I asked you for a message, and I very much appreciated your observations and acted accordingly), and it came off very smoothly, all controversy being eschewed, and only the ideals of Pancha-Shila being discussed, although as we are feeling it, these ideals are not being observed in many quarters.

We are due to observe the 1st of October Day Celebrations of the People's Republic of China, as we do every year. We generally hold a meeting, where people of different political groups make speeches expressing good will to China. This time the situation is a bit abnormal. From a directive issued by the Central Organisation of the China-India Friendship Association in New Delhi, we are asked to hold a month-long series of meetings and celebrations. That would be hardly possible in the present situation.

On the occasion of the celebration of the Pancha-Shila Day, members of the Chinese Consulate-General in Calcutta, who generally participate in these functions, kept aloof: possibly they felt it might be embarrassing. The celebrations of our National Days by China and India must be on a basis of reciprocity. We may hold a meeting as in previous years for one evening only, and that I think should be about all that we could do. But we would like to know how China responded to our National Day Celebrations in Peking and elsewhere. If some Chinese Organisation like the China-India Friendship Association of Peking, with its branches in different towns of China, had celebrated our 15th of August, then of course we should celebrate their 1st of October. The Chinese Government, I hope, has officially participated in the 15th of August celebrations in our Indian Embassy. If you would kindly direct some Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, dealing with China, to give us some idea of how they did in China, then that should determine our course of action. It is a case of quid pro quo. This is an awkward situation for a good many of us. My interest in China is through her language and literature and her art and her great culture in general. China took a good deal from India, it is quite true. But I am trying to find out what did we in ancient times take from China. The materials are all on the Chinese side, and we have kept no records. China-India contacts in ancient times could never have been a one-way traffic, and if India was not able to take anything from China, this non-receptivity would only demonstrate the poverty of her mind. But, fortunately, I think there are some matters in which India benefited intellectually and artistically, and even spiritually through her contact with China. It is the other side of the medal



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 26 AUGUST 1959)

which is generally missed. Long ago I wrote a small paper on this, and I am writing another paper on the subject of what we took from China.

This being my attitude, I would like to maintain through the India-China Society a correct attitude of friendship and human fellowship with China; and in the matter of the celebration of the Chinese National Day, I think we might be following what they did – unless you thought that we should hold our one-day meeting on a modest scale.

Apologising for this intrusion,
I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
Suniti Kumar Chatterji

36. A.P. Jain to Nehru⁶⁹

[Refer to item 30]

August 22, 1959

My dear [Jawaharlalji],

During the course of the last one year or more, I have on more than one occasion written to you requesting to be relieved of my office. Besides, on one or two other occasions, I made the same offer verbally. Every time that I wrote or spoke to you, you were kind enough to ask me to withdraw my resignation. Holding you in high respect and affection as I do, I could not resist your desires.

On the 14th of August, I again wrote to you a letter offering my resignation from the Cabinet and Ministership. After that I had an interview with you and I explained to you briefly the circumstances which had compelled me to take that action.

We have passed through a very difficult period in the matter of food. The failure of the crop in 1957/58 was colossal, unprecedented in the history of the last fifty years. The shortfall was no less than ten million tons. There were difficulties but we could maintain the supply line and tide over the situation, though the prices continued to rule high. Keeping in view what has happened in the past when the shortages were much less, we have no reason to be ashamed of our performance. This year's crop has been good but the difficulties are persisting, though to a much lesser extent than last year.

69. Letter. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

The prices have not come down to the level which one would have expected from the bumper crop of this year. Some people seem to think that the prices are a function of supply and demand. This is far from truth. In the complex economy under which we are living, prices of commodities are affected by the export and import policy, budgetary and monetary policies. In a developing economy, all these have an effect on the prices.

The food situation is likely to continue to be difficult for some time until our production comes up to the level of our consumption. I have been carrying on the burden of the heavy portfolio of Food and Agriculture for more than four and a half years. During this period, I have done my best, though it has not satisfied many critics of the food situation including many Members of Parliament.

In those circumstances, a change in the portfolio will be helpful both to the Government, the Congress and the country.

It is not good to stick to the offices too much. This letter may be treated as my formal resignation and I may be relieved of my portfolio as soon as possible.

I am thankful to you and other Members of the Cabinet for the cooperation and support which they have all through extended in the performance of my onerous duties.

Yours sincerely,
Ajit Prasad Jain

37. Dag Hammarskjöld to Nehru⁷⁰

[Refer to item 225]

22 August 1959

Dear Mr. Nehru,

Through Ambassador Jha you have had information about the line taken by Laos in relation to me in their demarche the other day as well as of my reaction. I feel that it may be useful for our continued exchange of views on this matter if I were to send you a translation into English of my letter of reply.⁷¹

In the third paragraph of my letter, I talk about "various efforts to overcome the difficulties" which have not yet yielded a result but which have so far not

70. Letter. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. VII, MEA.

71. Hammarskjöld sent Nehru a copy of the English translation of his letter of 20 August to Khamphan Panya, the Foreign Minister of Laos.

failed and, therefore, in my view, should not be written off. I have naturally in view, on the one side Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's initiative in relation to Mr. Gromyko – an initiative I know that you have been informed about – and, on the other side, the line that I have been studying with you and which, according to the letter from Mr. Desai of July 31st you have promised to keep in mind and review after you have had a chance to get a first hand report on the situation from your delegate on the Commission, who would be due in Delhi in the last week of August.

If the third paragraph of my letter is understood in this way, I think that the letter in itself covers all the possibilities for action which at present offer themselves, with the single exception of a re-convening of the Commission which, for the time being, is excluded by the attitude of Laos, as supported by the attitude of Canada.

The situation as it emerges from my letter is not encouraging. As you see, I write off entirely some kind of good offices mission organised by me at the present stage. I, likewise, write off an observer arrangement based solely on an initiative from Laos. In both cases I know that I am on firm ground as the two possible lines of action thus eliminated have little or no chance to be of any use and involve a considerable risk for harm.

There then remains either action under a decision of the General Assembly or the Security Council, which is at present not contemplated, or action on the basis of any one of the two lines to which I have referred above as covered in the third paragraph of my letter.

If Mr. Selwyn Lloyd were to succeed and to get a favorable reply from Mr. Gromyko, I would, of course, act at once in accordance with the suggestion and we would have the matter properly on the rails. But can we hope for such a reaction or, at least, is it not so much in doubt that we have to consider seriously what to do in case the British initiative fails? Obviously, action then would have to be along the line I have discussed with you as it would be the only alternative left – unless, of course, Laos would make a turn about on the question of the Commission, which I believe is excluded in the present situation.

In these circumstances, I find it useful to take up the matter with you again, especially since, this week, you will have an opportunity to talk over the situation with your representative on the Commission.

As you remember, I have, straight through the discussion of this issue, although with slight variations, stuck to one and the same idea. I think that what has to be done must be done in two stages, as follows:

Stage I

Somebody must get in touch with both Hanoi and Vientiane in order to explore with them under what kind of a formula they might agree on a mediation. This exploration should be made by somebody who is welcome in both places and whose respect for the Geneva Agreements cannot be doubted. This is the stage in which, as you know, I feel that India is in a unique position to do the necessary work. As I am not likely to have access or to find a willing ear in Hanoi, I have excluded such a sounding out operation through a personal representative of mine.

Stage II

On the basis of the formula which may be found in Stage I, mediation should be initiated. I believe that a mediator would have to be what might be called an "absolute neutral", which probably would exclude also a person from Asia. I further believe that both the Commission and the United Nations would have to be parties to his appointment in such a way as to respect the stands both of Laos and of North Vietnam. How the relationship should be established should, of course, be explored in the first Stage. It does not seem to be very useful to speculate on any details here. Drawing a parallel with the Selwyn Lloyd initiative, I would, however, guess that the most rational formula would be that the Commission – which is not likely to agree on the person of the mediator and would not be in a position to undertake the mediation itself – would ask the Secretary-General, after consultation with the two governments, to designate the mediator.

You will find that, as re-stated here, my stand is in some respects more elaborate – and also with a more narrow scope for variations – than what emerged from my talk with Mr. Desai in Geneva. The reason is that the whole situation has developed further and that I have had to take into account additional elements which have come into the picture.

At present, as throughout the year, I am very pessimistic about what will happen if we do not get some kind of diplomatic machinery working. What worries me most is that, if my thinking is correct, we are really left only with the frail hope that Gromyko may accept Selwyn Lloyd's proposal, or, if that does not happen, with the line which I have been studying with you and to which I have reverted in this letter. Where would we be if that line, for some reason, would prove impossible? I am afraid that we would then have to pass a crisis in or around Laos with unforeseeable consequences in one direction or another. You will appreciate how anxiously I, in these circumstances, hope that

you will find it possible to give the assistance suggested for Stage I, leaving open, for the time being, whether this will or will not lead us to Stage II; an initiative under Stage I would, I believe, in itself and irrespective of the outcome tend to reduce tension and gain time for us.

As you see from my letter to Mr. Panya, I plan to be away for a fortnight in Latin America, but I can be easily reached all the time via Headquarters. I would appreciate to hear from you as early as possible, but I fully understand that you may wish to wait with your reaction until after the consultations with your representative on the commission, envisaged for next week.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Dag Hammarskjöld

38. S. Narsapaya to Nehru⁷²

[Refer to item 123]

The admission of the Honourable Food Minister in the Lok Sabha that State Trading in Food Grains has failed is a matter of deep regret and concern to all Congressmen. But unfortunately the declaration is made without tackling the problem properly and on the basis of half hearted experiments here and there.

State trading in food grains will not and cannot fail if carried on through Cooperatives. The State ought not to enter the trade directly, but the entire trade in foodgrain must be carried on through Cooperative Societies. I am not basing my statement on theories of ideals but on the basis of practical experience.

In South Kanara District we have a Cooperative Society known as S.K. Cooperative Supply and Marketing Society. I have the honour of being its President. The Society is a District Society having the entire district as its area of operation. During the foodgrain control days 1943 to 1954 the Society was appointed the sole agent of the Government in the entire district of South Kanara, for procurement of foodgrains. The Society had as much as 200 depots all over the District and purchased foodgrain from the producer, collected the same, transported the same to different centres, stored it properly and distributed it to the different retailers. The Society also received the imported grain, wheat and wheat products allotted to the District, transported it to its godowns and distributed the same to the retailers. In short the entire foodgrain trade in the

72. Letter, Mangalore, 24 August 1959.

district was handled by the society, all on behalf of the State Government, strictly in conformity with its orders and directions. During the peak period the Society was handling as much as 50,000 tons of foodgrains a year, valued at more than one and half crores of rupees. For all these transactions the Society did not seek any direct financial help from the Government. It managed with the amount borrowed from the District Cooperative Bank which in its turn borrowed the money from the State Cooperative Bank.

After de-control in 1954, the Society has ceased to do this work, but has taken other work, of trade in cloth, marketing of foodgrain and distribution of chemical fertilizers. the State Government has entrusted the Society with the work of distribution of chemical fertilisers, in the entire district on a monopoly basis. We have opened as many as 40 depots covering the entire district and in all these depots chemical fertiliser is stocked and sold directly to the cultivator at the price fixed by the Government. After paying and purchasing the same from the Government last year we have handled 3,500 tons of manure valued at Rs. 14,00,000/.

This year after the introduction of levy and procurement of food grains by the Government we have been appointed sole agents to the Government for purchasing and storing foodgrains in the entire district of South Kanara, and we have once again opened the necessary depots. This year we have gone a step further and have undertaken the work of distribution of foodgrains to the consumer by opening fair price shops throughout the district in centres ordered by the Government. Hitherto we have opened 64 fair price shops from one end of the district to another where grain is sold at the price fixed by the Government. For all these transactions whether food grain or manure we pay in advance and purchase and do not depend on Government finance.

It would not be presumptuous on my part if I say that in all the work that the society has done it has acquitted itself well, has done the work honestly, efficiently and expeditiously, to the satisfaction of all concerned. I may also add that our Society is in a position to undertake any work on behalf of the Government in this district whatever its volume may be.

What has been done and is being done in South Kanara can be done in every district. State trading is bound to fail, if it relies on merchants whose very existence is threatened by State trading, or does the work through its officers, Administrative officers and administrative machinery can never be suited for small scale commercial trade. State trading can never fail if it is done through District Cooperative Societies. The State Government while not having the financial commitment or the necessity of maintaining the detailed accounts of trade, will always have the overall control of the same if done through Cooperatives.

What has been done in one district can be done in every district of our country and I am a humble worker in Cooperative field and a person who by experience knows about it, challenge that State trading can never be a failure if done through Cooperatives.

If you are interested in this Sir, I am prepared to send a detailed scheme for formation and working of District Cooperative Society, in every district of our country, which can undertake State trading in foodgrains. State Trading in foodgrains can never be a failure.

39. Notings in the Ministry of Home Affairs⁷³

[Refer to item 96]

[Note A]⁷⁴

In his letter dated the 2nd August 1959 to H.M.,⁷⁵ P.M. has mentioned the following points:-

- (1) Guards of Honour should be completely banned except on very special ceremonial occasions;
- (2) there is no reason why every Minister and Deputy Minister in the Centre or in the States should have security guards attached to him (except in special cases);
- (3) when Ministers travel there should be no elaborate receptions for them and local officials need not gather for the receptions. Only those who are wanted should come;
- (4) inaugural functions should be normally much simpler;
- (5) traffic should not be stopped in any circumstances; and
- (6) roads and railway lines should not be lined.

2. There is an additional point in so far as the Punjab is concerned. When P.M. recently went to Mashobra, the whole surrounding hillside was full of people hiding behind trees etc. He was told that about 1,500 people were used in various ways for security purposes.

3. Point No.s (1), (3) and (4) above will be examined by JS (F) who is concerned with them.

73. File No. 20/11 (S)/59-Police I, MHA.

74. Unsigned and undated note, probably of B.N. Jha, for G.B. Pant, followed by a small handwritten comment by Pant, 24 August 1959.

75. Refers to G.B. Pant.

4. Point No. (2) – Security guards. There are two aspects, (a) armed guards at the residences of Ministers, and (b) plain-clothed security guards (gunmen) attached to the Ministers. Apart from P.M. for whom special arrangements are necessary, the uniformed guard at the house has been provided only for H.M. (one ASI, one Head-Constable and 8 Foot Constables), and at his own request for the Minister for Railways (one Head-Constable and 4 Foot Constables). Uniformed guards are not stationed at the residences of any other Ministers.

All Cabinet Ministers and Ministers of State are given three plain-clothed armed Orderlies each (2 ASIs and 6 FCs in the case of H.M.). Dr. P.S. Deshmukh, Shri N. Kanungo.⁷⁶ Shri S.K. Dey⁷⁷ and Shri Humayun Kabir have, however, not accepted plain-clothed armed Orderlies. The Speaker of the Lok Sabha has also been given 3 plain-clothed armed Orderlies.

It will thus be observed that no Deputy Minister has any security guards attached to him. In compliance with P.M.'s directions, we may now withdraw the plain-clothed gunmen from the Speaker and all Ministers with effect from the 1st September 1959. This date is suggested as it would be desirable to give the Speaker and the Ministers some notice. The uniformed guard at the residence of the Minister for Railways may also be withdrawn with effect from that date. Two draft d.o. letters, one addressed to all Ministers and another to the Minister for Railways, are placed below for H.M.'s consideration. He might perhaps like to write to them.

In regard to H.M., there is a particular aspect of the matter which deserves consideration. H.M. deals with law and order and many demonstrations etc. are held outside his residence. It may, therefore, be necessary to continue the uniformed armed guard at his residence. Similarly, it may be necessary to continue the gunmen. These are, however, matters for H.M.'s directions. In my own view, the Home Minister's responsibilities are such that I do not think we can entirely dispense with all security arrangements.

We have no information in regard to the practice in the States but we will write to them bringing P.M.'s observations to their notice. A draft letter is placed below.

5. Point No. (5) – Stoppage of traffic. The complaint in regard to the stoppage of traffic arose in connection with the rules for P.M.'s security. The rules provided that a warning car should travel two minutes ahead of P.M.'s car and that would be a sign for suitably regulating traffic. In actual practice, traffic was sometimes stopped causing annoyance to P.M. We have only recently

76. Minister of State for Commerce.

77. Minister of Community Development and Cooperation.

issued instructions to all State Governments making certain changes in the rules and expressly directing that traffic should not be stopped. A copy of the instructions is placed below. In Delhi traffic is never stopped for the other Ministers. If considered desirable, we could reiterate this instruction to all State Governments though I doubt whether it is now necessary. Perhaps H.M. may like to send a copy of the instructions to P.M. for his information.

6. Point No. (6) – route-lining. The existing instructions are that when P.M. travels by car in towns and cities, uniformed police should be used for controlling the crowd but unnecessary or excessive show should be avoided. Only recently express instructions have been issued that there should be no route-lining. A copy of the instructions is placed below.

In so far as journeys by train are concerned, no special precautions are taken for Ministers other than P.M. For P.M. detailed rules have been laid down. Permanent Way gangmen are posted along the railway path to prevent obstruction of any kind and the gangmen are required to move within their beat to ensure that there is no tampering with the track. It is very seldom that P.M. travels by train. We can, however, ask the D.I.B.⁷⁸ to re-examine the rules for rail travel with a view to making them less elaborate.

7. P.M.'s observations in regard to the large force used by the Punjab Government during his recent Mashobra visit has been brought to their notice and it has been pointed out that while adequate security arrangements are essential, it is entirely unnecessary to make such elaborate arrangements requiring the deployment of 1,500 men. A copy of our letter is placed below.

Speak.

Revise drafts.

[G.B. Pant]

24.8

[Note B]⁷⁹

Guards of Honour

The ceremonial and exceptional occasions on which Guards of Honour are to be provided by the Armed Forces, and the personages entitled to them, are laid down in the pamphlet "Orders relating to Ceremonials" issued by the Ministry of Defence. Relevant extracts from this pamphlet are put up at flag 'L'. It will be seen that these occasions are extremely limited and it is doubtful whether they are capable of reduction.

78. B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau.

79. Unsigned and undated note, probably of B.N. Jha.

2. The existing instructions provide that Guards of Honour should be avoided when the Prime Minister or other high personages visit the States, but an exception may be made only when the Vice-President/Prime Minister goes to some out of the way place where it may sometimes be desirable that a Guard of Honour should be provided. On such occasions it is perhaps a police Guard of Honour that is provided. In view, however, of the P.M.'s wishes, we will now issue instructions to all State Governments that Guards of Honour should be completely banned except on very special ceremonial occasions. These special occasions may be the same as those envisaged in paragraph 1 above.

Receptions to Ministers on Official Tours

Instructions were issued in 1951 that the reception arrangements for Ministers should be reduced to the minimum and that it should not be necessary for any one except a senior civil or police officer to be present at the railway station or airport, as the case may be, to receive or to see off any Minister. Even this was not necessary when the Minister was arriving or departing by a night air service or when in transit. These instructions may be repeated to the State Governments to impress the matter on them once again.

Inaugural Functions

No specific instructions on this subject have been issued from this Ministry. Nor will it perhaps be appropriate for this Ministry to issue any formal instructions. It has, however, been suggested in our circular of 20th June, 1957, that care should be taken to see that the functions etc. in honour of Ministers are simple and that there is no lavish or ostentatious display.

40. Sampurnanand to Nehru⁸⁰

[Refer to items 78, 80 and 81]

Lucknow

August 25, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I think it to be a matter of imperative necessity for me to let you know my considered reaction to the Working Committee resolution about Uttar Pradesh. As you know, I had misgivings about it even at the time it was passed but it

80. Letter. File No. A/151, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.

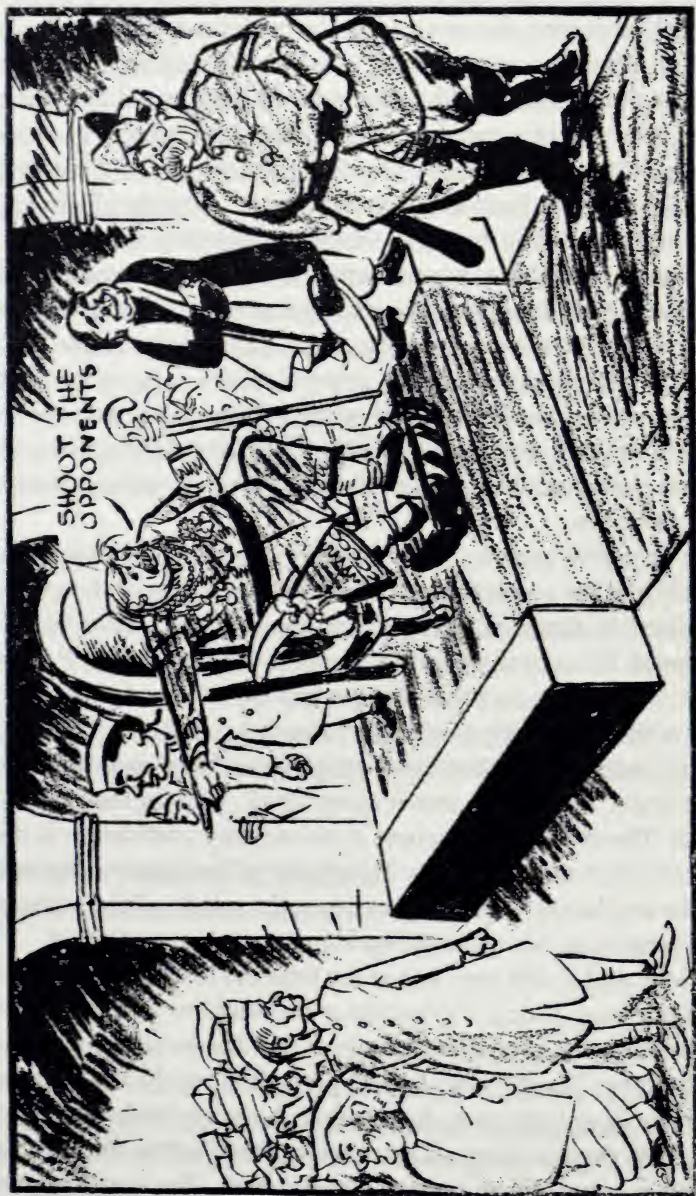
was not possible for me to say anything at great length just then. I had only my first impressions to go by and moreover it seemed highly undesirable to give expression to anything that could be construed as a protest against a resolution in the Working Committee, the more so as it was drafted by you. You know as much about U.P. affairs as anyone else. I was also handicapped by two other factors. One was the presence of Shri Govind Sahai. It seemed so embarrassing to speak in the presence of a member of the State Legislature. The second was the astonishing attitude adopted by Shri Subramaniam. The Chief Ministers present, including his own boss Sri Kamaraj Nadar,⁸¹ were keenly interested in the subject under discussion but their sense of propriety made them refrain from offering any comments when matters connected with a sister State were under discussion and its Chief Minister was, figuratively speaking, in the witness box. The only Chief Minister who intervened was, as you might remember, Dr. Roy and he apparently failed to appreciate the situation completely. Subramaniam, however, seemed to have no inhibitions and felt that he was free to pronounce obiter dicta without any restraint. Frankly, I did not care to bandy words with him. I also wanted to study the reactions of others before coming to any final conclusion.

You have probably seen by now the implications drawn by newspapers from the wording of the resolution and from such news about the proceedings of the Committee as found publicity. That much of such news was entirely false is immaterial. It has been generally assumed that some kind of a hearing is to be given to the dissidents by the Parliamentary Board. The National Herald in its editorial says that somebody is coming down to Lucknow to make enquiries. The dissidents' leaders themselves have openly said that something of this kind is going to be done. They have drawn attention to, what in their opinion is, a significant fact. The resolution nowhere expresses any confidence in the Chief Minister or even refers to him directly or indirectly. That some of the inferences drawn from the resolution were not present in the minds of the authors of the resolution is immaterial. My worst misgivings are being confirmed.

It is not clear, and it was not clear at the time the resolution was drawn up, what the Parliamentary Board is expected to do and how. But the resolution is there and something will have to be done by it as it has to submit a report to the Working Committee. The obvious line of procedure would be, assuming that the Parliamentary Board interprets the resolution as everybody else is doing, to get into touch with the dissidents. It does not matter whether they are called to Delhi or someone comes down here to contact them. The next step would be

81. The Chief Minister of Madras.

The Glorious Tradition



Action is proposed to be taken against dissident U.P. Congress M.L.A's.—Report.

[Seated: Sampurnanand; behind him: A.P. Jain; to his left: Kamalapati Tripathi (behind), G.B. Pant (in front)]
(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 AUGUST 1959)

to bring those grievances to my notice. This means calling upon me for an explanation though, of course, the word will not be used and lastly I would be directed, though this word might also be avoided, to redress those grievances to the satisfaction of the Parliamentary Board. I can visualise no other line of action. I want to make it clear that anything of this kind will make the functioning of the Government impossible so far as I am concerned. No Chief Minister can function efficiently and preserve his self-respect if anything of this kind happens and anyone, no matter how exalted, once comes between him and the members of his party. If and when the Central Parliamentary Board takes up its task in, what appears to be, the only way open to it in terms of the Working Committee's resolution, I shall have no option but to request you to relieve me of my responsibilities. This will be the only proper and honourable course for me in the best interests of the Organisation and the State. It would have been highly unfair on my part not to apprise you of this decision at which I have arrived after the fullest consideration. I have no doubt that you will appreciate my position. Let me assure you that I entertain no bitterness or sense of personal grievance against you, the Congress President or the Working Committee.

The resolution has created another curious situation. As you know, I asked Jugal Kishore and Mangla Prasad to explain their conduct and both you and the Congress President approved of my action. The explanations which they have given are very unsatisfactory but I cannot now proceed any further. It may be that they will express regret for their conduct, not to me but to the Congress President or the Working Committee. Their position vis-à-vis myself as the leader of the Party will remain unaltered and I shall have before me only their unsatisfactory explanations about which I cannot do anything. Quite obviously, no step can be taken against a person who has expressed regret before an authority superior to me. There is nothing in the resolution directing them, even indirectly, to make their terms with the Party Executive and the Party Leader.

Yours sincerely,
Sampurnanand

41. Keshava Deva Malaviya to Nehru⁸²

[Refer to item 160]

August 27, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

The agreement on Barauni Refinery has got stuck up broadly speaking on two points. Firstly for the exchange reasons, that is, in what manner loans have to be returned. This is connected with sterling convertibility and value of rouble in gold etc. Second is responsibilities on account of patent laws.

You will please remember that on payment account I had some trouble with the Rumanians, but while in Europe I managed to settle the point with them even though with some hesitation by Finance Ministry. Now the Russians are adamant on these two points and they do not accept our approach. They will meet us again tomorrow to say how far they can meet our wishes. We have, however, little hope of an agreement. The matter, therefore, will have to be referred to the Cabinet for which a small note is being prepared.

B.K. Nehru has gone to Moscow to settle the terms of payment of Russian credit. Therefore, it lessens our responsibility in the Ministry; we will accept whatever agreement has been reached between B.K. Nehru and Moscow. I am, therefore, not worried about the payment clauses because this matter will be dealt with between Finance Ministry and the Moscow authorities.

With regard to patents, the Russians are not prepared to take the responsibility of legal consequences if some of their processes are challenged in any court of law in India. They frankly feel that our laws are not meant to protect the Government policies, and as such they are not willing to take any responsibility for any breach of patent law. The consequences are very big, for instance if any process in the Barauni refinery is established as a breach of any patent filed in India by any party, the court can go to the extent of issuing injunction to stop the operation of the refinery! It might be interesting for you to know how big oil interests have filed, in the last six months, scores of patents quietly in order to challenge any anticipated working processes of Barauni refinery by the Russians. The news of this feverish activity of oil companies is perhaps not known to the Russians, but they are, in principle, not at all willing to take any responsibility for the consequences of any breach of our patent laws. They do not want to have any headache on this count.

I have no doubt that our patent laws need big amendments, but I learn that in one of the meetings of the C.S.I.R. this question was considered and your

82. Letter.

advisers in the C.S.I.R. opposed any amendment in the existing patent laws; I do not see why.

I am still trying to persuade the Russians to agree to the Drug Formula of patent recently agreed between the Swaran Singh Delegation and the U.S.S.R. Government in Moscow, but they are not willing to apply the drug patent formula to refinery.

I write this for your information.

Yours affectionately,
Keshava Deva Malaviya

42. Master Tara Singh to Nehru⁸³

[Refer to items 74 and 75]

Last time in the end of May I complained to you about Giani Kartar Singh and his party which had then delivered a sacrilegious attack on Delhi Gurudwaras. I do not know what you had been told, you gave me such an angry reply that although matters were urgent I did not think it proper to upset you further. Now so many things are happening in the Punjab, and matters are so rushing going from bad to worse that I fear we may soon be heading for a crisis. Therefore I consider it my duty again to write to you.

2. When in April last, after I had been complaining about Governmental interference in religious matters, I got that pact of 12th April 1959 from you. I considered it a sort of Magna Carta for autonomy to the Sikhs in the management of their religious matters. Unfortunately that pact does not appear to have carried any weight with the Punjab Ministry. Both the Sikhs [sic] Ministers condemned the pact unequivocally there and then. The Chief Minister though outwardly he said that he would see that the pact was honoured both in letter and spirit, yet his action proved quite to the contrary. He appointed Giani Kartar Singh the chief opponent of the pact, who has been exercising violent interference even to this day, on the Four Man Committee appointed under the terms of the pact for implementing that pact. Giani Kartar Singh has really made himself the spearhead [sic] of the Ministry for the purpose of interfering with Gurudwara affairs. You know the S.G.P.C. at the present moment is controlled by him and his henchmen. He has had this pact condemned by the S.G.P.C. Giani Kartar Singh is organising a new Dal for fighting the Gurudwara elections. He has had

83. Letter, 27 August 1959, sent from Gurdwara Rakabganj, New Delhi.

the pact condemned by this Dal also. Throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab he cannot hold meeting of his Dal without Government protection, yet at every such meeting the first thing he does is to condemn your pact of 12th April 1959.

3. In Delhi in May last he brought 200 armed men from the Punjab to take forcible possession of Gurudwara Sis Ganj. This attack was delivered in broad day light. More than 70 of these armed raiders were caught red handed on the spot by the police. Yet they were for some reason not known to the public, the authorities quietly released these desperadoes after they had been in the lock up for more than a week or ten days. All the papers of these days English or vernacular unanimously named Giani Kartar Singh and his henchmen the President and Secretary of the S.G.P.C. as the aggressors. The attack was actually directed from the Canal Rest House where Giani Kartar Singh was in residence, and was delivered on the spot by the President and Secretary of the S.G.P.C. How these people were able to bring 200 armed men from the Punjab unnoticed by the Punjab authorities I leave you to judge. To me it appears plain that the Punjab State authorities connived at it. It is thus clear that the whole Punjab Ministry for this purpose is collaborating, and Giani Kartar Singh is acting as their representative.

4. Through the intercession of certain individuals two arbitrators were appointed to settle this impasse to which Giani Kartar Singh had brought the affairs of the Delhi Gurudwaras, namely Sardar Baldev Singh, MP, Ex-Defence Minister and Giani Gurmukh Singh Musaffir, MP, Ex-President of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee. Both these gentlemen have unanimously condemned those who arranged the attacks and also those who actually delivered these sacrilegious attacks on the Delhi Gurudwaras, but it is a pity they did not have the courage to name these aggressors. However there is no mystery about that, because the papers in those days have unanimously named Giani Kartar Singh and S. Prem Singh Lallpura and Amar Singh Desanjh the President and Secretary respectively of S.G.P.C. as the aggressors. I enclose a copy or the award of these gentlemen.

5. I enclose also a copy of a letter written by one Shri Mohinder Singh of Khanna who along with Sardar Mohan Singh Mohawa, Vice President of the S.G.P.C. was sent in the third week of May last by the Executive Committee of the S.G.P.C. which you know is a Giani Committee, to find out the Gurudwara situation in Delhi vis-a-vis the SGPC. This letter will clearly show you that the attack on Delhi Gurudwaras by the S.G.P.C. was pre meditated, and was to be made no matter what the consequences. A third document I venture to enclose is copy of a letter from the present President of the Delhi Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. In this letter the President has unequivocally blamed Giani Kartar

Singh, who he says directed the attack personally from the Canal Rest House in Delhi and who also alleges that the attack was delivered in person by the President and Secretary respectively of the S.G.P.C, the agents of Giani Kartar Singh.

6. Thus the above documents will make it clear to you that so far the pact of 12.4.59 has not deterred the Punjab Government or its Ministers from interference in Sikh religious affairs. On the other hand the Sikh Congress Ministers have constituted themselves into a sort of federation and with Government help, Government time, Government transport and Government influence and other facilities are organising their respective parties for fighting Gurudwara elections. If a Minister is unpopular and people are bitterly opposed to him and don't wish to have anything to do with him coverage is provided for him by the full strength of the Congress administration and attempts are made to make his meetings successful by the prostitution of their powers both by the judiciary and the police.

7. Personally I do not mind these things. When one takes part in public activities he has to put up with such matters and consider such things as part of day's work. I have already told you how the present President of the S.G.P.C. in the presence of many respectable persons has threatened myself and my family members personally. But all this is very confusing. I cannot reconcile these things either with the letter or the spirit of your pact of 12.4.59. I wonder if it is as dead as the other pact, the Regional Formula. Where are the Congress professions of a secular state? If Gianiji or other Sikh Ministers, left their ministerships for taking part in Gurudwara elections nobody would mind. On the other hand they may find some admirers. As it is no one can blame the people if they think that these Ministers are doing what they are told, as to who tells them you should know.

Panditji, really I feel amazed. I do not know what things are heading to. I try my best to bring you and the Sikhs together but you would not heed me. You give your ear to those who surrounded me before, and are surrounding you now and most of whom would sacrifice any person or principle for the sake of slightest advantage to themselves. Even now some of them I understand are making preparations to leave you, thinking they would try for a better deal elsewhere. I am old and weak and who knows when my hour may come. Do try to settle with the Sikhs. If you and I cannot settle it, it will never be settled and that would not be for the good of India. Sikhs may suffer but in the long run India will suffer too.

43. B.C. Roy to Nehru⁸⁴

[Refer to item 126]

Calcutta

August 27/28, 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

You letter of August 25th giving me the gist of your talk with Dr. Prafulla Ghosh. Let me give the answers seriatim:

(1) It is true that the rice that is procured for us by the Government of India from Madhya Pradesh and Orissa is mixed with gravel and sand, although not to a very large extent. Still, there are complaints about that rice. The rice that we procure from Bengal is of the finer variety,

(2) Those who possess less than 2 acres of land, not 2 bighas, have been given remission of rent for this year. Besides, about 8 lakhs of people who belong to the landless labour group, are helped either in the shape of relief through doles or Test Relief works.

(3) The suggestion of Dr. Ghosh is that the quantity of one and a half seers of rice that is now given to a person in Calcutta and the Industrial Area, should be reduced to one and a quarter and that the quantum of wheat be increased by a quarter seer. This will not suit the people of Calcutta and the Industrial Area. So it is no use trying this. We have, however, allowed the wheat-eating people of this area to draw their full quota of rations in wheat.

(4) In rural areas we have already been giving one seer of rice and one seer of wheat.

(5) The proposal of Dr. Ghosh that the quantity of rice for the next two months might be increased and that the allotment for November and December might be correspondingly reduced, is what the Central Food Ministry has already decided and that is why in July and August we got 45,000 tons each per month from the Central Government, in September the same quantity, i.e. 45,000 tons is expected, but in October our present plan is that the quantity should be reduced to 40,000 tons and that in November and December, the quantity should be 30,000 tons and 20,000 tons, respectively. This is the programme which we have suggested to the Central Food Ministry.

2. I have made enquiries, and I am also making further enquiries, about the quality of rice that is being distributed through ration shops. As you will

84. Letter. File No. 31 (47)/57-61-PMS.

realise, our ration shops naturally supply such food as is procured for us by the Government of India and we cannot always be very very particular about the type of rice that we can get.

Yours affly,
Bidhan

44. A.M. Thomas to Nehru⁸⁵

[Refer to item 139]

I would invite your kind attention to the present labour situation in the Rare Earths' Factory, Alwaye, which is being run under the Atomic Energy Commission.

2. The workers went on a general strike with effect from March 31, 1959. The strike was illegal. A notice was put up that if the employees did not report for duty on April 3, 1959, the Plant would be closed down. The workers did not report and a lock out was declared. The circumstances under which this was done were detailed in answer to starred question No. 2066 in the Lok Sabha on the 27th of April 1959.

3. Representations were made to you regarding this and you asked the Labour Ministry to intimate the position of the case and the steps taken or proposed to be taken for the settlement of the dispute. A conference was held by Nandaji to which I was also invited to attend. The position that the Company would be able to operate the plant if the strike was unconditionally withdrawn and that there should be assurance of adequate protection from the State Government for operating the Plant without any damage either to equipment or personnel, was taken note of.

4. As desired in the communication of the Joint Secretary of the Atomic Energy Commission, the strike was unconditionally withdrawn on 6th June 1959.

5. It is reported that the Board of Directors of the Rare Earths' Factory has decided to curtail production and to effect retrenchment of more than 100 out of 300 employees working in the factory. I also understand that workers are now being taken in on a phased programme since the Plant was idle for such a long time.

85. Letter, 28 August 1959.

6. Any retrenchment effected now, apart from the hardship that would be caused to the labour force, would lead to undesirable consequences. Alwaye is the industrial capital of Kerala. There is at present industrial peace in that locality. The possibility of retrenchment was mentioned at the conference referred to above by the representative of the Board of Management. But then both Nandaji and myself said that that issue should not be allowed to be brought in and complicate the situation. It may also be remembered that in answer to the charge made in the statement in the Lok Sabha the then Kerala Government issued a Press note to the effect that the Government rendered and was willing to render necessary Police help to work the factory with loyal workers. If now the factory is opened with a depleted strength of labour, it would give the impression that in declaring the lock-out we had something up our sleeves and the very bona fides of the Central Government would be questioned. Besides, Kerala being under President's rule, it is a very inopportune time to throw out so many employees from a government establishment without giving them alternative sources of employment.

7. I therefore request you to issue immediately the necessary directions that the factory may reopen with the full labour force existing on 3rd April and the entire position may be reviewed later on.

45. Morarji Desai to Nehru⁸⁶

[Refer to items 29 and 37]

29th August, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

With your letter No. 1706-PMH/59 of the 21st August, you sent me the notes in the Cabinet Secretariat on the recommendations made by the Economy Committee appointed by the Congress Party. The draft report of the Economy Committee was discussed by the members of the Committee with me before they finalised the report. I had suggested to them that they might forward to Government the various suggestions which they had received for effecting economy in Government expenditure, but apparently the Committee decided to follow a somewhat different procedure. I have not had any discussions with the members of the Committee subsequent to the submission of their report.

2. There are five recommendations in all. The first refers to a census of all Central Government employees. Action is already being taken to see that the

86. Letter. File No. 37 (92)/59-66-PMS.

reports for the various years are published quickly and the procedure rationalised. The second recommendation relates to stoppage of all recruitment for one year. This problem was recently examined separately in the Finance Ministry and also by the Economy Board. Obviously, we cannot stop all recruitment in connection with Plan schemes, but my view is that we could stop take action on the lines suggested in regard to appointments not connected with Plan schemes. When this recommendation was considered by the Economy Board, they were of the view that instead of issuing any such blanket orders freeing existing non-Plan appointments, Ministries should be asked quickly to review their staff position with a view to effecting further economies. This review is now being conducted, but I personally see no reason why we cannot simultaneously issue orders freezing all appointments not connected with the Plan. The third recommendation relates to abolishing all posts which have been lying vacant for a period of six months. I do not think the recommendation is acceptable in the form in which it has been put. Our procedures of recruitment through the Union Public Service Commission sometimes take so long that a post may be lying vacant for over six months just because there has been delay in the Commission supplying an officer to fill it. It would obviously not be justified to abolish such an appointment. What we could do, however, is to ensure that budget provision for vacant posts is not automatically carried forward to the next years's budget, but that this should only be done under the specific certificate of the Secretary of the Ministry/Head of the Department concerned that the filling of the vacant posts is essential for maintaining the efficiency of the organisation. It should be enjoined upon the Secretaries/Heads of Depts. that this certificate must not be given as a matter of course. The fourth recommendation is that extensions should not be given beyond the age of superannuation. This question will come up for consideration in the light of the recommendation of the Pay Commission that age of retirement should be raised and we cannot, therefore, take a positive decision on this point just at present. Finally, the fifth recommendation is to create a Central Pool of employees by requesting Ministries to closely scrutinise their staff position and hand over their surpluses to the Central Pool. Such an arrangement already exists in Delhi but not outside. I think the recommendation should be accepted in principle and extended to cover surplus personnel at other centres also. Since the recommendation regarding the freezing of appointments is of a major kind, if you agree I could have a paper prepared for the Cabinet on the five recommendations of the Congress Party Committee and the action proposed to be taken, as indicated above.

3. In this connection I attach for your information a copy of a note which the Finance Secretary (Expenditure Department) has prepared on the

subject of economies in Government expenditure for the Working Group on Resources for the Third Five-Year Plan. An interesting recommendation in this paper is regarding the simplification of rules and regulations, both financial and administrative – a subject which you have recently also referred to. The suggestion is that we must take a calculated risk in this matter and that unless we proceed on the basis of a greater confidence in the integrity of Government employees, no real simplification of the rules and regulations can be effected. As a corollary, we must provide that once the rules have been simplified, those who break them, without sufficient justification, should be punished adequately. There are other suggestions of interest, including the freezing of non-Plan appointments, which has also been suggested by the Congress Party Economy Committee. Considerable stress has been laid in the paper on the reduction of construction costs which constitute the largest single factor in our Plan expenditure. As statistics show, even a 10% reduction in construction costs would result in savings which could not be achieved by even a 50% reduction in staff costs.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

46. M.J. Desai to Nehru⁸⁷

[Refer to item 226]

Defence Minister asked me and Dr. Ansari⁸⁸ to see him this morning at 9 A.M. to talk about Laos. The Minister asked what could be done to deal with the present deadlock on Laos and asked for our comments on the following:

i) Will Canada agree to nominate either their High Commissioner here⁸⁹ or their Secretary of the Foreign Office in Ottawa as the Canadian representative on the International Commission in Laos, purely for purposes of consultation though he will not be available for a meeting of the Commission?

ii) Will the Government of Laos object to an arrangement of the type mentioned in (i) above whereby the Commission will not actually assemble in one place but its entity is maintained by consultations between the representatives of the three Governments nominated for the purpose?

87. Note, 31 August 1959. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. VII, MEA.

88. Dr S.S. Ansari.

89. Chester A. Ronning.

iii) Whether it would be useful for him, either on his way to New York or while he is there, to visit Ottawa quietly and discuss ways of resolving the present deadlock on Laos.

2. Dr. Ansari stated that, so far as he could gather from his Canadian colleague in Viet-Nam, the Canadians will not agree to nominate any representative on the Laos Commission even on the understanding that the representative will be resident at Ottawa or Delhi and will be available only for consultation and not for a Commission meeting. Dr. Ansari also added that, so far as the present Government in Laos are concerned, they would object to the re-convening of the Commission in any form even though it is made clear that the Commission would not be meeting at any particular place but will transact business by consultation between the representatives who would be working at their own posts, being available only for consultation on a given problem. Dr. Ansari said that the Laotian Government cannot afford to have a compromise on this position because any form of Commission discussion would immediately raise the question of the 1957 agreement between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao and the implementation of that agreement.

3. I also mentioned to Defence Minister that the references to various exchanges during the last three months have brought out quite clearly that the Laotian Government will not have the Commission in any form and that the Canadian Government will not, unless the Laotian Government change their attitude, agree to re-convening of the Commission even if this means no actual meeting of the Commission but only conduct of business by consultation between the representatives nominated. As regards the Minister visiting Ottawa informally and attempting to persuade the Canadian Government to re-consider their position, I said that the two letters from the Canadian Prime Minister showed that the Canadian Government had made up their mind and there seemed to be no hope of persuading them to change their attitude. The Minister suggested that I might mention this matter to P.M.

4. We have, during the last three months, taken up the Laotian question with the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and with the Canadian and the Laotian Prime Ministers at P.M.'s level and these exchanges have produced no response from the Canadian or the Laotian Government. The Co-Chairmen are discussing the situation and the Secretary-General of the United Nations is taking a certain amount of interest. We might leave the Laotian question alone at least for the time being till we know what the Co-Chairmen propose to do. Defence Minister's suggestion regarding his visiting Ottawa is, however, for P.M.'s orders.

47. C.B. Gupta to Nehru⁹⁰

[Refer to item 79]

Your kind letter of August 26, 1959, conveying reactions to the recent developments in UP politics and particularly your anguish and agony born out of the August 7 episode here. The letter to my mind at least breathes more of anxiety than of light leading to the resolution of the crisis

I can only reiterate that all those who stand for the welfare of the Congress here share your agony but it could not be helped. The whole episode was the outcome of an exceptional concurrence of circumstances. The legislators, I assure you once again as far as I am able to gauge their feelings, just wanted to focus the attention of the High Command which had been complacent to their genuine grievances and pursuing a policy of procrastination so far as the UP politics was concerned. Torn out of the present political climate and context it might be adjudged as a 'fatal stab' but when fully appraised of the whole situation one cannot but interpret it as just an unconventional way of expressing a protracted feeling of frustration and a sense of righteous indignation. However, nobody could very well trifle with the feelings of a large number of legislators. Your letter leaves the impression on me that there is still an air of unreality and lack of the sense of urgency in the powers that be who alone can deliver goods.

Adverting to your remarks about Shri Charan Singh and Shri Algu Rai Shastri, I have my own views and this is not the occasion to discuss it. But this much I also feel that the attribution of motives to people whose ideas or conduct one does not approve, to say the least, is not generous. It is rather difficult to gauge with accuracy the complex subjective states which lead a man to this or that action or opinion. Even wisest of man hardly possess the knowledge or impartiality to render a last judgment on himself or anyone else. You will concede that even reasonably or morally worthy people can sincerely disagree on controversies. The average mind still being a somewhat imperfect instrument, even outright inconsistency, is seldom a sure sign of hypocrisy. You will also concede that intellectual intolerance and moral arrogance particularly when mixed with a feeling of ambition quite often leads persons to position far removed from true spirit of scientific temper or for the matter of that philosophy.

And evidences are not wanting that even in UP Congress politics people wedded to diverse political views and divergent attitudes clung together to face certain eventualities. Even the best and the noblest amongst us have fallen

90. Letter, Lucknow, 1 September 1959.

victim of such circumstances. So I am shocked when you feel that common hatred is the cementing bond holding people who are erroneously called 'dissidents' together.

I am sure this will smack of neither parochialism nor dogmatism when I say that it is really hard on your part to characterise the UP Congress as devoid of political integrity. To say the least, it is too much, particularly now in the face of faction-ridden provincial Congress organisations in the whole country. And it is difficult to apportion blame between the All-India and Provincial leadership for this sorry state of affairs.

You have envisaged enquiry into cases of serious allegations against individuals. But will the feeling remain in the realm of ideas only and not be followed by any positive action. In spite of ringing denunciations against a member of the UP Cabinet on the floor of the legislature, in the press and from the platform, the High Command seems to be impervious to the public demand. With a kind of desperate ardour the 'dissidents' clung to the hope that the High Command would intervene to set matters right but they are now being disillusioned. It has also lent colour and credence to the feeling abroad that some of the members of the High Command are not averse to group and personal loyalty. People talk of a sort of 'double standard' and, not unjustifiably, when they observe that while Union Ministers are made to resign in response to members criticism in Parliament, nothing of the sort happens here in the States in the face of serious allegations.

I hope you are aware of the fact that even Indiraji in her letter to me dated 11th August, 1959, observed that had timely action been taken to arrest the rot in Uttar Pradesh, things would not have come to this deplorable state.

I am still sanguine that with your open mind and as a great man, which you are, you will try to conquer even those whom you consider mistaken by your generosity and thus arrest the rot in the Congress which stands paralysed to some extent in UP to play its dynamic role in the politics of the country. You alone can bring normalcy and that too with grace.

Language is a poor medium to express one's feelings and sentiments and sometimes it fails to do justice to what one wishes to express. I feel that personal discussion is bound to bring about a better understanding of the respective view points of all who are concerned in the affair. Should you agree with me, busy as you are, kindly snatch away some time for this, preferably before, the ensuing meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

48. B.K. Nehru to S.A. Skachkov⁹¹

[Refer to item 205]

Dear Mr. Skachkov,⁹²

In connection with today's signature of the Agreement concerning the extension by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Government of India of a credit for the purpose of collaboration in the realisation of the Third Five-Year national economic development plan of India, and with particular reference to Article 4 thereof, I have the honour to confirm that the following agreement has been reached:

1) The amount of Indian rupees credited to the accounts of the State Bank of the USSR with the Reserve Bank of India and with State Bank of India, as the case may be, against the principal and interest due or to be due in respect of the credits extended by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Government of India under the Agreements dated February 2, 1955, November 9, 1957, May 29, 1959, September 12, 1959 as well as under the Agreement on the construction of oil refinery, shall be utilised by the Soviet organizations for the purpose of purchasing in India commodities listed in the annexure to this letter on the basis of world market prices. The names and quantities of commodities to be purchased by Soviet Organizations shall be determined, from time to time, by time, by the two Parties, on the basis of the aforementioned annexure, simultaneously with the conclusion of the agreements between India and the Soviet Union for the turn-over of goods between the two countries during the period concerned.

In respect of the aforesaid credits the Government of India has [the] right to repay the principal and pay the interest accrued thereon in advance of the due date.

2) The Soviet Organization shall, in case of necessity, have the right to draw upon the aforesaid amounts in rupees for the other purposes stipulated in para 2(2) and 2(3) in the letter exchanged by the two Parties on November 16, 1958 while signing the Trade Agreement between India and the USSR.

3) In case the Government of India introduces any rule or regulation or in case any Indian Organization or Company introduce any practice whereby a price reduction or any other advantage is granted to buyers of commodities listed in the annexure against payment in Pounds sterling or any other freely

91. Letter, Moscow, 12 September 1959. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS.

92. Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow.

convertible currency, the benefit of this rule, regulation or practice will be equally extended to the purchase of commodities to be effected by Soviet Organisation out of the amount of Indian rupees mentioned in (1) above.

4) If while purchasing the commodities referred to in (1) above the Soviet Organizations encounter any difficulty arising out of the non-availability of these commodities or out of the inability of the Government of India to extend to the Soviet Organisations the price reduction or other advantages mentioned in (3) above, the representatives of the two Parties will take measures in order to eliminate these difficulties.

5) If within six months from the time these difficulties arise [sic] the representatives of the two Parties fail to come to an agreement, the Government of India shall authorise the Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank of India, as the case may be, to convert, upon demand of the State Bank of the USSR, the Indian rupees standing in its account into Pounds sterling.

6) Re-export of Indian commodities purchased by Soviet Organizations for the amounts transferred to the aforesaid accounts of the USSR for the repayment of the above-mentioned credits may be effected with the consent of the Government of India.

Please accept, Mr. Skachkov, the assurance of my highest consideration.

B.K. Nehru

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

ADC	aide-de-camp
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
Alleppey	Alappuzha
Always	Aluva
ASI	Assistant Sub-Inspector
BA	Bachelor of Arts
Bhooswamis	small landholders in Rajasthan
Bombay City	Mumbai
BSc	Bachelor of Science
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Calicut	Kozhikode
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Chaukidari tax	tax levied for the remuneration of village watchmen
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Party in Parliament/Congress Parliamentary Party
Cröre	ten million
CRP	Central Reserve Police Force
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWC	Congress Working Committee
Dacca	Dhaka

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DAE	Department of Atomic Energy
DAV College	Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College
DBBL gun	double barrel gun
DGPC	Delhi Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DRVN	Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
East Germany	German Democratic Republic
FC	Foot Constable
GOI	Government of India
HM	Honourable Minister
Hon.	Honourable
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control [in Indo-China]
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INA	Indian National Army
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
IPC	Indian Penal Code
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
JS	Joint Secretary
KPCC	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
Kudikidappukars	landless labourers occupying a homestead at the discretion of landowner
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Madras City	Chennai
Mannam	Mannath Padmanabhan
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
Mysore State	Karnataka

NCO	non-commissioned officer
NDMC	New Delhi Municipal Corporation
NEFA	North Eastern Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NSS	Nair Service Society
Ootacamund	Udhagamandalam
Orissa	Odisha
Padma Shri/Padma Bhushan	civilian awards given by the Government of India
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PEN	Poets, Essayists, Novelists
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PL 480	Public Law 480
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
RAF	Royal Air Force
RIAF	Royal Indian Air Force
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
Sadar-i-Riyasat	Head of State of Jammu and Kashmir
Samsad	Court of Visva-Bharati University
SC	Scheduled Castes
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SGPC	Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SNDP	Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana
Soviet Union	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ST	Scheduled Tribes
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> , First Series
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> , Second Series
Takavi	cash advances by government to farmer
Taluka	territorial subdivision of a district
TB	tuberculosis
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
U-2	US spy plane
UK	United Kingdom
UN/ UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UP	United Provinces/Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Vanaspati	hydrogenated vegetable oil
West Germany	Federal Republic of Germany
WH&S	Works, Housing and Supply

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